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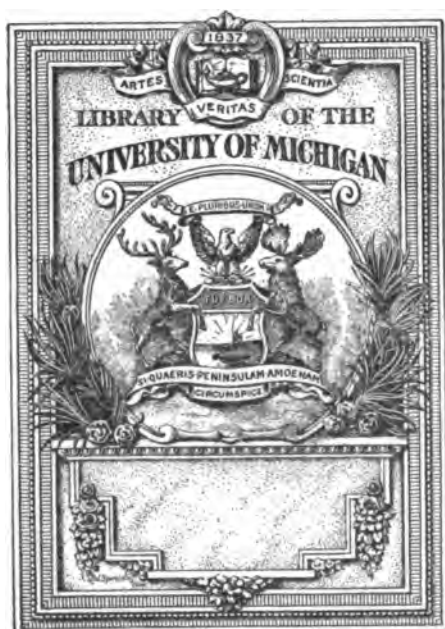
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THE
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

AUTHORISED EDITION.

FOURTH SERIES:

COMMENCING WITH THE SECOND SESSION OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH PARLIAMENT
OF THE
UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

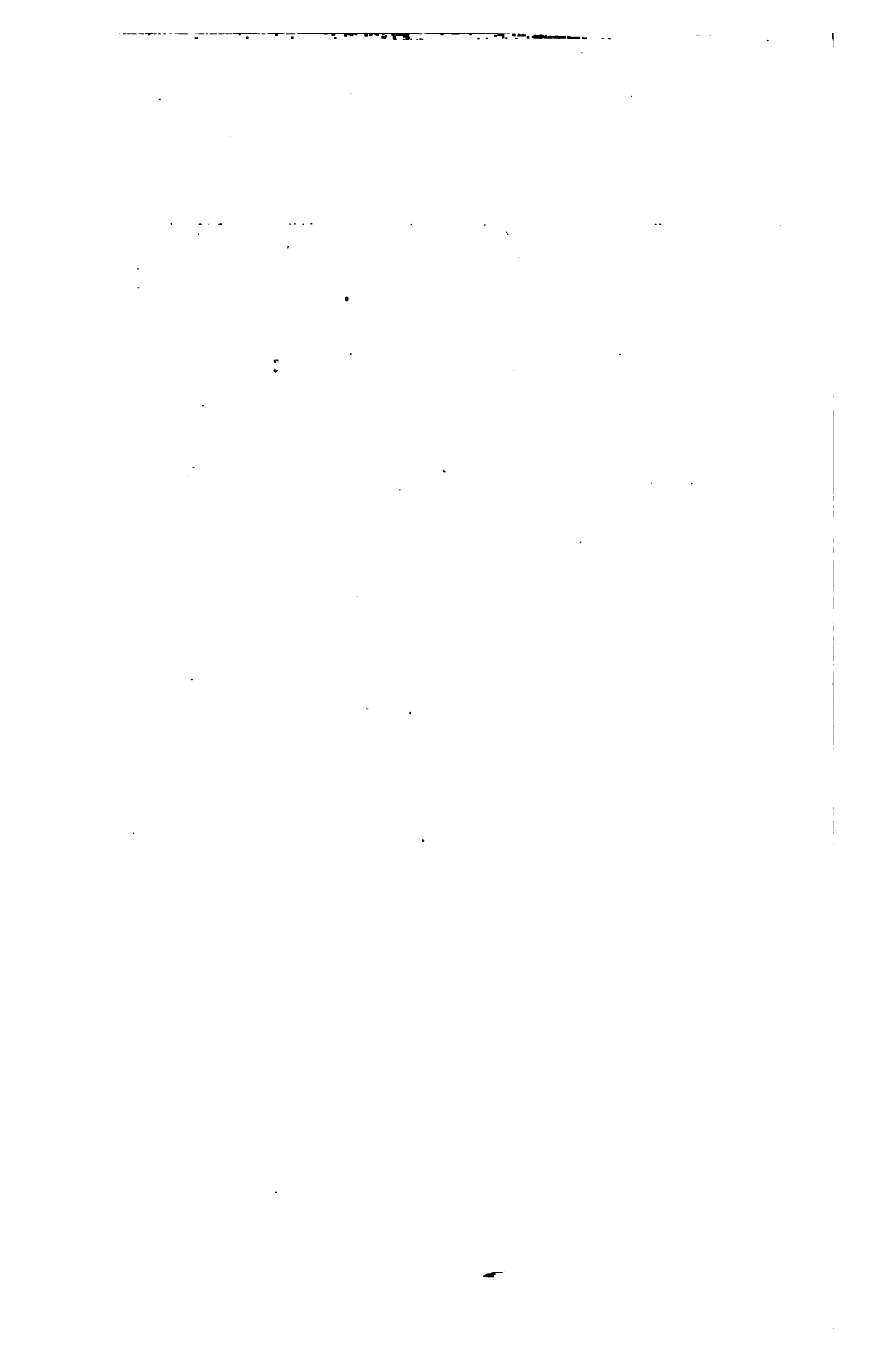
57 VICTORIÆ.

VOLUME VIII.

COMPRISING THE PERIOD FROM
THE THIRTY-FIRST DAY OF JANUARY
TO
THE TWENTIETH DAY OF FEBRUARY,
1893.

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1893.



THE MINISTRY

OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE,
AT THE OPENING OF THE SESSION ON THE 31ST JANUARY 1893.

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Secretary to the Admiralty.....	Right Hon. Sir JOHN TOMLINSON HIBBERT, K.C.B.
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Under Secretary for India	Lord SANDHURST.
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Attorney General	Right Hon. THE MACDERMOTT.
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Lord Steward	Marquess of BREADALBANE.
Lord Chamberlain	Right Hon. Lord CABBINGTON, G.C.M.G.
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Comptroller of the Household	GEORGE LEVESON-GOWER, Esq.
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Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard	Right Hon. Lord KENSINGTON.
Master of the Buckhounds	Lord RIBBLESDALE.
Chief Equerry and Clerk Marshal.....	Colonel Sir G. A. MAUDE, V.C., K.C.B.
Mistress of the Robes	

ROLL OF THE LORDS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL

IN

THE SECOND SESSION OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH PARLIAMENT

OF

THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND
IRELAND.

57^v VICTORIÆ, 1893.

MEM.—According to the Usage of Parliament, when the House appoints a Select Committee, the Lords appointed to serve upon it are named in the Order of their Rank, beginning with the Highest ; and so, when the House sends a Committee to a Conference with the Commons, the Lord highest in Rank is called first, and the rest go forth in like Order : But when the Whole House is called over for any Purpose within the House, or for the Purpose of proceeding forth to Westminster Hall, or upon any public Solemnity, the Call begins invariably with the Junior Baron.

His Royal Highness The Prince of Wales.	His Royal Highness George William Frederick Charles Duke of Cambridge.
His Royal Highness Alfred Ernest Albert Duke of Edinburgh.	Edward White Archbishop of Canterbury.
His Royal Highness Arthur William Patrick Albert Duke of Connaught and Strathearn.	Farrer Lord Herschell, <i>Lord High Chancellor.</i>
His Royal Highness George Frederick Ernest Albert Duke of York.	William Dalrymple Archbishop of York.
His Royal Highness Leopold Charles Edward George Albert Duke of Albany	John Earl of Kimberley, <i>Lord President of the Council.</i>
	Henry Duke of Norfolk, <i>Earl Marshal of England.</i>

ROLL OF THE LORDS

Algernon Percy Banks Duke of Somerset.	Hugh de Grey Marquess of Hertford.
Charles Henry Duke of Richmond.	John Patrick Marquess of Bute.
Augustus Charles Lennox Duke of Grafton.	William Alleyne Marquess of Exeter.
Henry Charles Fitzroy Duke of Beaufort.	William Marquess of Northampton.
William Amelius Aubrey De Vere Duke of Saint Albans.	John Charles Marquess Camden.
George Godolphin Duke of Leeds.	Henry Marquess of Anglesey.
George William Francis Sackville Duke of Bedford.	George Henry Hugh Marquess of Cholmondeley.
Spencer Compton Duke of Devonshire.	George William Thomas Marquess of Ailesbury.
Charles Richard John Duke of Marlborough.	Frederick William John Marquess of Bristol.
John James Robert Duke of Rutland.	Archibald Marquess of Ailsa.
William Alexander Louis Stephen Duke of Brandon. (<i>Duke of Hamilton.</i>)	Constantine Charles Henry Marquess of Normanby.
William John Arthur Charles James Duke of Portland.	George Frederick Samuel Marquess of Ripon.
William Angus Drogo Duke of Manchester.	William Marquess of Abergavenny.
Henry Pelham Archibald Douglas Duke of Newcastle.	Gavin Marquess of Breadalbane. (<i>In another Place as Lord Steward of the Household.</i>)
Algernon George Duke of Northumberland.	Frederick Temple Marquess of Dufferin and Ava.
His Royal Highness Ernest Augustus William Adolphus George Frederick Duke of Cumberland and Teviotdale.	Lawrence Marquess of Zetland.
Henry Duke of Wellington.	Charles Henry John Earl of Shrewsbury.
Cromartie Duke of Sutherland.	Edward Henry Earl of Derby.
Hugh Lupus Duke of Westminster.	Warner Francis John Plantagenet Earl of Huntingdon.
Alexander William George Duke of Fife.	George Robert Charles Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery.
George Douglas Duke of Argyll.	Henry Hugh Earl of Devon.
Gavin Marquess of Breadalbane, <i>Lord Steward of the Household.</i>	Henry Charles Earl of Suffolk and Berkshire.
Augustus John Henry Beaumont Marquess of Winchester.	Rudolph Robert Basil Aloysius Augustine Earl of Denbigh.
Henry Charles Keith Marquess of Lansdowne.	Anthony Mildmay Julian Earl of Westmorland.
John Villiers Stuart Marquess Townshend.	Montague Earl of Lindsey.
Robert Arthur Talbot Marquess of Salisbury.	William Earl of Stamford.
John Alexander Marquess of Bath.	Murray Edward Gordon Earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham.
James Marquess of Abercorn. (<i>Duke of Abercorn.</i>)	Edwyn Francis Earl of Chesterfield.
	Edward George Henry Earl of Sandwich.
	George Devereux De Vere Earl of Essex.
	George James Earl of Carlisle.

SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL.

William Henry Walter Earl of Doncaster. (<i>Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry.</i>)	George Guy Earl Brooke and Earl of Warwick.
Anthony Earl of Shaftesbury.	Sidney Carr Earl of Buckinghamshire.
Randal Mowbray Thomas Earl of Berkeley.	William Thomas Spencer Earl Fitzwilliam.
Montagu Arthur Earl of Abingdon.	Frederick George Earl of Guilford.
Alfred Frederick George Beresford Earl of Scarbrough.	Charles Philip Earl of Hardwicke.
William Coutts Earl of Albemarle.	Henry Edward Earl of Ilchester.
George William Earl of Coventry.	Reginald Windsor Earl De La Warr.
Victor Albert George Earl of Jersey.	William Earl of Radnor.
William Henry Earl Poulett.	John Poyntz Earl Spencer.
John Francis Erskine Earl of Mar. (<i>Elected for Scotland.</i>)	Seymour Henry Earl Bathurst.
Sholto George Watson Earl of Morton. (<i>Elected for Scotland.</i>)	Arthur Wills John Wellington Blundell Trumbull Earl of Hillsborough. (<i>Marquess of Downshire.</i>)
Walter John Francis Earl of Mar and Kellie. (<i>Elected for Scotland.</i>)	Edward Hyde Earl of Clarendon.
George Earl of Haddington. (<i>Elected for Scotland.</i>)	William David Earl of Mansfield.
Frederick Henry Earl of Lauderdale. (<i>Elected for Scotland.</i>)	John James Hugh Henry Earl Strange. (<i>Duke of Athole.</i>)
John Trotter Earl of Lindsay. (<i>Elected for Scotland.</i>)	William Henry Earl of Mount Edgecumbe.
David Stanley William Earl of Airlie. (<i>Elected for Scotland.</i>)	Hugh Earl Fortescue.
Robert Harris Carnwath Earl of Carnwath. (<i>Elected for Scotland.</i>)	George Edward Stanhope Molyneux Earl of Carnarvon.
Ronald Ruthven Earl of Leven and Melville. (<i>Elected for Scotland.</i>)	George Henry Earl Cadogan.
Douglas Mackinnon Baillie Hamilton Earl of Dundonald. (<i>Elected for Scotland.</i>)	Edward James Earl of Malmesbury.
Sewallis Edward Earl Ferrers.	John Vansittart Danvers Earl of Laneshorough. (<i>Elected for Ireland.</i>)
William Heneage Earl of Dartmouth.	Henry Ernest Newcomen Earl of Kingston. (<i>Elected for Ireland.</i>)
Charles Earl of Tankerville.	Dermot Robert Wyndham Earl of Mayo. (<i>Elected for Ireland.</i>)
Charles Wightwick Earl of Aylesford.	Hugh Earl Annesley. (<i>Elected for Ireland.</i>)
Francis Thomas de Grey Earl Cowper.	George Earl of Lucan. (<i>Elected for Ireland.</i>)
Arthur Philip Earl Stanhope.	Somerset Richard Earl of Belmore. (<i>Elected for Ireland.</i>)
Thomas Augustus Wolstenholme Earl of Macclesfield.	James Francis Earl of Bandon. (<i>Elected for Ireland.</i>)
Douglas Beresford Malise Ronald Earl Graham. (<i>Duke of Montrose.</i>)	James Earl of Caledon. (<i>Elected for Ireland.</i>)
William Frederick Earl Waldegrave.	James Francis Harry Earl of Rosslyn.
Bertram Earl of Ashburnham.	William George Robert Earl of Craven.
Charles Augustus Earl of Harrington.	William Hillier Earl of Onslow.
Newton Earl of Portsmouth.	Charles Earl of Romney.
	Walter John Earl of Chichester.

ROLL OF THE LORDS

Seymour John Grey Earl of Wilton.
 George Charles Earl of Powis.
 Horatio Earl Nelson.
 Lawrence Earl of Rosse. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
 Sydney William Herbert Earl Manvers.
 Horatio Earl of Orford.
 Henry Earl Grey.
 Hugh Cecil Earl of Lonsdale.
 Dudley Francis Stuart Earl of Harrowby.
 Henry Ulick Earl of Harewood.
 Gilbert John Earl of Minto.
 Alan Frederick Earl Cathcart.
 James Walter Earl of Verulam.
 Adelbert Wellington Brownlow Earl Brownlow.
 Henry Cornwallis Earl of St. Germans.
 Albert Edmund Earl of Morley.
 Orlando George Charles Earl of Bradford.
 William Earl Beauchamp.
 John Earl of Eldon.
 Richard William Penn Earl Howe.
 George Edward John Mowbray Earl of Stradbroke.
 William Stephen Earl Temple of Stowe.
 Francis Charles Earl of Kilmorey. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
 Charles Stewart Earl Vane. (*Marquess of Londonderry.*)
 William Archer Earl Amherst.
 John Frederick Vaughan Earl Cawdor.
 William George Earl of Munster.
 Robert Adam Philips Haldane Earl of Camperdown.
 Thomas Francis Earl of Lichfield.
 John George Earl of Durham.
 Granville George Earl Granville.
 Henry Earl of Effingham.
 Henry John Earl of Ducie.
 Charles Alfred Worsley Earl of Yarborough.
 Henry John Earl Innes. (*Duke of Roxburghe.*)
 Thomas William Earl of Leicester.
 William Earl of Lovelace.

Charles William Francis Earl of Gainsborough.
 Francis Charles Granville Earl of Ellesmere.
 George Henry Charles Earl of Strafford.
 Kenelm Charles Edward Earl of Cottenham.
 William Henry Earl Cowley.
 George Arnulph Earl of Winton. (*Ear. of Eglintoun.*)
 William Humble Earl of Dudley.
 John Francis Stanley Earl Russell.
 Francis Earl of Cromartie.
 John Earl of Kimberley. (*In another Place as Lord President of the Council.*)
 Richard Earl of Dartrey.
 William Ernest Earl of Feversham.
 Henry George Earl of Ravensworth.
 Edward Montagu Stuart Granville Earl of Wharnccliffe.
 Thomas George Earl of Northbrook.
 Herbert John Earl Cairns.
 Victor Alexander George Robert Earl of Lytton.
 Edward Earl of Lathom.
 George Watson Earl Sondes.
 Roundell Earl of Selborne.
 Walter Stafford Earl of Iddesleigh.
 Cornwallis Earl de Montalt.
 William Henry Forester Earl of Londesborough.
 Gathorne Earl of Craubrook.
 Gilbert Henry Earl of Ancaster.
 Robert Viscount Hereford.
 James David Viscount Strathallan. (*Elected for Scotland.*)
 Henry Viscount Bolingbroke and St. John.
 Evelyn Edward Thomas Viscount Falmouth.
 George Master Viscount Torrington.
 Gerald Viscount Leinster. (*Duke of Leinster.*)
 Francis Wheler Viscount Hood.
 Mervyn Edward Viscount Powerscourt. (*Elected for Ireland.*)

SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL.

Henry William Crosbie Viscount Bangor.
(*Elected for Ireland.*)

Cornwallis Viscount Hawarden. (*Elected for Ireland.*) (*In another Place as Earl de Montalt.*)

Carnegie Parker Viscount St. Vincent.

Henry Viscount Melville.

William Wells Viscount Sidmouth.

John Campbell Viscount Gordon.
(*Earl of Aberdeen.*)

Edward Fleetwood John Viscount Exmouth.

John Luke George Viscount Hutchinson.
(*Earl of Donoughmore.*)

William Frederick Viscount Clancarty.
(*Earl of Clancarty.*)

Robert Wellington Viscount Combermere.

Henry Charles Viscount Canterbury.

Rowland Clegg Viscount Hill.

Charles Stewart Viscount Hardinge.

George Stephens Viscount Gough.

Charles Lindley Viscount Halifax.

Alexander Nelson Viscount Bridport.

William Henry Berkeley Viscount Portman.

Henry Robert Viscount Hampden.

Garnet Joseph Viscount Wolseley.

William John Viscount Oxenbridge.

Richard Assheton Viscount Cross.

Frederick Bishop of London.

Brooke Foss Bishop of Durham.

Anthony Wilson Bishop of Winchester.

John Thomas Bishop of Norwich.

Charles John Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol.

James Bishop of Hereford.

Arthur Charles Bishop of Bath and Wells.

Richard Bishop of Chichester.

William Basil Bishop of St. David's.

John Charles Bishop of Liverpool.

Ernest Roland Bishop of Newcastle.

Richard Bishop of Llandaff.

William Bishop of Oxford.

George Bishop of Southwell.

William Boyd Bishop of Ripon.

Edward Bishop of Lincoln.

Edward Henry Bishop of Exeter.

John Bishop of Salisbury.

Alwyne Bishop of Ely.

James Bishop of Manchester.

William Walsham Bishop of Wakefield.

Francis John Bishop of Chester.

Alfred George Bishop of St. Asaph.

Daniel Lewis Bishop of Bangor.

Charles Robert Lord Carrington (*Lord Chamberlain of the Household.*)

Dudley Charles Lord de Ros.

Alfred Joseph Lord Mowbray.

George Manners Lord Hastings.

Edward Southwell Lord de Clifford.

Charles Henry Rolle Lord Clinton.

Robert Nathaniel Cecil George Lord Zouche of Haryngworth.

Rawdon George Grey Lord Grey de Ruthyn.

Charles Edward Hastings Lord Botreaux.
(*Earl of Loudoun.*)

Francis Robert Lord Camoys.

Miles Lord Beaumont.

Henry Lord Willoughby de Broke.

Hubert George Charles Lord Vaux of Harrowden.

Ralph Gordon Lord Wentworth.

Alfred Thomas Townshend Lord Braye.

Robert George Lord Windsor.

William Henry John Lord North.

Beauchamp Mowbray Lord St. John of Bletso.

Frederick George Lord Howard de Walden.

William Joseph Lord Petre.

John Fiennes Lord Saye and Sele.

John Francis Lord Arundell of Wardour.

John Stuart Lord Clifton. (*Earl of Darnley.*)

John Baptist Joseph Lord Dormer.

Henry John Philip Sidney Lord Teynham.

FitzOsbert Lord Stafford.

George Frederick William Lord Byron.

ROLL OF THE LORDS

Lewis Henry Hugh Lord Clifford of Chudleigh.	Lloyd Lord Kenyon.
Henry de Vere Lord Barnard.	Charles Cornwallis Lord Braybrooke.
Horace Courtenay Gammell Lord Forbes. (<i>Elected for Scotland.</i>)	George Augustus Hamilton Lord Fisherwick. (<i>Marquess of Donegall.</i>)
Alexander William Frederick Lord Saltoun. (<i>Elected for Scotland.</i>)	Henry Charles Lord Gage. (<i>Viscount Gage.</i>)
Charles William Lord Sinclair. (<i>Elected for Scotland.</i>)	Thomas John Lord Thurlow.
Alexander Hugh Lord Balfour of Burleigh. (<i>Elected for Scotland.</i>)	William Morton Lord Auckland.
Walter Hugh Lord Polwarth. (<i>Elected for Scotland.</i>)	Charles George Lord Lyttelton.
Richard Edmund Saint Lawrence Lord Boyle. (<i>Earl of Cork and Orrery.</i>)	Henry George Lord Mendip. (<i>Viscount Clifden.</i>)
George Lord Hay. (<i>Earl of Kinnoul.</i>)	George Lord Stuart of Castle Stuart. (<i>Earl of Moray.</i>)
Digby Wentworth Bayard Lord Middleton.	Alan Plantagenet Lord Stewart of Garlies. (<i>Earl of Galloway.</i>)
Frederick George Brabazon Lord Ponsonby. (<i>Earl of Bessborough.</i>)	James George Henry Lord Salterford. (<i>Earl of Courtown.</i>)
Alfred Nathaniel Holden Lord Scarsdale.	William Lord Brodrick. (<i>Viscount Middleton.</i>)
George Florance Lord Boston.	Frederick Henry William Lord Calthorpe.
Charles George Lord Lovell and Holland. (<i>Earl of Egmont.</i>)	Peter Robert Lord Gwydir.
George William Henry Lord Vernon.	Charles Robert Lord Carrington. (<i>In another Place as Lord Chamberlain of the Household.</i>)
Edward Henry Trafalgar Lord Digby.	William Henry Lord Bolton.
Martin Bladen Lord Hawke.	Thomas Lyttleton Lord Lilford.
Henry Thomas Lord Foley.	Thomas Lord Ribblesdale.
Arthur de Cardonnel Lord Dinevor.	Edward Donough Lord Inchiquin. (<i>Elected for Ireland.</i>)
Thomas Lord Walsingham.	William Charles Lord Carbery. (<i>Elected for Ireland.</i>)
William Lord Bagot.	John Thomas William Lord Massy. (<i>Elected for Ireland.</i>)
Charles Henry Lord Southampton.	Hamilton Matthew Fitzmaurice Lord Muskerry. (<i>Elected for Ireland.</i>)
John Richard Brinsley Lord Grantley.	Francis William Lord Kilmaine. (<i>Elected for Ireland.</i>)
George Bridges Harley Dennett Lord Rodney.	Robert Lord Cloubrock. (<i>Elected for Ireland.</i>)
Henry George Lord Lovaine.	Charles Mark Lord Headley. (<i>Elected for Ireland.</i>)
Philip Reginald Lord Somers.	Edward Henry Churchill Lord Crofton. (<i>Elected for Ireland.</i>)
Richard Henry Lord Berwick.	Hercules Edward Lord Langford. (<i>Elected for Ireland.</i>)
Edward Lennox Lord Sherborne.	Dayrolles Blakeney Lord Ventry (<i>Elected for Ireland.</i>)
John Henry De La Poer Lord Tyrone. (<i>Marquess of Waterford.</i>)	
Richard Henry Lord Carleton. (<i>Earl of Shannon.</i>)	
Charles Lord Suffield.	
Dudley Wilmot Lord Dorchester.	

SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL.

Henry O'Callaghan Lord Dunalley. (<i>Elected for Ireland.</i>)	Clotworthy John Eyre Lord Oriel. (<i>Viscount Massereene.</i>)
Eyre Challoner Henry Lord Clarina. (<i>Elected for Ireland.</i>)	Hugh Lord Delamere.
John Henry Lord Loftus. (<i>Marquess of Ely.</i>)	Orlando Watkin Weld Lord Forester.
William Lord Carysfort. (<i>Earl of Carysfort.</i>)	John William Lord Rayleigh.
George Ralph Lord Abercromby.	Edric Frederic Lord Gifford.
Charles Towry Hamilton Lord Ellenborough.	Hubert George Lord Somerhill. (<i>Marquess of Clanricarde.</i>)
Augustus Frederick Arthur Lord Sandys.	James Ludovic Lord Wigan. (<i>Earl of Crawford and Balcarres.</i>)
Henry North Lord Sheffield. (<i>Earl of Sheffield.</i>)	Uchter John Mark Lord Ranfurly. (<i>Earl of Ranfurly.</i>)
William Macnaghten Lord Erskine.	John Byrne Leicester Lord de Tabley.
George John Lord Monteagle. (<i>Marquess of Sligo.</i>)	Charles Stuart Henry Lord Tenterden.
Bernard Arthur William Patrick Hastings Lord Granard. (<i>Earl of Granard.</i>)	William Conyngham Lord Plunket.
Hungerford Lord Crewe.	William Frederick Lord Heytesbury.
——— Lord Gardner.	Archibald Philip Lord Rosebery. (<i>Earl of Rosebery.</i>)
John Thomas Lord Manners.	Richard James Lord Clanwilliam. (<i>Earl of Clanwilliam.</i>)
John Adrian Louis Lord Hopetoun. (<i>Earl of Hopetoun.</i>)	William Draper Mortimer Lord Wynford.
Charles Lord Meldrum. (<i>Marquess of Huntly.</i>)	Charles Gore Lord Kilmarnock. (<i>Earl of Erroll.</i>)
Lowry Egerton Lord Grinstead. (<i>Earl of Enniskillen.</i>)	Arthur James Francis Lord Fingall. (<i>Earl of Fingall.</i>)
William Hale John Charles Lord Foxford. (<i>Earl of Limerick.</i>)	William Philip Lord Sefton. (<i>Earl of Sefton.</i>)
Victor Albert Francis Charles Lord Churchill.	Charles Lord Clements. (<i>Earl of Leitrim.</i>)
George Robert Canning Lord Harris.	Thomas Lord Kenlis. (<i>Marquess of Headfort.</i>)
Reginald Charles Edward Lord Colchester.	Reginald Lord Chaworth. (<i>Earl of Meath.</i>)
Schomberg Henry Lord Ker. (<i>Marquess of Lothian.</i>)	Charles Adolphus Lord Dunmore. (<i>Earl of Dunmore.</i>)
Henry Francis Lord Minster. (<i>Marquess Conyngham.</i>)	Augustus Frederick George Warwick Lord Poltimore.
James Edward William Theobald Lord Ormonde. (<i>Marquess of Ormonde.</i>)	Llewelyn Nevill Vaughan Lord Mostyn.
Francis Richard Lord Wemyss. (<i>Earl of Wemyss.</i>)	Henry Spencer Lord Templemore.
John Strange Lord Clanbrassill. (<i>Earl of Roden.</i>)	Valentine Frederick Lord Cloncurry.
Thomas Lord Silchester. (<i>Earl of Longford.</i>)	James St. Vincent Lord De Saumarez.
	Thomas Lord Denman.
	James Yorke MacGregor Lord Abinger.
	Philip Lord De L'Isle and Dudley.
	Francis Denzil Edward Lord Ashburton.

ROLL OF THE LORDS

Edward George Percy Lord Hatherton.	Robert Lord Ebury.
Archibald Brabazon Sparrow Lord Worlingham. (<i>Earl of Gosford.</i>)	Charles Compton William Lord Chesham.
Hallyburton George Lord Stratheden.	Frederic Augustus Lord Chelmsford.
Geoffrey Dominick Augustus Frederick Lord Oranmore and Browne. (<i>Elected for Ireland.</i>)	John Lord Churston.
Simon Joseph Lord Lovat.	Henry Lord Leconfield.
William Bateman Lord Bateman.	Wilbraham Lord Egerton.
Algernon Hawkins Thomond Lord Kintore. (<i>Earl of Kintore.</i>)	Godfrey Charles Lord Tredegar.
George Ponsonby Lord Lismore. (<i>Viscount Lismore.</i>)	Fitz Patrick Henry Lord Lyveden.
Derrick Warner William Lord Rossmore.	Henry Charles Lord Brougham and Vaux.
Robert Shapland George Julian Lord Carew.	Arthur Fitz-Gerald Lord Kinnaird.
Charles Frederick Ashley Cooper Lord De Mauley.	Richard Luttrell Pilkington Lord Westbury.
Arthur Lord Wrottesley.	Francis William Fitzhardinge Lord Fitzhardinge.
Charles Douglas Richard Lord Sudeley.	Luke Lord Annaly.
Paul Sanford Lord Methuen.	Robert Offley Ashburton Lord Houghton.
Henry Edward John Lord Stanley of Alderley.	John Gaspard Le Marchant Lord Romilly.
William Henry Lord Leigh.	James Herbert Gustavus Meredyth Lord Meredyth. (<i>Lord Athlumney.</i>)
Beilby Lord Wenlock.	Windham Thomas Lord Kenry. (<i>Earl of Dunraven and Mount-Earl.</i>)
William Lord Lurgan.	Charles Stanley Lord Monck. (<i>Viscount Monck.</i>)
Thomas Spring Lord Monteagle of Brandon.	John Major Lord Hartismere. (<i>Lord Henniker.</i>)
John Reginald Upton Lord Seaton.	Hedworth Hylton Lord Hylton.
John Manley Arbuthnot Lord Keane.	George Sholto Gordon Lord Penrhyn.
John Lord Oxenfoord. (<i>Earl of Stair.</i>)	Gustavus Russell Lord Brancepeth. (<i>Viscount Boyne.</i>)
Hussey Crespigny Lord Vivian.	John Henry Lord Kesteven.
Henry William Lord Congleton.	Arthur Lord Ormathwaite.
Victor Alexander Lord Elgin. (<i>Earl of Elgin and Kincardine.</i>)	Edward Lord O'Neill.
Thomas Montague Morrison Lord Truro.	Robert William Lord Napier.
Arthur Lord De Freyne.	Janico William Joseph Lord Gormanston. (<i>Viscount Gormanston.</i>)
Edward Burtenshaw Lord Saint Leonards.	Thomas Kane Lord Rathdonnell. (<i>Elected for Ireland.</i>)
George Fitz-Roy Henry Lord Raglan.	John Hamilton Lord Lawrence.
Valentine Augustus Lord Kenmare. (<i>Earl of Kenmare.</i>)	James Plaisted Lord Penzance.
Henry Lord Belper.	John Lord Dunning. (<i>Lord Rollo.</i>)
Richard Wogan Lord Talbot de Malahide.	James Lord Balinhard. (<i>Earl of Southesk.</i>)
	William Lord Hare. (<i>Earl of Listowel.</i>)

SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL.

Francis Edward Lord Howard of Glos- sop.	Montagu William Lord Rowton.
Bernard Edward Barnaby Lord Castle- town.	Edward Hugessen Lord Brabourne.
John Emerich Edward Lord Acton.	Arthur Oliver Villiers Lord Ampthill.
Thomas Charles Lord Robartes.	William Montagu Lord Tweeddale. (<i>Marquess of Tweeddale.</i>)
Frederick Lord Wolverton.	William Ulick Tristram Lord Howth. (<i>Earl of Howth.</i>)
Algernon William Fulke Lord Greville.	Donald James Lord Reay.
Thomas Towneley Lord O'Hagan.	Harcourt Lord Derwent.
William Lord Sandhurst.	Henry James Lord Hothfield.
Francis Lord Ettrick. (<i>Lord Napier.</i>)	Dudley Coutts Lord Tweedmouth.
James Charles Herbert Welbore Ellis Lord Somerton. (<i>Earl of Nor- manton.</i>)	Frederick Beauchamp Paget Lord Alcester.
Henry Austin Lord Aberdare.	Hallam Lord Tennyson.
James Lord Moncreiff.	James Lord Strathspey. (<i>Earl of Sea- field.</i>)
John Duke Lord Coleridge.	John George Lord Monk Bretton.
William Lord Emly.	Walter Charles Lord Northbourne.
Chichester Samuel Lord Carlingford. (<i>Lord Clermont.</i>)	Arthur Saunders William Charles Fox Lord Sudley. (<i>Earl of Arran.</i>)
Thomas Francis Lord Cottesloe.	John Robert William Lord de Vesci. (<i>Viscount de Vesci.</i>)
John Slaney Lord Hampton.	Marmaduke Francis Lord Herries.
Charles Alexander Lord Douglas. (<i>Earl of Home.</i>)	Hardinge Stanley Lord Halsbury.
Arthur George Maule Lord Ramsay. (<i>Earl of Dalhousie.</i>)	Mervyn Edward Lord Powerscourt. (<i>In another Place as Viscount Powers- court.</i>)
John Henry Lord Fermanagh. (<i>Earl Erne.</i>)	Anthony Henley Lord Northington. (<i>Lord Henley.</i>)
William Richard Lord Harlech.	Nathaniel Mayer Lord Rothschild.
Henry Gerard Lord Alington.	Edward Charles Lord Revelstoke.
Wilbraham Frederic Lord Tollemache.	Robert Lord Monkswell.
William Cansfield Lord Gerard.	Arthur Lord Hobhouse.
Lionel Sackville Lord Sackville.	Ralph Robert Wheeler Lord Lingen.
Colin Lord Blackburn.	Edward Lord Ashbourne.
Charles Bowyer Lord Norton.	Rowland Lord Saint Oswald.
Percy Lord Shute. (<i>Viscount Barring- ton.</i>)	Robert James Lord Wantage.
William Lord Watson. (<i>A Lord of Appeal in Ordinary.</i>)	William Baliol Lord Esher.
Lawrence Hesketh Lord Haldon.	George William Lord Deramore.
Ivor Bertie Lord Wimborne.	Henry John Lord Montagu of Beaulieu.
Arthur Edward Lord Ardilaun.	Sidney Herbert Lord Elphinstone.
Charles Wallace Alexander Napier Lord Lamington.	Charles John Lord Colville of Culross.
Charles Frederick Lord Donington.	Farrer Lord Herschell. (<i>In another Place as Lord High Chancellor.</i>)
Arthur Edwin Lord Trevor.	Charles Henry Lord Hillingdon.
	Samuel Charles Lord Hindlip.

ROLL OF THE LORDS

Edmund Lord Grimthorpe.	William Ventris Lord Field.
Richard de Aquila Lord Stalbridge.	Francis Richard Lord Sandford.
William Lord Kensington.	Edward Cecil Lord Iveagh.
Michael Arthur Lord Burton.	James Lord Hannen. (<i>A Lord of Appeal in Ordinary.</i>)
John Glencairn Carter Lord Hamilton of Dalzell.	George Lord Mount Stephen.
Thomas Lord Brassey.	Samuel Lord Masham.
Henry Lord Thring.	Frederick Sleigh Lord Roberts of Kandahar.
Frederick Arthur Lord Stanley of Preston.	Arthur William Acland Lord Hood of Avalon.
Edward Lord Macnaghten. (<i>A Lord of Appeal in Ordinary.</i>)	William Lord Kelvin.
Robert Lord Connemara.	Henry John Lord Rookwood.
Claude Lord Bowes. (<i>Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorn.</i>)	Evelyn Lord Cromer.
George Edmund Milnes Lord Monckton. (<i>Viscount Galway.</i>)	Alexander Burns Lord Shand.
John Lord Saint Levan.	George Lord Ashcombe.
James Douglas Lord Magheramorne.	Rainald Lord Knightley.
William George Lord Armstrong.	Alexander Campbell Lord Blythwood.
George Lord Basing.	Thomas Lord Crawshaw.
William Henry Lord de Ramsey.	William Amhurst Lord Amherst of Hackney.
William Meriton Lord Cheylesmore.	William John Lord Newton.
Egerton Lord Addington.	John Lord Dunleath.
Henry Thurstan Lord Knutsford.	John Allan Lord Llangattock.
John Lord Savile.	Lyon Lord Playfair.
Michael Lord Morris. (<i>A Lord of Appeal in Ordinary.</i>)	Cyril Lord Battersea.

LIST OF THE COMMONS.

THE NAMES OF MEMBERS

RETURNED TO SERVE IN THE TWENTY-FIFTH PARLIAMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, SUMMONED TO MEET AT WESTMINSTER THE FOURTH DAY OF AUGUST, ONE THOUSAND EIGHT HUNDRED AND NINETY TWO, AS BY THE SEVERAL RETURNS FILED IN THE OFFICE OF THE CLERK OF THE CROWN IN CHANCERY APPEARS. CORRECTED TO THE MEETING OF THE PARLIAMENT ON THE THIRTY-FIRST DAY OF JANUARY, ONE THOUSAND EIGHT HUNDRED AND NINETY THREE.

BEDFORD.

NORTHERN, or BIGGLESWADE DIVISION,
George William Erskine Russell.

SOUTHERN, or LUTON DIVISION,
Howard Whitbread.

BEDFORD BOROUGH.
Samuel Whitbread.

BERKS.

NORTHERN, or ABINGDON DIVISION,
Philip Wroughton.

SOUTHERN, or NEWBURY DIVISION,
William George Mount.

EASTERN, or WOKINGHAM DIVISION,
Sir George Russell, bt.

READING BOROUGH.
George William Palmer.

WINDSOR (NEW) BOROUGH.
Francis Tress Barry.

BUCKS.

NORTHERN, or BUCKINGHAM DIVISION,
Herbert Samuel Leon.

MID, or AYLESBURY DIVISION,
Baron Ferdinand James de Rothschild.

SOUTHERN, or WYCOMBE DIVISION,
Viscount Curzon.

CAMBRIDGE.

NORTHERN, or WISBECH DIVISION,
Hon. Arthur George Brand.

WESTERN, or CHESTERTON DIVISION,
Hugh Edward Hoare.

EASTERN, or NEWMARKET DIVISION,
George Newnes.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY.
Richard Claverhouse Jebb,
Right Hon. Sir John Eldon Gorst.
CAMBRIDGE BOROUGH.
Robert Uniacke Penrose FitzGerald.

CHESTER.

WIRRAL DIVISION,
Lt.-Colonel Edward Thomas Davenant
Cotton-Jodrell.

EDDISBURY DIVISION,
Henry James Tollemache.

MACCLESFIELD DIVISION,
William Bromley Davenport.

CREWE DIVISION,
Walter Stowe Bright McLaren.

NORTHWICH DIVISION,
John Tomlinson Brunner.

ALTRINCHAM DIVISION,
Coningsby Ralph Disraeli.

CHESTER—cont.

HYDE DIVISION,
Joseph Watson Sidebotham.

KNUTSFORD DIVISION,
Hon. Alan de Tatton Egerton.

BIRKENHEAD BOROUGH.
Viscount Bury.

CHESTER BOROUGH.
Robert Armstrong Yerburgh.

STOCKPORT BOROUGH.
Joseph Leigh,
Louis John Jennings.

CORNWALL.

WESTERN, or ST. IVES DIVISION,
Thomas Bedford Bolitho.

NORTH-WESTERN, or CAMBORNE DIVISION,
Charles Augustus Vansittart Conybeare.

TRURO DIVISION,
John Charles Williams.

MID, or ST. AUSTELL DIVISION,
William Alexander McArthur.
SOUTH-EASTERN, or BODMIN DIVISION,
Rt. Hon. Leonard Henry Courtney.

NORTH-EASTERN, or LAUNCESTON
DIVISION.
Thomas Owen.

PENRYN AND FALMOUTH BOROUGH.
William George Cavendish Bentinck.

CUMBERLAND.

NORTHERN, or ESKDALE DIVISION,
Robert Andrew Allison.

MID, or PENRITH DIVISION,
James William Lowther.

COCKERMOUTH DIVISION,
Sir Wilfrid Lawson, bt.

WESTERN, or EGREMONT DIVISION,
David Ainsworth.

CARLISLE BOROUGH.
William Court Gully.

WHITEHAVEN BOROUGH.
Thomas Shepherd Little.

DERBY.

HIGH PEAK DIVISION,
William Sidebottom.

NORTH-EASTERN DIVISION,
Thomas Dolling Bolton.

CHESTERFIELD DIVISION,
Thomas Bayley.

WESTERN DIVISION,
Victor Christian William Cavendish.

MID DIVISION,
James Alfred Jacoby.

ILKESTON DIVISION,
Sir Balthazar Walter Foster.

SOUTHERN DIVISION,
Harrington Evans Broad.

DERBY BOROUGH.
Rt. Hon. Sir William George Granville
Venables Vernon Harcourt, kt.,
Thomas Roe.

DEVON.

EASTERN, or HONITON DIVISION,
Sir John Henry Kennaway, bt.

NORTH-EASTERN, or TIVERTON
DIVISION,
Colonel Sir William Hood Walrond, bt.
NORTHERN, or SOUTH MOLTON DIVISION,
George Lambert.

NORTH-WESTERN, or BARNSTAPLE
DIVISION,
Alfred Billson.

WESTERN, or TAVISTOCK DIVISION,
Hugh Courtenay Fownes Luttrell.

SOUTHERN, or TOTNES DIVISION,
Francis Bingham Mildmay.

TORQUAY DIVISION,
Richard Mallock.

MID, or ASHBURTON DIVISION,
Charles Seale-Hayne.

DEVONPORT BOROUGH.
Hudson E. Kearley,
Edward J. C. Morton.

DEVON—cont.**EXETER BOROUGH.**

Hon. Sir Henry Stafford Northcote, bt.,
C.B.

PLYMOUTH BOROUGH.

Sir Edward George Clarke, kt.
Sir William George Pearce.

DORSET.**NORTHERN DIVISION,**

John Kenelm Digby Wingfield-Digby.

EASTERN DIVISION,

Hon. Humphrey Napier Sturt.

SOUTHERN DIVISION,

William Ernest Brymer.

WESTERN DIVISION,

Henry Richard Farquharson.

DURHAM.**JARROW DIVISION,**

Sir Charles Mark Palmer, bt.

HOUGHTON-LE-SPRING DIVISION,

Captain Henry Thomas Fenwick.

CHESTER-LE-STREET DIVISION,

James Joicey.

NORTH-WESTERN DIVISION,

Llewellyn Archer Atherley-Jones.

MID DIVISION,

John Wilson.

SOUTH-EASTERN DIVISION,

Joseph Richardson.

BISHOP AUCKLAND DIVISION,

James Mellor Paulton.

BARNARD CASTLE DIVISION,

Sir Joseph Whitwell Pease, bt.

DARLINGTON BOROUGH.

Theodore Fry.

DURHAM BOROUGH.

Matthew A. Fowler.

GATESHEAD BOROUGH.

Hon. Walter Henry James.

HARTLEPOOLS (THE) BOROUGH.

Christopher Furness.

DURHAM—cont.**SOUTH SHIELDS BOROUGH.**

James Cochran Stevenson.

STOCKTON BOROUGH.

Thomas Wrightson.

SUNDERLAND BOROUGH.

Samuel Storey,

Edward Temperley Gourley.

ESSEX.**SOUTH-WESTERN, or WALTHAMSTOW
DIVISION,**

Edmund Widdrington Byrne.

SOUTHERN, or ROMFORD DIVISION,

James Theobald.

WESTERN, or EPPING DIVISION,

Lt.-Col. Amelius Richard Mark Lockwood.

**NORTHERN, or SAFFRON WALDEN
DIVISION,**

Herbert Colstoun Gardner.

NORTH-EASTERN, or HARWICH DIVISION

James Round.

EASTERN, or MALDON DIVISION,

Cyril Joseph Settle Dodd.

MID, or CHELMSFORD DIVISION,

Thomas Osborne.

SOUTH-EASTERN DIVISION,

Major Frederic Carne Rasch.

COLCHESTER BOROUGH.

Captain Herbert S. Naylor Leyland.

WEST HAM BOROUGH.*North Division,*

Thomas Newcomen Archibald Grove.

South Division,

James Keir-Hardie.

GLOUCESTER.**MID, or STROUD DIVISION,**

David Brynmor Jones.

NORTHERN, or TEWKESBURY DIVISION,

Sir John Edward Dorington, bt.

EASTERN, or CIRENCESTER DIVISION,

Col. T. W. Chester Master. (Election
void.)

GLOUCESTER—cont.

FOREST OF DEAN DIVISION,
Rt. Hon. Sir Charles Wentworth
Dilke, bt.

SOUTHERN, or THOMSBURY DIVISION,
Charles Edward Hungerford Athole
Culston.

KRISTOL BOROUGH.*West Division.*

Rt. Hon. Sir Michael Edward Hicks-
Hutch, bt.

North Division.

Charles Edmund.

East Division.

Sir Joseph Judge Weston.

South Division.

Colonel Sir Edward Shack Hill K.C.B.

CHRISTCHURCH BOROUGH.

James Fyfe Agg-Gardner.

GLOUCESTER BOROUGH.

Thomas Robinson.

HANTS.

NORTHERN, or BASINGSTOKE DIVISION,
Arthur Frederick Jeffreys.

WESTERN, or ANDOVER DIVISION,
William Wither Bramston Beach.

EASTERN, or PETERSFIELD DIVISION,
William Wickham.

SOUTHERN, or FAREHAM DIVISION,
General Sir Frederick Wellington John
FitzWygram, bt.

NEW FOREST DIVISION,
Hon. John Walter Edward D. Scott
Montagu.

CHRISTCHURCH BOROUGH.
Abel Henry Smith.

PORTSMOUTH BOROUGH.
John Baker,
Walter Owen Clough.

SOUTHAMPTON BOROUGH.
Tankerville Chamberlayne,
Francis Henry Evans.

WINCHESTER BOROUGH.
William Henry Myers.

HEREFORD.

NORTHERN, or LEOMINSTER DIVISION,
James Rankin.

SOUTHERN, or ROSS DIVISION,
Michael Biddulph.

HEREFORD BOROUGH.

William Henry Grenfell.

HERTFORD.

NORTHERN, or HITCHIN DIVISION,
George Bickersteth Hudson.

EASTERN, or HERTFORD DIVISION,
Abel Smith.

MID, or ST. ALBAN'S DIVISION,
Vicary Gibbs.

WESTERN, or WATFORD DIVISION,
Thomas Frederick Halsey.

HUNTINGDON.

SOUTHERN, or HUNTINGDON DIVISION,
Arthur Hugh Smith-Barry.

NORTHERN, or RAMSEY DIVISION,
Hon. Ailwyn Edward Fellowes.

ISLE OF WIGHT.

Sir Richard Everard Webster, kt.

KENT.

WESTERN, or SEVENOAKS DIVISION,
Henry William Forster.

NORTH-WESTERN, or DARTFORD
DIVISION,

Rt. Hon. Sir William Hart Dyke, bt.

SOUTH-WESTERN, or TUNBRIDGE
DIVISION,
Arthur S. T. Griffith-Boscawen.

MID, or MEDWAY DIVISION,
Major Charles Edward Warde.

NORTH-EASTERN, or FAVERSHAM
DIVISION,
Hon. Herbert Thomas Knatchbull-
Hugessen.

SOUTHERN, or ASHFORD DIVISION,
Laurence Hardy.

KENT—cont.**EASTERN, or ST. AUGUSTINE'S DIVISION****Rt. Hon. Aretas Akers-Douglas.****ISLE OF THANET DIVISION,****Rt. Hon. James Lowther.****CANTERBURY BOROUGH.****John Henniker Heaton.****CHATHAM BOROUGH.****Colonel Lewis Vivian Loyd.****DEPTFORD BOROUGH.****Charles John Darling.****DOVER BOROUGH.****George Wyndham.****GRAVESEND BOROUGH.****James Dampier Palmer.****GREENWICH BOROUGH.****Thomas William Boord.****HYTHE BOROUGH.****Sir Edward William Watkin, bt.****LEWISHAM BOROUGH.****John Penn.****MAIDSTONE BOROUGH.****Francis Stanley Wykeham Cornwallis.****ROCHESTER BOROUGH.****Horatio David Davies. (Election void.)****WOOLWICH BOROUGH.****Colonel Edwin Hughes.****LANCASTER.****North Lancashire.****NORTH LONSDALE DIVISION,****William Smith.****LANCASTER DIVISION,****James Williamson.****BLACKPOOL DIVISION,****Sir Matthew White Ridley, bt.****CHORLEY DIVISION,****Lieut.-General Randle Joseph Feilden,****C.M.G.****North-East Lancashire.****DARWEN DIVISION,****Charles Philip Huntington.****LANCASTER—cont.****CLITHEROE DIVISION,****Rt. Hon. Sir Ughtred James Kay-Shuttleworth, bt.****ACCRINGTON DIVISION,****Joseph Francis Leese.****ROSSENDALE DIVISION,****John Henry Maden.****South-East Lancashire****WESTHOUGHTON DIVISION,****Hon. Edward George Villiers Stanley.****HEYWOOD DIVISION,****Thomas Snape.****MIDDLETON DIVISION,****Charles Henry Hopwood.****RADCLIFFE-CUM-FARNWORTH DIVISION,****Robert Leake.****ECCLES DIVISION,****Henry John Roby.****STRETFORD DIVISION,****John William Maclure.****GORTON DIVISION,****William Mather.****PRESTWICH DIVISION,****Robert Gray Cornish Mowbray.****South-West Lancashire.****SOUTHPORT DIVISION,****Hon. George Nathaniel Curzon.****ORMSKIRK DIVISION,****Right Hon. Arthur Bower Forwood,****BOOTLE DIVISION,****Lieut.-Colonel Thomas Myles Sandys.****WIDNES DIVISION,****John Saunders Gilliat.****NEWTON DIVISION,****Thomas Wodehouse Legh.****INCE DIVISION,****Samuel Woods.****LEIGH DIVISION,****Calëb Wright.****ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE BOROUGH.****John Edmund Wentworth Addisor.**

LANCASTER—*cont.*

BARROW-IN-FURNESS BOROUGH.

Charles William Cayzer.

BLACKBURN BOROUGH.

William Henry Hornby,

William Coddington.

BOLTON BOROUGH.

Herbert Shepherd-Cross,

Colonel Hon. Francis Charles Bridgeman.

BURNLEY BOROUGH.

Jabez Spencer Balfour.

BURY BOROUGH.

Right Hon. Sir Henry James, kt.

LIVERPOOL BOROUGH.

*Kirkdale Division,*Sir George Smyth Baden-Powell
K.C.M.G.*Walton Division,*

James Henry Stock.

Everton Division,

John Archibald Willox.

West Derby Division,

Walter Hume Long.

Scotland Division,

Thomas Power O'Connor.

Exchange Division,

Ralph Neville.

Abercromby Division,

William Frederick Lawrence.

East Toxteth Division,

Rt. Hon. Baron Henry de Worms.

West Toxteth Division,

R. P. Houston.

MANCHESTER BOROUGH.

North-West Division,

Sir William Henry Houldsworth, bt.

North Division,

Charles Ernest Schwann.

*North-East Division,*Right Hon. Sir James Fergusson, bt.,
G.C.S.I.LANCASTER—*cont.**East Division,*

Right Hon. Arthur James Balfour.

South Division,

Sir Henry Enfield Roscoe, kt.

South-West Division,

Jacob Bright.

OLDHAM BOROUGH.

Joshua Milne Cheetham,

Rt. Hon. John Tomlinson Hibbert.

PRESTON BOROUGH.

Robert William Hanbury,

William Edward Murray Tomlinson.

ROCHDALE BOROUGH.

Thomas Bayley Potter.

SALFORD BOROUGH.

North Division,

William H. Holland.

West Division,

Lees Knowles.

South Division,

Sir Henry Hoyle Howorth.

ST. HELENS BOROUGH.

Henry Seton-Karr.

STALYBRIDGE BOROUGH.

Tom Harrop Sidebottom.

WARRINGTON BOROUGH.

Robert Pierpoint.

WIGAN BOROUGH.

Sir Francis Sharp Powell, bt.

LEICESTER.

EASTERN, or MELTON DIVISION,

Marquess of Granby.

MID, or LOUGHBOROUGH DIVISION,

Jabez Edward Johnson-Ferguson.

WESTERN, or BOSWORTH DIVISION,

Charles Benjamin Bright McLaren.

SOUTHERN, or HARBOROUGH DIVISION,

John William Logan.

LEICESTER BOROUGH.

James Allanson Picton,

Sir James Whitehead, bt.

LINCOLN.

WEST LINDSEY, or GAINSBORO'
DIVISION,

Joseph Bennett.

NORTH LINDSEY, or BRIGG DIVISION,
Samuel Danks Waddy.

EAST LINDSEY, or LOUTH DIVISION,
Robert William Perks.

SOUTH LINDSEY, or HORNCASTLE
DIVISION,
Right Hon. Edward Stanhope.

NORTH KESTEVEN, or SLEAFORD
DIVISION,
Right Hon. Henry Chaplin.

SOUTH KESTEVEN, or STAMFORD
DIVISION,
Henry John Cokayne Cust.

HOLLAND, or SPALDING DIVISION,
Halley Stewart.

BOSTON BOROUGH.
William James Ingram.

GRANTHAM BOROUGH.
Henry Yarde Buller Lopes.

GREAT GRIMSBY BOROUGH.
Henri Josse.

LINCOLN BOROUGH.
William Crosfield.

MIDDLESEX.

ENFIELD DIVISION,
Captain Henry Ferryman Bowles.

TOTTENHAM DIVISION,
Joseph Howard.

HORNSEY DIVISION,
Henry Charles Stephens.

HARROW DIVISION,
William Ambrose.

EALING DIVISION,
Rt. Hon. Lord George Francis Hamilton.

BRENTFORD DIVISION,
James Bigwood.

UXBRIDGE DIVISION,
Frederick Dixon Dixon-Hartland.

MIDDLESEX—*cont.*

BETHNAL GREEN BOROUGH
North-East Division,
George Howell.

South-West Division,
Edward Hare Pickersgill.

CHELSEA BOROUGH.
Charles Algernon Whitmore.

FINSBURY BOROUGH.
Holborn Division,
Sir Charles Hall.

Central Division,
Dadabhai Naoroji.

East Division,
James Rowlands.

FULHAM BOROUGH.
William Hayes Fisher.

HACKNEY BOROUGH.
North Division,
William Robert Bousfield.

Central Division,
Sir Andrew Richard Scoble, K.C.S.I.

South Division,
Sir Charles Russell, kt.

HAMMERSMITH BOROUGH.
Major-General Walter Tuckfield Golda-
worthy.

HAMPSTEAD BOROUGH.
Edward Brodie Hoare.

ISLINGTON BOROUGH.
North Division,
George Christopher Trout Bartley.

West Division,
Thomas Lough.

East Division,
Benjamin Louis Cohen.

South Division,
Sir Albert Kaye Rollit, kt.

KENSINGTON BOROUGH.
North Division,
Frederick Charwood Frye.

List of

{COMMONS, 1893}

Members.

MIDDLESEX—Kensington Boro'—*cont.*

South Division,

Sir Algernon Borthwick, *bt.*

LONDON UNIVERSITY.

Rt. Hon. Sir John Lubbock, *bt.*

MARTLEBONE BOROUGH.

East Division,

Edmund Bonhois.

West Division,

Sir Frederick Senger Hunt, *bt.*

PALLINGTON BOROUGH.

North Division,

John Ald.

South Division,

Rt. Hon. Lord Randolph Henry Spencer
Crichton.

ST. GEORGE'S, HANOVER SQUARE.

Right Hon. George Joachim Goechen.

ST. PASCAS BOROUGH.

North Division,

Thomas Henry Bolton.

East Division,

Robert Grant Webster.

West Division,

Henry Robert Graham.

South Division,

Sir Julius Groland, *bt.*

SHOREDITCH BOROUGH.

Eastern Division,

James Stuart.

Haggerston Division,

William Randal Cremer.

STRAND BOROUGH.

Hon. William Frederick Danvers Smith.

TOWER HAMLETS BOROUGH.

Whitechapel Division,

Samuel Montagu.

St. George's Division,

John Williams Benn.

Lancashire Division,

John Stewart Wallace.

Mile End Division,

Spencer Chatterton.

MIDDLESEX—Tower Hamlets Boro'—
cont.

Stepney Division,

Frederick Wootton Isaacson.

Beau and Bromley Division,

John Archibald Murray Macdonald.

Poplar Division,

Sydney Charles Buxton.

WESTMINSTER BOROUGH.

William Lehmann Ashmead-Bartlett
Bartlett-Courtis.

LONDON CITY.

Sir Reginald Hanson, *bt.*

Alban George Henry Gibbs.

MONMOUTH.

NORTHERN DIVISION,

Captain Thomas Phillips Price.

WESTERN DIVISION,

Cornelius Marshall Warmington.

SOUTHERN DIVISION,

Col. Hon. Frederick Courtenay Morgan.

MONMOUTH BOROUGH.

Albert Spicer.

NORFOLK.

NORTH-WESTERN DIVISION,

Joseph Arch.

SOUTH-WESTERN DIVISION,

Thomas Leigh Hare.

NORTHERN DIVISION,

Herbert Hardy Corcoran-Hardy.

EASTERN DIVISION,

Robert John Price.

MID DIVISION,

Clement Higgins.

SOUTHERN DIVISION,

Francis Taylor.

GREAT YARMOUTH BOROUGH.

James Marshall Mowson.

KING'S LYNN BOROUGH.

Thomas Gibson Bowles.

NORWICH BOROUGH.

Samuel Hoare.

Jeremiah James Colman.

List of

{COMMONS, 1893}

*Members.***NORTHAMPTON.**

NORTHERN DIVISION,
Rt. Hon. Lord Burghley.

EASTERN DIVISION,
Francis Allston Channing.

MID DIVISION,
Hon. Charles Robert Spencer.

SOUTHERN DIVISION,
David C. Guthrie.

NORTHAMPTON BOROUGH.
Henry Labouchere,
Moses Philip Manfield.

PETERBOROUGH BOROUGH.
Alpheus Cleophas Morton.

NORTHUMBERLAND.

WANSBECK DIVISION,
Charles Fenwick.

TYNESIDE DIVISION,
Joseph Albert Pease.

HEXHAM DIVISION,
Nathaniel George Clayton. (Election
void.)

BERWICK-UPON-TWEED DIVISION,
Sir Edward Grey, bt.

MORPETH BOROUGH.
Thomas Burt.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE BOROUGH.
Charles Frederick Hamond,
Right Hon. John Morley.

TYNEMOUTH BOROUGH.
Richard Sim Donkin.

NOTTINGHAM.

BASSETLAW DIVISION,
Sir Frederick George Milner, bt.

NEWARK DIVISION,
Viscount Newark.

RUSHCLIFFE DIVISION,
John Edward Ellis.

MANSFIELD DIVISION,
John Carvell Williams.

NOTTINGHAM BOROUGH.
West Division,
Colonel Charles Seely.

East Division,
Arnold Morley.

South Division,
Henry Smith Wright.

OXFORD.

NORTHERN, or BANBURY DIVISION,
Sir Bernard Samuelson, bt.

MID, or WOODSTOCK DIVISION,
Godfrey Rathbone Benson.

SOUTHERN, or HENLEY DIVISION,
Hon. Francis Parker.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY.
Rt. Hon. Sir John Robert Mowbray,
bt., D.C.L.

John Gilbert Talbot, D.C.L.

OXFORD BOROUGH.
Lieut.-General Sir George T. Chesney,
K.C.B., C.S.I., C.I.E., R.E.

RUTLAND.
George Henry Finch.

SALOP.

WESTERN, or OSWESTRY DIVISION,
Stanley Leighton.

NORTHERN, or NEWPORT DIVISION,
Col. William Slaney Kenyon-Slaney.

MID, or WELLINGTON DIVISION,
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SOUTHERN, or LUDLOW DIVISION,
Robert Jasper More.

SHREWSBURY BOROUGH.
Henry David Greene.

SOMERSET.

NORTHERN DIVISION,
Thomas Courtenay T. Warner.

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FROME DIVISION,
John Emmett Barlow.

EASTERN DIVISION,
Henry Hobhouse.

SOUTHERN DIVISION,
Edward Strachey.

BRIDGEWATER DIVISION,
Edward James Stanley.

WESTERN, or WELLINGTON DIVISION,
Capt. Sir A. F. Acland-Hood.

SOMERSET—*cont.*

BATH BOROUGH.

Colonel Charles Wyndham Murray,
Edmond Robert Wodehouse.

TAUNTON BOROUGH.

Hon. Alfred Percy Allsopp.

STAFFORD.

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Charles Bill.

BURTON DIVISION,

Sydney Evershed.

WESTERN DIVISION,

Hamar Alfred Bass.

NORTH-WESTERN DIVISION,

James Heath.

LICHFIELD DIVISION,

Major Leonard Darwin.

KINGSWINFORD DIVISION,

Alexander Staveley Hill.

HANDSWORTH DIVISION,

Sir Henry Meysey Meysey-Thompson,
bt.

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William Woodall.

NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LYME BOROUGH.

William S. Allen.

STAFFORD BOROUGH.

Charles Edward Shaw.

STOKE-UPON-TRENT BOROUGH.

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WALSALL BOROUGH.

Frank James.

WEDNESBURY BOROUGH.

Wilson Lloyd.

WEST BROMWICH BOROUGH.

James Ernest Spencer.

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Sir Alfred Hickman.

East Division,

Rt. Hon. Henry Hartley Fowler.

South Division,

Rt. Hon. Charles Pelham Villiers.

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NORTHERN, or LOWESTOFT DIVISION,
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DIVISION,
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SOUTH-EASTERN, or WOODBRIDGE
DIVISION,
Robert Lacy Everett.

BURY ST. EDMUNDS BOROUGH.
Viscount Chelsea.

IPSWICH BOROUGH.

Sir Charles Dalrymple, bt.,
Lord Elcho.

SURREY.

NORTH-WESTERN, or CHERTSEY
DIVISION,
Charles Harvey Combe.

SOUTH-WESTERN, or GUILDFORD
DIVISION,
Hon. William St. John Fremantle
Brodrick.

SOUTH-EASTERN, or REIGATE DIVISION,
Henry Cubitt.

MID, or EPSOM DIVISION,
Thomas Townsend Bucknell.

KINGSTON DIVISION,
Sir Richard Temple, bt., G.C.S.I.

NORTH-EASTERN, or WIMBLEDON
DIVISION,
Henry Cosmo Orme Bonsor.

BATTERSEA AND CLAPHAM BOROUGH.

Battersea Division,
John Burns.

Clapham Division,
Percy M. Thornton.

CAMBERWELL BOROUGH.
North Division,
Edward Hodson Bayley.

SURREY—cont.

Peckham Division,
Frederick George Banbury.

Dulwich Division,
John Blundell Maple.

CROYDON BOROUGH.
Hon. Sidney Herbert.

LAMBETH BOROUGH.
North Division,
Francis Moses Coldwells.

Kennington Division,
Mark Hanbury Beaufoy.

Brixton Division,
Marquess of Carmarthen.

Norwood Division,
Charles Ernest Tritton.

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West Division,
Captain Cecil William Norton.

Walworth Division,
William Saunders.

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West Division,
Richard Knight Causton.

Rotherhithe Division,
John Cumming Macdona.

Bermondsey Division,
Reubon V. Barrow.

WANDSWORTH BOROUGH.
Henry Kimber.

SUSSEX.

NORTH-WESTERN, or HORSHAM DIVISION,
Right Hon. Sir Walter Barttelot Barttelot,
bt., C.B. (Since deceased.)

**SOUTH-WESTERN, or CHICHESTER
DIVISION,**
Rt. Hon. Lord Walter C. Gordon Lennox.

NORTHERN, or EASTGRINSTEAD DIVISION,
Hon. Alfred Erskine Gathorne-Hardy.

SUSSEX—cont.

MID, or LEWES DIVISION,
Sir Henry Fletcher, bt.

SOUTHERN, or EASTBOURNE DIVISION,
Admiral Edward Field.

EASTERN, or RYE DIVISION,
Arthur Montagu Brookfield.

BRIGHTON BOROUGH.
Gerald Walter Erskine Loder,
Rt. Hon. Sir William Thackeray Mar-
riott, kt.

HASTINGS BOROUGH.
Wilson Noble.

WARWICK.

NORTHERN, or TAMWORTH DIVISION,
Philip Albert Muntz.

**NORTH-EASTERN, or NUNEATON DIVI-
SION,**
Francis Alexander Newdigate.

**SOUTH-WESTERN, or STRATFORD-ON-
AVON DIVISION,**
Algernon Bertram Freeman-Mitford.

SOUTH-EASTERN, or RUGBY DIVISION,
Henry Peyton Cobb.

ASTON MANOR BOROUGH.
Captain George William Grice-Hutchin-
son.

BIRMINGHAM BOROUGH.
Edgbaston Division,
George Dixon.

West Division,
Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain.

Central Division,
John Albert Bright.

North Division,
William Kenrick.

East Division,
Right Hon. Henry Matthews,

Bordesley Division,
Jesse Collings.

South Division,
Joseph Powell-Williams.

WARWICK—cont.**COVENTRY BOROUGH.**

William Henry Walter Ballantine.

WARWICK & LEAMINGTON BOROUGH.

Rt. Hon. Arthur Wellesley Peel.

WESTMORELAND.

NORTHERN, or APPLEBY DIVISION,
Sir Joseph Savory, bt.

SOUTHERN, or KENDAL DIVISION,
Captain Josceline FitzRoy Bagot.

WILTS.

NORTHERN, or CRICKLADE DIVISION,
John Husband.

**NORTH-WESTERN, or CHIPPENHAM
DIVISION,**
Sir John Poynder Dickson-Poynder, bt.

WESTERN, or WESTBURY DIVISION,
George Pargiter Fuller.

EASTERN, or DEVIZES DIVISION,
Charles Edward Henry Hobhouse.

SOUTHERN, or WILTON DIVISION,
Viscount Folkestone.

SALISBURY BOROUGH.
Edward Henry Hulsee.

WORCESTER.

WESTERN, or BEWDLEY DIVISION,
Alfred Baldwin.

SOUTHERN, or EVESHAM DIVISION,
Sir Edmund Anthony Harley Lech-
mere, bt.

MID, or DROITWICH DIVISION,
Richard Biddulph Martin.

NORTHERN, or OLDBURY DIVISION,
Benjamin Hingley.

EASTERN DIVISION,
J. Austen Chamberlain.

DUDLEY BOROUGH.
Brooke Robinson.

KIDDERMINSTER BOROUGH.
Augustus Frederick Godson.

WORCESTER BOROUGH.
Hon. George Higginson Allsopp.

YORK.**North Riding.**

THIRSK AND MALTON DIVISION,
John Grant Lawson.

RICHMOND DIVISION,
George William Elliot.

CLEVELAND DIVISION,
Henry Fell Pease.

WHITBY DIVISION,
Ernest William Beckett.

East Riding.

HOLDERNESS DIVISION,
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BUCKROSE DIVISION,
Angus Holden.

HOWDENSHERE DIVISION,
Colonel William H. Wilson-Todd.

West Riding, Northern Part.
SKIPTON DIVISION,
Charles Savile Roundell.

KEIGHLEY DIVISION,
Isaac Holden.

SHIPLEY DIVISION,
William Pollard Byles.

SOWERBY DIVISION,
Right Hon. John William Mellor.

ELLAND DIVISION,
Thomas Wayman.

West Riding, Southern Part.
MORLEY DIVISION,
Alfred Eddison Hutton.

NORMANTON DIVISION,
Benjamin Pickard.

COLNE VALLEY DIVISION,
Sir James B. Kitson, bt.

HOLMFIRTH DIVISION,
Henry Joseph Wilson.

BARNESLEY DIVISION,
Earl Compton.

HALLAMSHIRE DIVISION,
Sir Frederick Thorpe Mappin, bt.

YORK—*cont.*

ROTHERHAM DIVISION,
Arthur Herbert Dyke Acland.

DONCASTER DIVISION,
Charles James Fleming.

West Riding, Eastern Part.

RIPON DIVISION,
John Lloyd Wharton.

OTLEY DIVISION,
John Barran.

BARKSTON ASH DIVISION,
Colonel Robert Gunter.

OSGOLDCROSS DIVISION.
John Austin.

PUDSEY DIVISION,
Briggs Priestley.

SPEN VALLEY DIVISION,
Thomas Palmer Whittaker.

BRADFORD BOROUGH.

West Division.
Alfred Illingworth.

Central Division,
Right Hon. John George Shaw Lefevre.

East Division,
William Sproston Caine.

DEWSBURY BOROUGH.
Mark Oldroyd.

HALIFAX BOROUGH.
Thomas Shaw.

Rt. Hon. James Stansfeld.

HUDDERSFIELD BOROUGH.
William Summers. (Since deceased.)

KINGSTON-UPON-HULL BOROUGH.

East Division,
Clarence Smith.

Central Division,
Henry Seymour King.

West Division,
Charles Henry Wilson.

LEEDS BOROUGH.

North Division,
Right Hon. William Lawies Jackson.

YORK—*cont.*

Central Division,
Gerald William Balfour.

East Division,
John Lawrence Gane.

West Division,
Herbert John Gladstone.

South Division,
John Lawson Walton.

MIDDLESBROUGH BOROUGH.
Joseph Havelock Wilson.

PONTEFRACT BOROUGH.
Hon. Rowland Winn.

SCARBOROUGH BOROUGH.
Sir George Reresby Sitwell, bt.

SHEFFIELD BOROUGH.
Attercliffe Division,
Hon. Bernard John Seymour Coleridge.

Brightside Division,
Rt. Hon. Anthony John Mundella.

Central Division,
Colonel Charles Edward Howard Vincent, C.B.

Hallam Division,
Charles Beilby Stuart-Wortley.

Ecclesall Division,
Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett.

WAKEFIELD BOROUGH.
Col. Albany H. Charlesworth.

YORK BOROUGH.
John George Butcher,
Frank Lockwood.

WALES.**ANGLESEY.**

Thomas P. Lewis.

BRECKNOCK.

William Fuller Maitland.

CARDIGAN.

William Bowen Rowlands.

*List of***{COMMONS, 1893}***Members.***CARMARTHEN.***EASTERN DIVISION,**Alfred Thomas.**WESTERN DIVISION,**John Lloyd Morgan.***CARMARTHEN BOROUGH.***Major Evan Rowland Jones.***CARNARVON.***NORTHERN, or ERYON DIVISION,**John Bryn Roberts.**NORTHERN, or ARFON DIVISION,**William Rathbone.***CARNARVON BOROUGH.***David Lloyd-George.***DENBIGH.***EASTERN DIVISION,**Right Hon. George Osborne Morgan.**WESTERN DIVISION,**John Herbert Roberts.***DENBIGH BOROUGH.***Hon. George Thomas Kenyon.***FLINT.***Namuel Smith.***FLINT BOROUGH.***John Herbert Lewis.***GLAMORGAN.***EASTERN DIVISION,**Alfred Thomas.**RHONDDA DIVISION,**William Abraham.**WESTERN, or GOWER DIVISION,**David Daniel Randall.**MID DIVISION,**Samuel Thomas Evans.**SOUTHERN DIVISION,**Arthur John Williams.***CARLISLE BOROUGH.***Sir Edward James Reed, K.C.B.***MERTHYR TYDFIL BOROUGH.***David Alfred Thomas.**William Richard Morgan.***SWANSEA BOROUGH.***Swansea, Town,**Robert John Dickson Burnie.**Swansea, District,**Sir Henry Hussey Vivian, bt.***MERIONETH.***Thomas Edward Ellis.***MONTGOMERY.***Stuart Rendel.***MONTGOMERY BOROUGH.***Sir Pryce Pryce-Jones.***PEMBROKE.***William Rees Morgan Davies.***PEMBROKE AND HAVERFORDWEST BOROUGH.***Charles Francis Egerton Allen.***RADNOR.***Frank Edwards.***SCOTLAND.****ABERDEEN.***EASTERN DIVISION,**Thomas Ryburn Buchanan.**WESTERN DIVISION,**Robert Farquharson, M.D.***ABERDEEN BURGH.***North Division,**William Alexander Hunter.**South Division,**James Bryce.***ARGYLL.***Donald Horne Macfarlane.***AYR.***NORTHERN DIVISION,**Hon. Thomas Horatio Arthur Ernest
Cochrane.**SOUTHERN DIVISION,**Eugene Watson.***AYR DISTRICT OF BURGHS.***William Birkenhead.***KILMARNOCK DISTRICT OF BURGHS.***Stephen Williamson.*

List of

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*Members.***BANFF.**

Robert William Duff.

BERWICK.

Right Hon. Edward Marjoribanks.

BUTE.

Andrew Graham Murray.

CAITHNESS.

Gavin Brown Clark, M.D.

WICK DISTRICT OF BURGHS.

Sir John Pender.

CLACKMANNAN AND KINROSS.

Rt. Hon. John Blair Balfour.

DUMBARTON.

Captain John Sinclair.

DUMFRIES.

William Jardine Maxwell.

DUMFRIES DISTRICT OF BURGHS.

Robert Threshie Reid.

EDINBURGH (MID-LOTHIAN).

Rt. Hon. William Ewart Gladstone.

EDINBURGH BURGH.*East Division,*

Robert Wallace.

West Division,

Viscount Wolmer.

Central Division,

William McEwan.

South Division,

Herbert Woodfield Paul.

EDINBURGH AND ST. ANDREWS UNIVERSITIES.

Rt. Hon. Sir John Charles Pearson, kt.

LEITH DISTRICT OF BURGHS.

Ronald Crawford Munro Ferguson.

ELGIN AND NAIRN.

John Seymour Keay.

ELGIN DISTRICT OF BURGHS.

Alexander Asher.

FIFE.**EASTERN DIVISION,**

Herbert Henry Asquith.

WESTERN DIVISION,

Augustine Birrell.

KIRKCALDY DISTRICT OF BURGHS.

James Henry Dalziel.

ST. ANDREWS DISTRICT OF BURGHS.

Henry Torrens Anstruther.

FORFAR.

John Rigby.

DUNDEE BURGH.

John Leng,

Edmund Robertson.

MONTROSE DISTRICT OF BURGHS.

John Shiress Will.

HADDINGTON.

Richard Burdon Haldane.

INVERNESS.

Donald Macgregor, M.D.

INVERNESS DISTRICT OF BURGHS.

Gilbert Beith.

KINCARDINE.

John William Crombie.

KIRKCUDBRIGHT.

Mark John Stewart.

LANARK.**GOVAN DIVISION,**

John Wilson.

PARTICK DIVISION,

James Parker Smith.

NORTH-WESTERN DIVISION,

Graeme Alexander Whitelaw.

NORTH-EASTERN DIVISION,

Donald Crawford.

MID DIVISION,

John Wynford Philipps.

SOUTHERN DIVISION,

James Henry Cecil Hozier.

List of

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Members.

LANARK—*cont.*

GLASGOW BOROUGH.

Bridgeton Division,

Rt. Hon. Sir George Otto Trevelyan, bt.

Camlachie Division,

Alexander Cross.

St. Rollox Division,

Sir James M. Carmichael, bt.

Central Division,

John George Alexander Baird.

College Division,

Charles Cameron, M.D., LL.D.

Tradeston Division,

Archibald Cameron Corbett.

Blackfriars and Hutchesontown Division,

Andrew Dryburgh Provand.

GLASGOW AND ABERDEEN
UNIVERSITIES.

James Alexander Campbell, LL.D.

LINLITHGOW.

Peter McLagan.

ORKNEY AND SHETLAND.

Leonard Lyall.

PEEBLES AND SELKIRK.

Walter Thorburn.

PERTH.

EASTERN DIVISION,

Sir John George Smyth Kinloch, bt.

WESTERN DIVISION,

Sir Donald Currie, K.G.M.G.

PERTH BURGH.

William Whitelaw.

RENFREW.

EASTERN DIVISION,

Michael Hugh Shaw-Stewart.

WESTERN DIVISION,

Charles Bine Renshaw.

GREENOCK BURGH.

Sir Thomas Sutherland, K.C.M.G.

PAISLEY BURGH.

William Dunn.

ROSS AND CROMARTY.

John Galloway Weir.

ROXBURGH.

Hon. Mark Francis Napier.

HAWICK DISTRICT OF BURGHS.

Thomas Shaw.

STIRLING.

William Jacks.

FALKIRK DISTRICT OF BURGHS.

Harry Smith.

STIRLING DISTRICT OF BURGHS.

Right Hon. Henry Campbell-Bannerman.

SUTHERLAND.

Angus Sutherland.

WIGTON.

Sir Herbert Eustace Maxwell, bt.

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ANTRIM.

NORTH ANTRIM DIVISION,

Charles Cunningham Connor.

MID ANTRIM DIVISION,

Hon. Robert Torrens O'Neill.

EAST ANTRIM DIVISION,

Captain James Martin M'Calmont.

SOUTH ANTRIM DIVISION,

William Grey Ellison Macartney.

BELFAST BOROUGH.

North Belfast Division,

Sir Edward James Harland, bt.

East Belfast Division,

Gustav Wilhelm Wolff.

South Belfast Division,

William Johnston.

West Belfast Division,

Hugh O. Arnold-Forster.

List of

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Members.

ARMAGH.

NORTH ARMAGH DIVISION,
Colonel Edward James Saunderson.

MID ARMAGH DIVISION,
Dunbar Plunket Barton.

SOUTH ARMAGH DIVISION,
E. McHugh.

CARLOW.

John Hammond.

CAVAN.

WEST CAVAN DIVISION,
Edmund Francis Vesey Knox.

EAST CAVAN DIVISION,
Samuel Young.

CLARE.

EAST CLARE DIVISION,
William Hoey Kearney Redmond.

WEST CLARE DIVISION,
J. Rochfort Maguire.

CORK.

NORTH CORK DIVISION,
James Christopher Flynn.

NORTH-EAST CORK DIVISION,
William O'Brien.

MID CORK DIVISION,
Charles Kearns Deane Tanner, M.D.

EAST CORK DIVISION,
Captain A. J. C. Donelan.

WEST CORK DIVISION,
James Gilhooly.

SOUTH CORK DIVISION,
Edward Barry.

SOUTH-EAST CORK DIVISION,
John Morrogh.

CORK CITY.

William O'Brien,
Maurice Healy.

DONEGAL.

NORTH DONEGAL DIVISION,
John Mains.

WEST DONEGAL DIVISION,
Timothy Daniel Sullivan.

EAST DONEGAL DIVISION,
Arthur O'Connor.

SOUTH DONEGAL DIVISION,
John Gordon Swift Mac Neill.

DOWN.

NORTH DOWN DIVISION,
Colonel Thomas Waring.

EAST DOWN DIVISION,
James Alexander Rentoul, LL.D.

WEST DOWN DIVISION,
Right Hon. Lord Arthur W. Hill.

SOUTH DOWN DIVISION,
Michael McCartan.

NEWRY BOROUGH.
Patrick George Hamilton Carvill.

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NORTH DUBLIN DIVISION,
John Joseph Clancy, M.A.

SOUTH DUBLIN DIVISION,
Hon. Horace C. Plunkett.

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College Green Division,
Dr. Joseph E. Kenny.

Harbour Division,
Timothy Charles Harrington.

St. Stephen's Green Division,
William Kenny.

St. Patrick's Division,
William Field.

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Rt. Hon. David Robert Plunket, LL.D.,
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FERMANAGH.

NORTH FERMANAGH DIVISION,
Richard Martin Dane.

SOUTH FERMANAGH DIVISION,
P. Magilligan.

List of

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*Members.***GALWAY.**

CONNEMARA DIVISION,
Patrick James Foley.

NORTH GALWAY DIVISION,
Colonel John Philip Nolan.

EAST GALWAY DIVISION,
John Roche.

SOUTH GALWAY DIVISION,
David Sheehy.

GALWAY TOWN.
John Pinkerton.

KERRY.

NORTH KERRY DIVISION,
Thomas Sexton.

WEST KERRY DIVISION,
Sir Thomas Henry Grattan Esmonde, bt.

SOUTH KERRY DIVISION,
Denis Kilbride.

EAST KERRY DIVISION,
Jeremiah Daniel Sheehan.

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NORTH KILDARE DIVISION,
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SOUTH KILDARE DIVISION,
Matthew J. Minch.

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NORTH KILKENNY DIVISION,
Patrick McDermott.

SOUTH KILKENNY DIVISION,
Patrick Alexander Chance.

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Thomas B. Curran.

KING'S COUNTY.

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Bernard Charles Molloy.

TULLAMORE DIVISION,
Dr. Joseph Francis Fox.

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SOUTH LEITRIM DIVISION,
Jasper Tully.

LIMERICK.

WEST LIMERICK DIVISION,
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EAST LIMERICK DIVISION,
John Finucane.

LIMERICK CITY.

Francis Arthur O'Keeffe.

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SOUTH DERRY DIVISION,
Thomas Lea.

LONDONDERRY CITY.
John Ross.

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SOUTH LONGFORD DIVISION,
Edward Blake.

LOUTH.

NORTH LOUTH DIVISION,
Timothy Michael Healy.

SOUTH LOUTH DIVISION,
Daniel Ambrose, M.D.

MAYO.

NORTH MAYO DIVISION,
Daniel Crilly.

WEST MAYO DIVISION,
John Deasy.

EAST MAYO DIVISION,
John Dillon.

SOUTH MAYO DIVISION,
James Francis Xavier O'Brien.

MEATH.

NORTH MEATH DIVISION,
Michael Davitt.

SOUTH MEATH DIVISION,
Patrick Fullam. (Election void.)

List of

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*Members.***MONAGHAN.**

NORTH MONAGHAN DIVISION,
Charles Diamond.

SOUTH MONAGHAN DIVISION,
Florence O'Driscoll.

QUEEN'S COUNTY.

OSSORY DIVISION,
Eugene Crean.

LEIX DIVISION,
Mark Antony MacDonnell, M.D.

ROSCOMMON.

NORTH ROSCOMMON DIVISION,
Matthias McDonnell Bodkin.

SOUTH ROSCOMMON DIVISION,
Luke Patrick Hayden.

SLIGO.

NORTH SLIGO DIVISION,
Bernard Coltery.

SOUTH SLIGO DIVISION,
Thomas Curran.

TIPPERARY.

NORTH TIPPERARY DIVISION,
Patrick Joseph O'Brien.

MID TIPPERARY DIVISION,
John W. McCarthy.

SOUTH TIPPERARY DIVISION,
Francis Mandeville.

EAST TIPPERARY DIVISION,
Thomas Joseph Condon.

TYRONE.

NORTH TYRONE DIVISION,
Lord Frederick Spencer Hamilton.

TYRONE—cont.

MID TYRONE DIVISION,
Matthew Joseph Kenny.

EAST TYRONE DIVISION,
William James Reynolds.

SOUTH TYRONE DIVISION,
Thomas Wallace Russell.

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WEST WATERFORD DIVISION,
Alfred Webb.

EAST WATERFORD DIVISION,
Patrick Joseph Power.

WATERFORD CITY.
John Edward Redmond.

WESTMEATH.

NORTH WESTMEATH DIVISION,
James Tuite.

SOUTH WESTMEATH DIVISION,
Donal Sullivan.

WEXFORD.

NORTH WEXFORD DIVISION,
Thomas J. Healy.

SOUTH WEXFORD DIVISION,
John Barry.

WICKLOW.

WEST WICKLOW DIVISION,
James O'Connor.

EAST WICKLOW DIVISION,
John Sweetman.

THE
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES
(Authorised Edition)

IN THE
SECOND SESSION OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH PARLIAMENT OF
THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
APPOINTED TO MEET 4 AUGUST 1892, IN THE FIFTY-SIXTH YEAR OF
THE REIGN OF
HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA.

FIRST VOLUME OF SESSION 1893.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 31st January, 1893.

THE PARLIAMENT, which had been prorogued successively from Thursday, the 18th day of August 1892, to Friday, the 4th day of November next, thence to Tuesday, the 13th day of December, and thence to Tuesday, the 31st day of January 1893, met this day for the despatch of business.

The Session was opened by Commission.

The House of PEERS being met,

THE LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House,

"That Her Majesty, not thinking it fit to be present here this day, has been pleased to cause a Commission to be issued under the Great Seal, in order to the opening and holding of this Parliament."

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Then Five of the LORDS COMMISSIONERS — namely, The Lord Chancellor, The Earl Spencer, The Earl of Kimberley, The Marquess of Breadalbane, and Lord Carrington — being in their robes, and seated on a form placed between the Throne and the Woolsack — commanded the Yeoman Usher of the Black Rod to let the Commons know,

"The Lords Commissioners desire their immediate attendance in this House to hear the Commission read."

Who being at the Bar, with their Speaker :—

The Commission was read by the Clerk :—Then

THE QUEEN'S SPEECH.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR delivered HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH to both Houses of Parliament, as follows :—

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

"I continue to hold friendly and harmonious relations with all foreign Powers.

B

Their declarations in every quarter are favourable to the maintenance of European peace.

In connection with the approaching evacuation of Uganda by the British East Africa Company, I have deemed it expedient to authorise a Commissioner of experience and ability to examine on the spot, with adequate provisions for his safety, into the best means of dealing with the country, and to report to my Government upon the subject.

In view of recent occurrences in Egypt, I have determined on making a slight augmentation in the number of British troops there stationed. This measure does not indicate any change of policy, or any modification of the assurances which my Government have given from time to time respecting the occupation of that country.

The Khedive has declared, in terms satisfactory to me, his intention to follow henceforward the established practice of previous consultation with my Government in political affairs, and his desire to act in cordial co-operation with it.

In relation both to Egypt and Uganda, papers in continuation of those heretofore presented will at once be laid before you.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

The Estimates of Charge necessary for the Public Service in the coming financial year have been framed, and will be laid before you at an early date.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

I have observed with concern a wide prevalence of agricultural distress in many parts of the country. It is to be hoped that, among the causes of the present depression, some may be temporary in their nature. But I do not doubt that you will take this grave matter into your consideration, and make it a subject of careful inquiry.

The Proclamations recently in force, which placed Ireland under exceptional provisions of law, have been revoked; and I have the satisfaction of informing you that the condition of that country

with respect to agrarian crime continues to improve.

A Bill will be submitted to you, on the earliest available occasion, to amend the provision for the Government of Ireland. It has been prepared with the desire to afford contentment to the Irish people, important relief to Parliament, and additional securities for the strength and union of the Empire.

Bills will be promptly laid before you for the amendment of the system of registration in Great Britain; for shortening the duration of Parliaments; and for establishing the equality of the franchise by the limitation of each elector to a single vote.

There will also be proposed to you various Bills bearing on the condition of labour, among which are measures in relation to the liability of employers, the hours of labour for railway servants, and a Bill to amend the Law of Conspiracy.

Your attention will likewise be invited to measures for the further improvement of Local Government, including the creation of Parish Councils; for the enlargement of the powers of the London County Council; for the prevention of the growth of new vested interests in the Ecclesiastical Establishments in Scotland and in Wales; and for direct local control over the liquor traffic; together with other measures of public utility.

I humbly commend your labours upon these and upon all other subjects to the guidance of Almighty God."

Then the Commons withdrew.

House adjourned during pleasure.

House resumed.

PRAYERS.

ROLL OF THE LORDS.

Garter King of Arms attending, delivered at the Table (in the usual manner) a List of the Lords Temporal in the Second Session of the Twenty-fifth Parliament of the United Kingdom: The same was ordered to lie on the Table.

Several Lords—Took the Oath.

NEW PEERS.

The Earl of Zetland, having been created Earl of Ronaldshay in the county of Orkney and Zetland, and Marquess of Zetland—Was (in the usual manner) introduced.

The Viscount Cranbrook, having been created Baron Medway of Hemsted in the county of Kent, and Earl of Craubrook in the said county—Was (in the usual manner) introduced.

The Lord Willoughby de Eresby, having been created Earl of Ancaster in the county of Lincoln—Was (in the usual manner) introduced.

The Right Honourable George Cubitt, having been created Baron Ashcombe of Dorking in the county of Surrey, and of Bodiam Castle in the county of Sussex—Was (in the usual manner) introduced.

Sir Thomas Brooks, Baronet, having been created Baron Crawshaw of Crawshaw in the county palatine of Lancaster, and of Whatton in the county of Leicester—Was (in the usual manner) introduced.

William Amhurst Tyssen Amherst, of Amherst in the county of Kent, Diddlington Hall in the county of Norfolk, and of Hackney in the county of London, Esquire, having been created Baron Amherst of Hackney in the county of London—Was (in the usual manner) introduced.

John Allan Rolls, Esquire, having been created Baron Llangattock of the Hendre in the county of Monmouth—Was (in the usual manner) introduced.

The Right Honourable Sir John Lyon Playfair, K.C.B., having been created Baron Playfair of Saint Andrews in the county of Fife—Was (in the usual manner) introduced.

Cyril Flower, Esquire, having been created Baron Battersea of Battersea in the county of London, and Overstrand in the county of Norfolk—Was (in the usual manner) introduced.

Several Lords—Took the Oath.

SAT FIRST IN PARLIAMENT.

The Earl of Essex—After the death of his grandfather.

The Earl of Harewood—After the death of his father.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales—Singly took the Oath.

His Royal Highness the Duke of York—Singly took the Oath.

SELECT VESTRIES.

Bill, *pro forma*, read 1^a.

THE QUEEN'S SPEECH.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

The QUEEN'S SPEECH reported by the LORD CHANCELLOR.

LORD BRASSEY (who wore the uniform of an officer of the Royal Naval Reserve) said: My Lords, I rise to move that an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty in reply to the gracious speech from the Throne. The task which has been assigned to me is usually allotted to one of the younger Members of your Lordships' House. It affords an opportunity, and it will be remembered how well that opportunity was used last year. My Lords, I deeply regret that among the independent supporters of Her Majesty's Government in this House I see so few young men coming forward. To express regret is not to lay all the blame and all the responsibility upon those who have left us. Reconciliation is much to be desired not upon the narrow grounds of Party advantage, but in the public interest. We need on both sides of politics, and in both Houses of Parliament, an adequate representation of all orders, all classes, and all interests. And now, my Lords, I turn to the subjects more directly connected with Her Majesty's gracious Speech. The Irish question stands foremost in the scheme of legislative labour proposed for the ensuing Session. The wisdom of Parliament has never yet failed to grapple with any of the tasks which the progress of events has from time to time imposed upon us. Are we now to confess before the whole civilised world that it is impossible to make Ireland at once contented and orderly? Two alternatives are before us: There is the present system which I may de-

scribe as democracy, tempered or qualified by coercion, and there is the alternative of concession within the limits of prudence to the demand of Ireland for local self-government. Local self-government has been tried in many parts of the Empire, and nowhere yet has it failed to give contentment to the people and a sense of responsibility to the rulers. In the hands of so able a statesman as Mr. Balfour, of whose services in maintaining law and order in Ireland a political opponent may speak with acknowledgment, it might not be impossible, by the firm exercise of authority, to secure many of the objects of good government; but if you fail to lessen the burden of the people, how can you reconcile your system with those democratic institutions which you are not prepared to give up even in Ireland? With a free Press, with a full—nay, an excessive representation in Parliament, and with household suffrage, how is it possible to carry on for a long period of years a mode of government against that local opinion and sentiment to which you allow such full and unchecked liberty of expression? It seems to me it is inconsistent with the representative institutions which you have given to Ireland to conduct the Government in total disregard of the opinions of the great majority of the people constitutionally expressed. It was a wise saying of Marcus Aurelius—

“A prudent ruler will not offend the prejudices of his people. He may well wish that they were wiser.”

There have been occasions when the truth of this maxim might have found its application near at hand. My Lords, does not the main objection to any plan of Home Rule lie in a deep-rooted distrust of the political capacities of the Irish people; and may it not be pleaded in their behalf that they have suffered from more misfortunes than have perhaps befallen any people? They have suffered from miserable poverty; they have suffered from much oppression; they have suffered from uncertainty of purpose on the part of their rulers. In the hands of every writer, whether a Froude or a Lecky, a Burke or a Swift, the history of Ireland contains more dark pages than are to be found in the history of any nation within the pale of civilisation. The faults of the Irish people are the faults of a nation which has lived in serfdom. The first stage

of emancipation may be difficult. We are passing through that stage now: let us not despair of the future. My Lords, these are the considerations—they are only some of the considerations—which have induced those sitting in this circumscribed quarter of the House to follow Mr. Gladstone in the adoption of the principle of local self-government for Ireland. Of the statesmanship with which that principle has been applied we shall be in a position to judge when the Bill of the Government has been placed before Parliament. I trust that my right hon. Friend will have prepared a plan which prudent followers may cordially accept, and which even the Opposition may be able to entertain. It would be idle to expect that any plan on a question bristling with difficulties, coming from one side only, can be so perfect as not to be susceptible of improvement by the patriotic labours of the other. My Lords, with a sense of relief I turn to subjects in which happily Party divisions are little felt. The country will learn with satisfaction from the assurances conveyed in Her Majesty's Gracious Speech that we hold friendly relations with all foreign Powers. The able administration of foreign affairs by the noble Marquess opposite (Lord Salisbury) has been acknowledged by both sides. I am not in the confidence of the successor of the noble Marquess; but when my noble Friend was called to the Foreign Office, not only by the Party with which he acts, but by an unanimous public opinion, it was anticipated that he would go there to preserve the continuity of our foreign policy. And what is that policy? We cherish no designs of aggression or annexation. An Empire upon which the sun never sets is vast enough to satisfy the widest and loftiest ambition. The main aim and concern of every foreign Minister of England must be to preserve the links which bind the Mother Country to her sons and daughters in her colonies, and to her noble dependencies in every quarter of the globe. We are bound to keep in view at all times the defence of India, and the defence of our line of communications with the East. In war the safer and surer route to the East must be by the Cape; but our interests in India gave us an interest in Egypt, which eventually, on the refusal of other Powers to act, imposed upon us

Lord Brassey

the responsibility of restoring and maintaining order after the suppression of the rebellion of Arabi. Before retiring from Egypt we are pledged to establish a firm and stable Government in that country. The capacity of Englishmen for such a task has been once more illustrated in the success which has been achieved by Lord Cromer and those acting under his directions. The Government may be congratulated on the results which have followed his prompt action taken to prevent the good work begun in Egypt being undone by hasty and ill-considered changes in the local administration. Passing from foreign policy to colonial affairs, we in the Mother Country are watching with the deepest interest the progress of the great work of Australian federation. We look forward to the completion of the task by the able statesmen engaged in its consideration as tending not to draw us further apart, but to bind us closer together. Pride in the colonies and affection for them are growing sentiments in this country. I will now turn to the paragraphs in the Speech dealing with those social and economic questions on which the public interest is, happily, firmly fixed, and which deeply affect the interests of those whose lot it is to labour. The prevention of conflicts between capital and labour; the relaxation, within the limits of prudence, of the conditions under which the bounty of the State is administered to the poor; age pensions, State colonisation, regulation of the hours of labour, popular control of the liquor traffic, bi-metallism, Protection, Fair Trade, Free Trade within the Empire, with differential duties on foreign importations — those are some, and only some, of the questions which are now being debated. Most of these questions have been, or are now being, considered by Select Committees and Royal Commissions. It is an obvious remark upon all these questions that it would be fatal to the interests of labour to do anything by meddlesome legislation to weaken that spirit of self-reliance which is a characteristic virtue of the British workman; but whenever the State can with advantage interfere, the Government have shown themselves ready to assist in the development of trade and the improvement in the condition of the workers. For the mass of

the population it must be the main concern to obtain good wages and regular work. These are blessings only to be enjoyed when trade is prosperous. Unfortunately, in late years, demand has not kept pace with the extraordinary development in our power of production. The best remedy for congestion in the old markets through over-production is to be found in the opening of new outlets; and in the pioneering stage the Government can render valuable aid. Attention has of late been specially directed to Africa as a new outlet for our enterprise and trade, and an agreement has been authorised by which a subsidy would be given by the Crown to the colony of Bechuanaland in aid of the construction of railways. Sir Gerald Portal has been sent on an arduous mission to Uganda. The action taken by the Government in both these cases will command general approval. It is an appropriate exercise of the functions of the State to see that due regard is paid in all factories and workshops to sanitation and the safety of life. The Employers' Liability Act, which it is proposed to extend during the coming Session, rests on that principle. On the same ground the State may most properly interfere, as it is proposed to do in one of the Bills mentioned in the Speech, to limit the hours of duty of railway servants. Much evidence has been given before the Royal Commission on Labour with reference to the insufficiency of inspection in factories, and especially in small workshops. The staff of Inspectors under the Home Office has been recently reinforced, and operatives, both men and women, have been appointed to posts for which they are eligible. The collection and distribution of information bearing on the prospects of trade and the state of the labour market is one of the best services which a Trade Union can perform for its members. In this useful work the State may lend valuable co-operation. A beginning, and more than a beginning, has been made by the Statistical Department of the Board of Trade, under Mr. Giffen, and by that distinguished representative of our cultivated working men, Mr. Burnett, the Labour Correspondent. The work will be extended, and the results more widely made known, through the Labour De-

then tell me how it is within the sphere of human probability that the Empire will be endangered or disintegrated? The Act of 1888 disintegrated the Local Government of England, but nobody has been injured by it. If Home Rule is granted to Ireland the Imperial power in this country will not be affected. My argument, shortly put, is this : I believe that the history of the past, the experience of the present, and the probabilities of the future warrant the expectation that the measure proposed by the Government will promote the tranquillity of Ireland, the honour of England, and the consolidation of the Empire. And now, my Lords, I come to a much plainer subject, and one which has this great recommendation : that noble Lords opposite are quite as anxious to amend the Registration Laws as noble Lords on this side of the House. I am told that there is a keen sense of wrong entertained by the working man because he never knows how he is to be put on or taken off the register. The truth is, there is a sort of struggle which goes on between the registration agents and the several officers who are engaged in registration. I am not in the least suggesting that they are fraudulent or careless ; but the fact is that no one knows how the register is made up. Many of our working population are very nomad in their habits. They migrate from one constituency to another, and they get disfranchised by change of residence, though they have all along held the proper qualification. That is an obvious defect and injustice which ought to be remedied. Then, owing to the curious mode in which the Registration Acts are worked, the period of residence requires to be dealt with. Though the law requires a years residence only, practically a man very often cannot get his vote under two years or 18 months. Those, of course, are not great constitutional defects, but they are defects which our working men feel very keenly, and which I trust will be removed. Another matter in which I take the keenest possible interest is the question of Parish or Village Councils. I can only regret that Mr. Goschen's Bill of 1871 was not carried. I believe that the parish in which he lives is the one spot in the world about which the labourer cares. Everyone is now lamenting that the

Lord Thring

labourer is leaving the country and going into the towns. Why is that? It is because he finds that in the towns he forms a part of society and obtains a social *status*. If he could find the *status* in the country, it would induce him to take an interest in the things going on around him and to remain upon the soil. I am convinced that one of the most potent reasons why the labourer leaves the country is that he has no social *status* there. It is said by some that the labourer is a stupid man, and would not be able to carry on the business of the village. Gentlemen go down and talk to Hodge in a language he does not understand, and Hodge answers them in a language they do not understand, and then they declare he is stupid. Hodge is not always willing to open his mouth ; but if once his affections are attached, he will be found, as a general rule, a keen-witted man perfectly alive to what is going on in the world around him, and fully capable of conducting the affairs of his parish. I look with great joy upon the announcement of a proposed measure on this subject, and to the return of the days when village communities had power to make themselves by their own efforts comfortable and happy. Then there is the question of local option. The Liquor Law is the most defective law we have. It is a case of *tot homines quot sententiæ* ; but I think one principle is perfectly clear, and that is, that the man who is the most intimately concerned in the liquor traffic is the working man. It is the working man who desires to see the law regulated, and it is only right that he should be allowed to have a voice in regulating the traffic. I beg to thank your Lordships for the patience with which you have heard me, and I will now second the Motion for the Address.

*THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY : My Lords, in yielding the customary tribute of admiration to the speeches of the Mover and Seconder of the Address, which in this instance I can do with the most perfect sincerity and justice, I cannot fail to take notice of the circumstance to which they have both alluded, that they are not of the standing of those whom we usually find performing this somewhat nervous duty. Though the pleasure which their eloquence gave us was considerable, it was not novel, as we have

often had the opportunity of admiring it before. With respect to the noble Lord who moved the Address, I think I may say what I believe all your Lordships will agree with, that we have seldom heard a more temperate, moderate, forcible statement of opinion in this House. With respect to the noble Lord who spoke second I feel great delicacy in venturing to offer any observations. I feel there is a certain presumption on my part in tendering to him any eulogy. I have been hitherto more accustomed to look upon him with veneration as the father of that copious, abundant, and yet abstruse vocabulary in which our Statutes are written. I therefore feel a delicacy in dealing with him upon a lower platform; but yet he has a right to those good wishes which we always tender on these occasions, and I hope this will be the beginning of a brilliant oratorical career, and that we shall hear his voice in our Debates more often than we have done hitherto. My Lords, the noble Lords who moved and seconded the Address have not followed strictly the order of the Speech. I think perhaps it will be more convenient that I should do so, and therefore my first remarks must apply to the questions of foreign affairs with which the Speech commences. But in doing so I would say at once that in respect to both the matters mentioned it appears to me that the conduct of Her Majesty's Government has been founded upon sound principles and carried out with judgment and with skill. I am speaking, of course, only of what I know. No Papers have yet been laid before us, and everything must be said with reserve. I only make this observation to show that in what I am going to say I do not wish in the slightest degree to question any of the acts of the Government in this respect. I desire to make one observation in regard to each of the important subjects to which this part of the Speech relates. My Lords, with respect to Uganda, I do not think it is sufficiently appreciated how closely our future efforts for the suppression of the Slave Trade are mixed up with our treatment of the territory of Uganda. We do not sufficiently recognise the change that has come over the condition of that great enterprise in which this nation has been so long engaged—namely, the extermination of the terrible trade in men. The

maritime blockade has been only partially successful, and its success does not seem to me to increase. And there is a good reason for this; a reason which operates even now, which will operate more as time goes on, and which to some extent weakens the hands and frustrates the efforts of our gallant commanders on that coast. It is well-known that we have Treaties with all the nations of the world except one, by which there is a mutual right of search—that is to say, we can go into their vessels and they can come into ours in order to see that this trade is not carried on in any vessel sailing under their flags or under ours. The French Government, for reasons which I do not wish to comment on or to examine into—I have no right to assume that attitude—I am merely dealing with a historical fact—have always refused to allow this examination, and therefore in the case of any vessel sailing under the French flag—if any Arab dhow, any native Arab vessel can float the French flag—no English officer can go into the hold of that ship to see whether any slaves are there or not. Of course, if French men-of-war be on the station, they will exercise that police search themselves, but it is not necessary to say that that is not at all so effective a security as if the power were given to other nations to do it. There is no doubt that French trade is increasing in those seas, and, as French trade increases, I fear that this abuse of the French flag, at all events, is a danger to which we must look. This consideration leads me, as I think it has led many people, to believe that the maritime repression of the Slave Trade will not in the end enable us to put a stop to the hateful traffic. If we wish to grapple with it we must take it by the throat. We must go to it in the country where it arises; and if we are able, as I trust we shall be, to establish our beneficent sway and influence in these great districts which have come legally under our rule, I believe that one of the first and greatest results will be the accomplishment of that grand task to which England, now for a century, has devoted all her energies. With reference to Egypt I will only say this: I quite concur in the observation that is made in the Speech that the measures which have been taken do not indicate any modification of the assurances

given by the Government. Undoubtedly these assurances retain all their strength. But the situation is very different from what it was. The state of things to which these assurances apply has been materially altered by the events which have taken place. The assurance we have given is that we do not desire to remain in Egypt longer than is necessary in order to secure it against certain dangers; but what has happened shows us that those dangers are more numerous, more lively, more difficult to deal with than some years back we had a right to believe. I think, therefore, that what has taken place, though it does not modify the assurances of Great Britain, has made the prospect of early evacuation much more difficult and hazardous. My Lords, the next subject to which the Speech refers is the question of agricultural distress. I confess I do not quite understand the proposal which is made, that this should be the subject of Parliamentary inquiry. There was a very exhaustive inquiry conducted under the auspices of my noble Friend behind me not many years ago, and I much doubt whether any further inquiry will reveal any new facts for our guidance. But when it is said that it is hoped that among the causes of the present depression some may be temporary in their nature, I do not quite follow the idea which dictated that sentiment, at all events in connection with an examination into the best means of getting rid of it. I take it agricultural depression is due to two causes; bad weather and low prices; and the Government cannot get rid of the one if they would, and would not get rid of the other if they could. I think they are quite right not to attempt to interfere with prices, but it is quite true that that division disposes of what may be called the causes of agricultural distress. Yet I should be sorry to say a single word to discourage the Government in an attempt to palliate that distress by removing some of the evils under which agriculture labours. I hope they will devote themselves to that task. I believe that in the burdens which are now imposed upon land there are circumstances of extreme injustice; and though I cannot believe that to that unjust taxation agricultural depression is due, there is no doubt it aggravates the condition both of the owner and of the occupier of land,

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and as a matter of justice those grievances ought to be removed. I am very glad, therefore, to hear that the matter is occupying the attention of the Government. Then we come to the question which is in all our thoughts—the question of Ireland. It is very difficult, until we have heard the explanation of the Government on the subject, to comment on the conduct which they have pursued, but it appears to me that during the last winter the fault of Mr. Morley, of the Irish Government, has been an attempt to cast too widely for the sources of political support. They have aimed at getting the support of a class of men whom hitherto no politicians have thought it necessary or possible to conciliate. We know that politicians will do a great deal in order to get support. We know that they will conciliate anti-vaccinationists or teetotalers, or any other extreme body of that kind; but nobody has yet thought of politically capturing the class in Ireland who sympathise with crime. And that appears to me to be the keynote of Mr. Morley's policy during the last five months. A circumstance stated in this Speech is an instance. He has paralyzed the Crimes Act by withdrawing the proclamation which put it in force. But the only part of the Crimes Act which was in force was that part which gave the power of secret inquiry into crime, which exists in Scotland, and the power of changing the venue, and those are the things which noble Lords opposite have constantly declared to be very reasonable measure,—but for the purpose of obtaining the support of those men whose excesses the Crimes Act was intended to control, they have repealed useful and necessary provisions which were required for the administration of the law. And now at this moment, though it is quite true that agrarian crime is not generally prevalent, where it is prevalent, as in Clare and Kerry, their hands are paralyzed because they do not possess this power of which they deliberately divested themselves. Then we come to the Evicted Tenants Commission. The great object was to show the sympathy of the Government with persons who had combined together to defraud their creditors. The evicted tenants—the tenants on the Campaign estates—were simply people who could pay their debts,

but who would not, and who preferred to combine together to defraud those who had a right to the money which was due to them. The way in which those people were to be dealt with was a legitimate matter for consideration, but unless they wished to obtain the sympathy of the criminal classes, I can see no advantage whatever in proposing a Commission of which the main object was to force the landlords to forego the debts which those persons had conspired not to pay. Then we come to the murderers of Inspector Martin. Was it, except on the assumption that you desire the sympathy and support of that sort of people—was it a wise thing the moment the Liberal Government comes into power to announce by political acts that the murder of a policeman employed by a Tory Government was not such a great crime after all, and that the prerogative of the Crown would be used to shield the men who had been guilty of this very modified kind of offence? I will not go further into the question of the dynamiters who have been released. I do not know precisely what the facts are with respect to their crimes, but the point on which I wish to insist is that all these separate acts must not be taken or judged of by themselves. They are part of a policy, they interpret each other, they reflect light on each other, and taken together they indicate one settled aim and intention. The measures which a Government takes on coming into office, where they differ from the measures of the Government that precedes them, are an announcement of their policy. They are the stamp of the principles on which they desire to act and the measures which they desire to pursue; and the result of this steady favouring of all who have broken the law is to impress on the minds of the people of Ireland that whatever other merits or demerits the Government of Mr. Morley may have, at all events it has much more sympathy with criminals than the Government which went before it. Now I come to certainly one of the oddest announcements of revolution I have ever seen in a public document—

“A Bill will be submitted to you, on the earliest available occasion, to amend the provision for the government of Ireland.”

In the first place, what does “the earliest available occasion” mean? It does not

mean immediately or promptly. Does it mean the first occasion after everything else has been done—after all they have promised has been fulfilled and all other measures have been gone through? But, then, what is the meaning of that very mild expression—“to amend the provision for the government of Ireland”? That is a description which would adequately indicate a proposal for abolishing the Lord Lieutenancy. And I am rather led to believe that the forthcoming measure is something of that very mild character by the speech of the noble Lord who moved this Address. The noble Lord (Lord Brassey) who moved the Address, among other merits which ought to be noted in the eloquent speech which he made, spoke under the gravest personal difficulty. It is an advantage which a young man has in making the Motion for the Address that he has not pledged himself beforehand, and is not in danger of having former speeches brought up against him. But Lord Brassey had been led into eloquence on the Irish question no further back than last July, and he expressed himself with his usual calmness and moderation. Some great change must have come over the spirit of his dream, or else the Bill must be something very different from what any of us expect. He dealt with the question of how far it was possible to make so large a change without adequate popular public support, and said—

“It is a very difficult question. No great change can be attempted by the Liberal Party without a commanding majority on this side St. George's Channel.”

Your Lordships will observe that the two quantities are balanced; “a great change” is to be supported by a “commanding majority.” If there is only a small majority, of course there is to be only a small change. But what is to happen if there is no majority at all?—Because that is the circumstance with which we are confronted now. Then I presume the Bill must be reduced to something very like zero. No doubt we have not to complain of any similar contraction or restriction in the views of the noble Lord who seconded the Address. He went in for pure federation. He quoted to us Austria, Canada, and the United States; and if there were any persons who were so obstinate or so blind as not to see the force of his argument, he told them to

go and read the American Constitution. But is it the American Constitution which is to appear in this measure "to amend the provision for the government of Ireland"? My Lords, I will not attempt to discuss that of whose nature I am absolutely ignorant; nor is it worth while to go through the arguments the two noble Lords adduced upon the subject of Home Rule. Both the noble Lords seemed to have forgotten the existence of the Ulster and Protestant minority. (No, no!) Yes, the noble Lord spoke of the minority, but he spoke of it as if it was like no other minority, as if there was no particular reason why it should differ from the majority. He seems never to have heard of the Meath elections, and to have no notion that the real question in issue in Ireland is whether you are to give the party, which dominated the Meath election the right to put its foot on the Protestant population of Ireland. That is the real Irish question with which we have to deal. The whole question really turns upon this; it is not only coloured by, but it is absolutely conditioned by and entirely consists in the fact that Irish society is divided to its base; and the differences between the two sections—differences of race, tradition, long history, and mutual ill-will—remove them from the category of those other populations where the majority and the minority alter in their constitution with each passing question of the day. I do not think it is necessary for me to go into the very large number of measures which are mentioned at the end of the Queen's Speech. Nobody believes that a half or a tenth of them will ever find their way to the Table of this House. They constitute the Newcastle Programme; they are the whole Newcastle Programme. What is the Newcastle Programme; what amount of time ought it to fill in the probable activity of Parliament? I will again appeal to the high authority I have already cited. The noble Lord who moved the Address said of the Newcastle programme—"That programme gives a sketch of work which will occupy at least a generation." Well, of course, if the question were one, I will not say between Philip drunk and Philip sober, but between the noble Lord speaking in uniform in the somewhat perverted atmosphere of the House of Lords and the noble

Lord speaking on the breezy beach of Hastings, I prefer him in the more healthy circumstances in which he stood last summer, and I believe we can better trust his judgment than than now. If these measures are to occupy a generation, I do not feel much interest in discussing matters which some of the younger Members of the House when they are grey-headed old men will probably be fighting over. Therefore I will not follow the observations of the noble Lord opposite with respect to the charms of parish councils and local option. My impression is that if you adopt both those measures, the results will be very different from what the devisers of them expect. If you adopt parish councils, the result will be nobody will attend them; if you adopt local option, the result will be the brewers will have it all their own way. But it is not worth while dwelling upon these subjects more fully. I was disappointed that, in speaking of registration, the noble Lord seemed entirely to fail to see what in our present state of society the real object of the registration law is. Some residence—I do not say how much—but some considerable residence is absolutely necessary in order to prevent that which is a rapidly-growing evil in our constituencies, the evil of personation. It is only when people are known to their neighbours that it is possible to guard against the dangers of personation. I believe it is well known that in those constituencies which enjoy a large Irish element every Irishman on the register is always polled out, no matter how many may have died or gone away. I think that Ireland already enjoys an excessive weight in our Parliamentary system; and I should be very sorry to give that additional weight which would be furnished by an ineffective registration system. There are two matters mentioned by the noble Lord the mover of the Address that are not mentioned in the Queen's Speech, on which I should like to say a word. The noble Lord dwelt upon agricultural depression, and insisted upon the application of capital to the land in a variety of ways which he indicated. I believe he is right, and that if it were possible to insure a large application of capital to the land very many of the effects of agricultural depression might be averted.

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But in respect to that and all other depression I only entreat your Lordships to beware of remedies which affect to deal with depression, but only do so by shaking the belief of men in the sanctity of contracts and the security of property. What we really suffer under is want of confidence. I do not say that most of it comes from political causes; it comes from causes of great variety; but one of the elements, and one which I fear will last the longest, is the apprehensions which are being caused in the minds of the owners of capital and the owners of property, partly by legislation which has been already adopted, and very much more from doctrines which are freely published by the partisans of those who have rule in this country at this time. There is no country in the world where property is now so insecure against legislative attack as it is in England; and depend upon it you will feel the evil results of such a state of things in a gradual diminution of confidence and in a gradual withdrawal of capital producing an aggravation of the depression under which we labour. I am sorry the Government did not notice in the Queen's Speech a step for which I gave them great credit, and that is the appointment of a Commission to inquire into the working of the Poor Law. They were quite justified in taking that step. The Poor Law has now been in operation some 60 years. When it was passed it was by no means welcomed by the Conservative opinion of that day. It was strongly opposed by many Conservatives, partly on account of the great severity of its provisions and still more on account of the severity which was to be expected from those philosophers in whose hands the administration of the law was placed. Well, the Poor Law was a great success; there is no doubt about it. It remedied tremendous evils which were bringing the prosperity of the country to the ground. But it is a very fair question for doubt whether there was not something in the protests that were made in this House and elsewhere at the time that the severity was carried to an excessive point. The Government have wisely limited their investigation in the first instance to the question of dealing with old and infirm people in workhouses. I believe that is the first question that ought to be examined.

I am not sure that it is the whole. I think there are other parts of the Poor Law which are more severe than it is necessary they should be, and that they may with advantage be modified. It would be a tremendous evil if by maintaining provisions of undue severity we were to disgust our people with a system which undoubtedly has contributed to the security and prosperity we have hitherto enjoyed. There can be no doubt that some of the dangers which in 1834 were menacing and real have ceased to have the same character at present. In 1834 you had the terrible fact to deal with that the masses of the population felt it no disgrace to receive the aid of the Poor Law; rather they thought it the natural end and condition of their being. An enormous change has taken place in the opinions of the working classes on that point. Their sense of self-respect and their dislike to receiving parochial relief have greatly increased, and thus the dangers of an abusive use of Poor Law relief have in that proportion diminished. We had to escape from enormous evils in 1834. I hope we shall run no risk of incurring those evils again; and after due consideration of the need for this dominant caution there is much in the present Poor Law the alteration of which may well be the subject of investigation. I do not enter upon further questions that are mentioned in the Queen's Speech. I do not know how many of these Bills we shall have to deal with. My impression is that many of them have been put upon the paper with a very moderate amount of belief on the part of the Government that they will come to any practical end at all. Therefore I prefer to wait until they have been introduced and come practically before us, before offering any remarks upon them.

*THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL AND SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (The Earl of KIMBERLEY): My Lords, before I address a few observations upon what has fallen from the noble Marquess, I wish to tender to my noble Friends behind me my thanks for the very able manner in which they have executed the task they have undertaken. I really can add nothing to what has been said on that subject by the noble Marquess opposite, but I think the circumstances are such

that we must feel a great amount of gratitude to my noble Friends for having undertaken to perform that duty. My Lords, I have nothing to complain of in the tone of the speech of the noble Marquess. He has agreed upon some of the topics, and on others he has expressed in temperate terms the disagreement which we know he feels from our policy. The first point to which the noble Marquess referred, and upon which he expressed his entire approval, is the course taken by Her Majesty's Government in foreign affairs. It is a source, I am sure, of great satisfaction to Her Majesty's Government and to my noble Friend (the Earl of Rosebery) behind me to know that in his administration of the Foreign Office during the time he has held the Seals, that in the conduct of that difficult and delicate business he has shown an ability which demands and has received the respect and confidence of the country. It is no small advantage, not merely to the Government but to the nation at large, when Ministers are able to continue the foreign policy of their predecessors, and that questions of foreign affairs should not be used for Party purposes. There may be occasions when differences may be acute, but it is a great matter of congratulation when we find ourselves upon the same ground. I have only to remark upon two of the topics referred to in his speech that I agree with the noble Marquess opposite that the suppression of the Slave Trade by measures taken in East Africa is certainly one of the objects which should be most dear to the English people. Our long course of exertion in the cause of humanity must convince everyone that this nation feels keenly upon that subject, and I therefore wish to re-echo the opinions which have been expressed by the noble Marquess. With regard to another and very important matter—the paragraph in the Speech from the Throne referring to Egypt. I think it will be agreed on all sides that any Government which holds office in this country should have no hesitation whatever in maintaining our power and the position we have taken up in that country for insuring the safety of our troops and securing peace and order in Egypt. That is a practical and paramount duty which no Govern-

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ment could for one moment neglect to perform. The noble Marquess has commented, and I was not sorry to hear his remark, upon that portion of the Speech which speaks of the augmentation in the number of British troops stationed in Egypt, and states that—

“This measure does not indicate any change of policy or any modification of the assurances which my Government have given from time to time respecting the occupation of that country.”

He remarked with, as I thought, great force, that whilst the assurances remain the same no change of policy can be indicated by what has been done. So far I re-echo what the noble Marquess stated, and I cannot but hope that the Khedive of Egypt, who is young and inexperienced in government, and who may on that occasion have been moved by unwise advisers, will take to heart what has happened and will see that such aspirations as he is supposed to entertain will not be furthered by any course which may cause disorder in Egypt, or cause in the minds of the European Powers a doubt whether the Egyptian Government has made much progress towards maintaining itself alone. We have in no respect changed the position by sending a reinforcement of troops, and we feel that we shall have the universal support of the country as long as the occupation continues in doing all that is necessary for maintaining our authority, with due regard to the interests of this country and of Egypt. My Lords, the other point referred to by the noble Marquess is one of great interest to us all, and is a matter of universal regret—I mean the depression under which our agricultural classes suffer. The noble Marquess has approved of our announcement, that there should be an inquiry upon this subject, although he said he did not anticipate any large results from it.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I hardly went so far as that—as to approve of it. I cannot approve of an inquiry until I know what it is to be. What I said I approved of was that Her Majesty's Government should have the matter under its consideration.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: The noble Marquess approved of our drawing attention in the Speech from the Throne to the state of agricultural affairs. More than that I do not wish to impute. It

is not in a matter of this kind necessary to consider only whether you have immediate measures to propose ; but when so great an interest as that of agriculture is suffering severely, I think it is right and due to that interest, even if you have no specific measure to propose at once, that it should have mention on an occasion like the present in order that the country may know that the Government is sensible of the state of affairs, and is anxious to pass the necessary measures, if there be such possible, for dealing with the depression. The noble Marquess alluded to temporary causes and to the weather ; and, with regard to that, I sincerely trust that the very bad weather from which agriculturists suffer is temporary. There may be other causes which are temporary also, but undoubtedly some of the causes wear the appearance of permanence. But, though we are suffering from some causes which it is impossible to hope may be quickly removed, there is no reason why we should not take some notice of the matter. The late Government proposed a measure for increasing small tenancies with that view. I will say at once that I have no belief in heroic measures for the relief of agriculture. Measures for enhancing the price of food in this country, I believe with the noble Marquess, do not come within the bounds of practical politics. For my own part, I sympathise deeply with the distresses which have befallen our agricultural friends ; and, if any inquiry takes place, I shall welcome with the greatest satisfaction the suggestion of any method by which they may be palliated or removed. I now come to matters of a more controversial kind, and upon which the noble Marquess did not, as might have been expected, express agreement with Her Majesty's Government. The first point to which the noble Marquess referred was with regard to the measures taken by the Government in Ireland during the last five months. He enumerated the prominent measures which have been taken by my right hon. Friend, Mr. Morley, and he came to the conclusion that we were endeavouring to obtain the support of the criminal population. I think that was the phrase. Now, my Lords, I wish to put the matter from a very different point of view. We are accused by the noble Marquess of having lightly put

aside what remains of the Crimes Act. He referred to the Proclamations, and said that we had without sufficient cause released the Gweedore murderers ; that we had issued a Commission with regard to the evicted tenants, of which he does not approve ; and there was a fourth matter, which I do not remember at the moment. I think noble Lords on the other side cannot be ignorant of the fact that we have consistently opposed the policy of coercion pursued by the late Government ; and is it surprising, therefore, that having throughout the country stated that we disapprove that policy, the policy pursued by a former Parliament under the auspices of the late Government, we should take the earliest opportunity of showing that we are preparing to carry into effect the policy which we believe to be the best, and that our disapproval is not confined to mere speech ? That is the keynote of my right hon. Friend's (Mr. Morley's) policy. It is not the need of support from, or sympathy with, the criminal population. It is a policy which does not sympathise with, but condemns, and wishes to reverse, the coercion policy of the late Government. But I am not prepared to say that we are not bound to justify every particular measure which we may take. The noble Marquess did not go into particular cases, and, therefore, I will not attempt to justify them now. Whenever our acts are condemned and attacked, we shall be perfectly prepared to meet the attack upon us, and to state the reasons why we believe we are thoroughly justified in the course we have pursued. My Lords, the next point is the cardinal point upon which I say at once the policy of the Government hinges, and upon which our fate no doubt will depend. I mean the measure which, as you all know, is the measure which will in a certain form give Home Rule to Ireland. The noble Marquess was dissatisfied with the description given of it in the Speech from the Throne. But it has, at all events, this merit : that it follows the description of the Bill brought in in 1886, and, so far it may be taken to indicate, the continuity of our policy. With regard to the measure itself, the noble Marquess does not anticipate, no doubt, that I should describe it. But it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to bring it in at the earliest opportunity—and by

that I mean the first opportunity that may be available for the Government in the House of Commons. I think when it is brought in the noble Marquess will find that it is by no means of a milk-and-water description. The other matters of the Speech are not of a very controversial kind. I will not follow the noble Marquess into the dry question of registration; all I will say is, that I believe in both Houses, on both sides, there is a general desire that our system of registration should be simplified and improved. All who know anything of its working must feel that it is extremely defective; and I fully believe that when the measure is produced, though there may be differences of opinion upon particular clauses, both Parties will co-operate to place our legislation in regard to that system upon a more sound and satisfactory footing. Reverting to Home Rule, I am reminded of an observation which was made by the noble Lord behind me (Lord Thring)—and which before I leave the subject of Ireland I ought to notice. The noble Marquess hardly appreciated the argument of my noble Friend. He referred to the American publications on the subject of Federation, and brought forward Canada and Austro-Hungary as examples which might be taken as precedents in the Irish case. I think the noble Marquess hardly gave fair weight to what my noble Friend added: that he did not pretend that there was any precise analogy between the two cases, and that he only quoted them to show that in cases where local self-government had been granted it had led to popular content. Further than that he did not desire the argument to be pushed. I think it right, in fairness to my noble Friend, to refer to that matter. Then the noble Marquess made another observation. He said—

“When you talk of the minority you speak of the majority not oppressing the minority, but you forget it is a question between the priests in Ireland and the Protestant population.”

Now, I maintain that if this country is going to govern Ireland upon the principle that it is our duty to maintain the Protestant population against supposed aggression on the part of the priests and the Roman Catholic population, then we should be going back upon the principles which dictated the Act of 1829, and we should be introducing into

our policy towards Ireland the most fatal of all principles—namely, that we are to base our policy upon the perpetuation and strengthening of the bitterest religious dissensions. It is because we believe that by the policy we advocate we can pave the way towards healing all those dissensions, and it is because we believe that until that bitter antagonism ceases to exist between the different sections of the population Ireland will never be content, that we propose that the Local Government of the country should be placed in the hands of the Irish themselves. I had some experience in the government of Ireland some time ago, and I do not believe that the Roman Catholic population will oppress the Protestant population. Even if it has the desire to do so, the Protestant minority is, I think, well able to take care of itself; and although I quite admit that the priestly influence is too great at elections, I believe there is no reason for saying that there will be any general oppression of the Protestant population by the Roman Catholic majority. That feeling has grown up year after year out of political conditions and from political reasons; but after the political reasons have disappeared, that bitterness will disappear with them. Now, my Lords, I turn to much less exciting topics, and I wish to notice some remarks which the noble Marquess made about the number of Bills. He will forgive me for saying, in the time of the late Government, it not unfrequently happened there was a large programme of Bills which did not always pass into law. I can quote an occasion when there were some six of these promised in the Speech, which did not even see the light. That was in 1887; and there were some four others which did not pass into law. Therefore, the example of promising measures and not passing them has not been set by Her Majesty's Government. But I indulge in the sanguine anticipation that, with the assistance of the noble Marquess opposite, we may reap a goodly crop from the measures we now propose. One of them, I think, the noble Marquess treated rather too cavalierly. I mean that relating to Parish Councils. I do not look upon them as a very extraordinary expedient, but as a simple matter of local government. It seems to me that

will not be complete until you have a scheme for District Councils, and also a system of Parish Councils. There is nothing so very new in the matter; for the old system of parish government by the Parish Vestry was, in fact, a system of Parish Councils; and I believe the time has come when it will be of advantage to strengthen our system—when that old system should be revived, and that there should be a real and active scheme of parish government which may give a certain amount of contentment to the labourers in the parish. As my noble Friend behind me has said, it would be in consonance with the principles of our Government, and would tend to give the villagers an interest in their affairs—affairs which they are able to conduct without any injury whatever to anybody, and with advantage to themselves. Then the last topic which was alluded to by the noble Marquess, in, I think, unduly solemn tones, was the agricultural depression. He warned us that one great cause of the agricultural depression, and of the depression generally throughout the country, was a feeling of insecurity. My Lords, I do not deny that some people do entertain a feeling of that kind. But I confess I have more confidence in my fellow-countrymen than the noble Marquess appears to have. It has always been the case in this country that all kinds of changes have been advocated—some of them of an extreme kind. But we have not therefore been alarmed, or imagined that every extreme proposal put forward on the platform in loud tones would necessarily pass into law. It is the nature of our people; and it is only natural that after having given a large extension of the franchise, enabling them to exercise a direct influence on the Government of the country, that a greater number of questions should be put forward and discussed than formerly. I myself believe that schemes will be adopted by the country where sound, and rejected where unsound; and that the result will be that property will be even more secure than before, because I conceive that the security of property depends upon a feeling of general contentment among the people. The noble Marquess made one further observation which I was extremely glad to hear. He concurred with us with regard to the Poor Law;

and I do not think there was anything that he said in which I do not agree. I believe that the general principles of the Poor Law are sound, and that the measure when introduced conferred great benefits upon the country. I agree with the noble Marquess that it would be a great misfortune if, by pushing sound logical principles too far, you were to cause general discontent in the administration of the Poor Law, which would prevent you maintaining its main principles intact. But I think it is extremely desirable that we should have a thorough examination of the present Poor Law system, with a view of seeing whether there cannot be some amelioration made in the lot of those who are obliged to have recourse to State assistance without weakening the sound principles on which the Poor Law rests. I think the noble Marquess will agree with me, that in any inquiry of this kind, which is one of the most important nature, and of great difficulty, it is not desirable to make it too extensive. In the first instance, the Government limit the inquiry to old age. But I agree with the noble Marquess that there are other points which will have to be considered; and that it may be found necessary to extend the inquiry to further subjects. I do not know that there is any other point touched upon by the noble Marquess which needs observation; and I can only say if there is any point upon which I have not touched, my colleagues will be able to answer it.

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE: I have listened with some curiosity, and I am bound to say with some disappointment, to the answer which has just been given by the noble Earl the Leader of the Government as to the multiplicity of measures which have been referred to in Her Majesty's Speech. I understood the noble Lord's answer to be that on former occasions a considerable number of Bills had been promised which had never been passed, and many of which had not even been introduced. I am perfectly aware that all Governments are in this matter inclined to take a rather sanguine view, and to exaggerate their powers of legislation in any particular Session; but I do not think that it has ever been the practice of any Government to introduce in Her Majesty's Speech a list of measures

which they must know, judging by past experience and by the character of those measures themselves, it is absolutely impossible under the most favourable circumstances which can be conceived that they should be submitted for the consideration of Parliament. I was astonished to hear the noble Earl express a confident hope that any considerable number of those measures could by any possibility be passed into law during the present year. A great many of them relate to subjects of a highly controversial character, and though it is possible that one or more of them may make their appearance again in this House, I think we may say with absolute certainty that if they do make their way up to this House they will not be in the company of the Irish Home Rule Bill. They relate to subjects of the most controversial character, and every hour which is devoted to the debates to which they will inevitably give rise in any place will be subtracted from the not excessive amount of time which can under any circumstances exist for the discussion of a Bill so complicated as the Irish Home Rule Bill must be. I admit I have not looked upon this list as a practical programme of legislation at all. I have regarded it rather in the light of perhaps a necessary and certainly a frank recognition of the tenure under which the present Government holds office. This list, including every part of the Newcastle programme, is a sort of homage to the various sections by the combination of which the present Government have been placed in power. What remains to be seen is whether this act of homage and tender of allegiance will be accepted by the Members who represent those sections in another place in full satisfaction of their claims; and what remains still further to be seen is whether the electors who have returned those representatives to Parliament on the face of promises that the Liberal Party would devote its most strenuous efforts to carry into law the particular project in which they are interested—whether they will find their claims altogether satisfied by the inclusion of a similar measure in the list which it certainly will take several Sessions, and probably will take several Parliaments, to consider and discuss. Well, my Lords, under those circumstances I think it is not necessary to spend any time in the

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consideration of the other paragraphs of the Speech which contain an enumeration of the various other measures which are proposed to be introduced. I will, with your Lordships' permission, devote a little more time to that paragraph in the Speech which refers to the legislation on the Government of Ireland. I am bound to say that the tone of the Speech upon that subject is such as almost to disarm criticism from its modesty and from the extreme moderation of its language. "This is not a great measure," it seems to say; "it is only a measure to amend the provisions"—whatever that may mean—"for the Government of Ireland." No one can complain of the recital of the desires which have inspired Her Majesty's Government in its preparation; but I venture to think that great constitutional changes such as we have been led to expect have not been very much influenced by the desires however humble of whatever body of men, however respectable. Those desires are not the elements with which we have to deal in the consideration of the question of Irish Government. The elements with which we have to deal are, on the one hand, no doubt discontent, which has extended over a long period, and which is not due altogether to disorder, and on the other the presence in the other House of Parliament of a large body of irreconcilable Members who have made both administration and legislation nearly, if not altogether, impossible. We have also to deal with an agrarian agitation which has from time to time broken out into outbursts of crime, and we have to deal with a powerful priesthood, who desire to make themselves dominant in the government of the country. We have further to deal with a sympathy which no doubt is felt for a national movement by large masses of Irish people in many parts of the world. On the other hand, we have to deal with the feelings and passions of a not inconsiderable minority in Ireland, who are bitterly opposed to any considerable disturbance of the relations at present existing between Ireland and this country and between Ireland and this Parliament. We have to deal with a deep-rooted distrust on the part of the majority of the people of this country as to the justice or expediency of intrusting the lives and fortunes of the minority in Ireland to the control of an Irish Parliament, and we

have a not less deep-rooted distrust on the part of the same majority in this country to any disturbance of the sovereign power of Parliament, or of the Parliamentary Constitution under which we live. These are some of the elements with which we shall have to deal when we come to consider this question. I enumerate the desires which have prompted Her Majesty's Government in the preparation of this measure which take no account of any of those fundamental problems which ought never to be ignored in the discussion of the question which we are invited to discuss. But, my Lords, we are told so much that we are naturally inspired with a desire to know more. We are informed that this measure

"has been prepared with the desire to afford contentment to the Irish people, important relief to Parliament, and additional securities for the strength and union of the Empire."

That is a statement which can hardly be held to apply to the people of Ulster. While we are told so much it should have been possible to give us some indication of how this measure will afford contentment and protection to the people of that and the other parts of Ireland. There are other points also upon which we should have desired information to be given. No doubt we shall be told that on such an occasion as this we should disregard details, but there is one point which I think in every previous declaration on the subject has occupied a conspicuous place, but which is now conspicuous by its absence. We are told that the measure has been prepared "to afford general relief to Parliament." We have in every former official declaration on this subject been assured that it has been prepared and inspired with a desire of maintaining intact and unimpaired the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. I cannot revert at the present moment to what has occurred in the past, but I have a strong recollection that in one of the earlier speeches of the Prime Minister, in opposition to a Motion brought forward by Mr. Butt, he laid it down that before Parliament ought even to be invited to consider this question, it ought to be made clear in what way the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament was to be maintained. It seems to me that this is not a detail of a legislative measure for which we have no right to ask, it is a

declaration of policy as to which we have a right to expect information. Let me suggest to your Lordships a not dissimilar case. If this were the case of a colony demanding separation from Great Britain — absolute independence — and supposing there was at the same time a strong party at home which denied the existence in the colony of any genuine demand for separation, which contended that every difficulty might be met by some readjustment of the constitutional relation. Supposing that the Members of the Government had never had an opportunity of making any official or responsible declaration upon the subject, but were strongly suspected from some of their previous declarations and actions of leaning to a policy of complete separation. Supposing them on the occasion of the meeting of Parliament to announce their intention of dealing with the question, would any Member of your Lordships' House say that the Government would be discharging its duty to the House by withholding from it that information which the House is entitled to demand? In such a case I say that every Member of this House and the other House of Parliament would have the right to demand at the earliest moment a statement of policy from the Government on such a cardinal and vital question. I ask, is that not the case with Ireland? We demand to know, not the details of the measure, but one of the main principles on which it is founded—whether the Government intend to establish in Ireland a body which shall be absolutely independent of, and not subject to, the control of the Parliament sitting here, or whether they intend, as on a previous occasion they said they did, to maintain intact and unimpaired the power of the Imperial Parliament over every person, matter, or thing throughout the whole breadth of the United Kingdom. This is a matter of great importance, which we may not have an early opportunity of discussing. I will read to your Lordships one or two passages which were read in the other House last August in the presence of the Members by whom they had been spoken, who did not then take any notice of them. Mr. Chamberlain referred to the authority of one of the legal advisers of the Government. The present Attorney General, speaking

only in the previous month of July, had said—

- "What would be the checks upon this Parliament? First, the veto of the Crown in cases of importance or grave impolicy; secondly, the fact that as the Imperial Parliament had made this other, so it could unmake or modify it; and, thirdly, the inherent right of the Imperial Parliament to legislate directly for any portion of the Queen's Empire. It was not contemplated that any of those checks should be used except in case of dire necessity, and he wished to point out the enormous force which would still remain in the Imperial Parliament."

I will next refer to a declaration of a right hon. Gentleman, a Member of the Government, who at a previous period was not satisfied with the provisions made for the maintenance of the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, and left the Government of that day for that reason. He is a Member of the Government now, and apparently, therefore, satisfied on the point. His definition of Imperial supremacy was—

"If the Imperial Parliament does not continue Imperial I shall never care to sit in it again. By Imperial Parliament I mean, and we all mean, a Parliament which represents in equal proportions all parts of the United Kingdom. We mean a Parliament that is not only nominal or theoretical, but also real, practical, and genuine, controlling every other body and authority whatsoever—a Parliament to which every citizen may look for the safety of his life and for the maintenance of his personal rights."

Another Member of the Government (Mr. Morley) has referred to this subject in language equally strong, and directly pointing to the possibility in certain cases of actual interference by the Imperial Parliament with the subordinate Parliament to be established in Dublin. In replying to me, he says—

"But does Lord Hartington mean—I hope this may be the case—that, if the Parliament at Dublin passed unjust, tyrannical, vindictive, oppressive measures against any section of the Irish population, the Parliament of Westminster shall be free promptly, by some means or other, direct or indirect, to overrule and so forbid such a law? If this is what Lord Hartington means, there is no difference of opinion and no difference of aim. I hope we shall not interfere to prevent mere un wisdom and mere mistakes, for the mischief has come because Ireland has not had the responsibility of her own acts. We should not interfere to prevent mere un wisdom; but we should interfere, I suppose and I hope, to prevent injustice and wrong."

The last extract with which I will trouble your Lordships is in the words of the present Prime Minister himself—

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"Will not the Crown, in a system of Home Government in Ireland, be the Lord Lieutenant? Will not the appointment of the Lord Lieutenant, who must be the head of the Irish executive, effectually afford to the British Crown, and through the British Crown to the British Ministry, and through the British Ministry to the British Parliament, the power of interfering, of which I can only say that I am certain of its sufficiency for any purpose whatever?"

The Prime Minister has also contemplated the necessity of interference under certain circumstances. Now, my Lords, let us see, that being the view up to a recent date of Her Majesty's Ministers, what, I would ask, is the view of the Nationalist Party upon this subject? In the same Debate to which I have referred, which took place last August, Mr. Redmond quoted the declaration made by Mr. Parnell in January, 1891—

"There can be no mistake about it, we want a Parliament with full power to manage the affairs of Ireland, and with no English veto, whether on the appointment of your Leader or the laws you shall make. A veto of that kind would break down and destroy your Parliament before it had been two years in existence. There must be no veto other than the Constitutional veto of the Crown, as it is exercised by the Crown on the Imperial Parliament."

That, Mr. Redmond said, is a definition which holds good to this day. He said—

"I assert that no Nationalist in Ireland, or in this House, or elsewhere, will venture to say that the Irish National claims will be satisfied by a scheme one whit less extreme than that which is shadowed forth in the quotation I have read."

He went on to explain in more detail what it was, and how this could be carried out. He said—

"It comes to this—What we ask is that in this Home Rule Bill there shall be a clause specially undertaking that, while the Irish Parliament continues in existence, the power to legislate should never be used; in point of fact, we should require a formal compact with them to the effect that, while that Legislature lasted, it should have a free and unfettered control of Irish affairs."

Now, these declarations are irreconcilable, and I assert that in the circumstances we have a right to know now what the intentions of the Government are. We do not ask to be told the details of the measure, but we claim that we have a right to know whether the Government adhere to the pledges which they have given as to the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. I think we can see

already some inclination and tendency to reduce and whittle away the effect of such declarations as those to which I have referred. Mr. Asquith, the present Home Secretary, in a letter which he wrote some time ago, declared himself in favour of—

“The maintenance, intact and unimpaired, of the unquestioned and unquestionable sovereignty of the Imperial Parliament over all persons and in all matters local and Imperial.”

That was the declaration made by Mr. Asquith as a mere supporter of Mr. Gladstone. But as Home Secretary, Mr. Asquith, speaking at Liverpool on January 20, this year, used language which shows, I think, some falling away from the width and breadth of the declaration in his letter. He said—

“In the next place, the ultimate supremacy of the Imperial Parliament must be visibly and effectually maintained.”

And he went on to say—

“It is very easy to prove upon paper that it is impossible to reconcile the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament upon the one hand with the autonomy of a subordinate Legislature on the other. It could be proved with equal ease in the case of Canada, in the case of the Australian Colonies, and in the case of every one of the Queen's dominions to which in turn self-government has been granted. Nay, I will go further, and I will say that there is not a Constitution in the civilised world which could not be wrecked in a week if all the parties in it were to act upon every occasion to the extreme limit of their legal powers.”

Now, I would ask whether we are not to read that later declaration of the Home Secretary as an admission that he is now prepared, instead of claiming the unquestioned sovereignty of the Imperial Parliament over all matters local and Imperial, for merely a recognition of the supremacy such as exists in relation to the Government of Canada, to which he refers? I think that the Home Secretary's language justifies that supposition. I think we shall obtain some practical advantage, in the first place, if we can obtain a declaration from any of Her Majesty's Ministers that we have here the whole width and breadth and spirit of this measure, a declaration which will help to draw the attention of the population of this country and the Members of the Legislature to one or two cardinal points which ought never to be forgotten in ensuing discussions on this subject. There is a danger, in my opinion, that in the multiplicity of details and side

issues in which we shall be involved when we come to the discussion of the Home Rule Bill, the attention of both the Legislature and the public may be drawn from some of the main, and to ourselves some of the most important, issues. There is a fear that the English people, trusting to the continued validity of such declarations as I have quoted, and finding in this proposed measure some recognition of the principle of the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, such as exists in the case of Canada or other of our self-governing Colonies, may be lulled into a sense of security, while the Irish Members, with better reason, trust to the assurance or to the conviction that this nominal supremacy, although it may exist will never be enforced, and never can be enforced. My Lords, it seems to me these are questions which the people in this country ought not to lose sight of, and that their attention cannot be called to them a day too soon, even before the introduction of this measure. I might argue that the problem which this Government has undertaken to solve is one which is insoluble. I do not believe it is to be proved, as Mr. Asquith says it can be proved, upon paper, having reference to the practical working of Government, that it is possible to recognise Imperial supremacy with an autonomous Parliament in Ireland. But I am not justified in entering into that point now. We are bound to believe that Her Majesty's Government have discovered, or think they have discovered, some solution of the question; but in my opinion we have a right to know whether they still adhere to these declarations, which have been made in terms of equal strength and width by the most responsible among them, and whether they are content, when their measure is produced, to stand or fall by the test of whether it does satisfy, or fails to satisfy, the conditions which they themselves have laid down as essential to any measure which ought to receive the assent of the Parliament of this country.

THE EARL OF WINCHILSEA AND NOTTINGHAM said, he trusted that the progress of a movement out of doors which might escape the attention of some of their Lordships would excuse his dealing with those portions of the

Speech which referred to agriculture. There were some points which appeared to him not to have received in the Speech from the Throne all the attention which they might. One was that in which Her Majesty's Government stated that they had determined upon making some alteration in the number of troops in Egypt in view of recent occurrences in that country. But ought it not rather to have been "in view of recent occurrences at Newcastle," because, was not this a measure which would result in weakening of the Imperial power? He had read with great astonishment that Her Majesty's Government were going to send out a Commissioner to Uganda with adequate provision for his safety, but it should not be forgotten that no assurance was given that these provisions might not be made in vain. He had been led to that conclusion by the general benevolent attitude towards the British producer taken up in the Speech from the Throne, and he was glad to find that that benevolent attitude had been carried a step further by the speech of the noble Lord who had moved the Address in their Lordships' House. He was very glad to hear the Mover of the Address say there was an intention on the part of Her Majesty's Government to look into the question of the readjustment of local taxation, and that was the more remarkable because it would not have escaped the recollection of their Lordships that not many months since, in the other House, on the Motion of Mr. Provand, the political supporters of the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government committed themselves to exactly the opposite view—a statement that the taxation on land ought to be increased. He was very glad that that farce had been accomplished. There were other points in the speech of the Mover of the Address which demanded attention. It was satisfactory also to have the noble Lord's opinion that the railways ought no longer to be allowed to carry foreign produce at rates which were practically prohibitive to home produce. The noble Lord had stated that one remedy for the agricultural distress would be found in laying down land in pasture. They were aware that for every 100 acres so laid down four labourers must be thrown out of employment. It was, therefore, a very serious

The Earl of Winchilsea

thing for the labourers of this country if a general policy was to be recommended, either from one side or the other, which would involve the laying down of large tracts of land in pasture. The only effect would be to send the labourers into the towns, where they would seek employment, but would not find it, and would only add to the great pressure already falling on the local rates. He must take this opportunity of referring to the sudden conversion of the other side of the House to measures which they had often heard advocated before, but which had never been received with favour. It was very like the National Agricultural Union casting its shadow before. None who lived in the country could doubt that landlords had lost their rents, tenants their profits, and the labourers were now in danger of losing their wages. When the noble Lord stated (and in that statement he himself fully concurred) that two of the causes of the agricultural depression were bad weather and low prices, he would ask leave to respectfully indicate a third, which he thought had had an equal effect upon the agricultural interest, namely, disorganisation. If the agricultural interest had been organised the railway companies would never have dared to increase their rates as they had done. If they had an organised interest the middleman would never have been able to take not only his fair share of profits, but so unjust a share of them as to render it impossible to produce at a profit at all. Not only that, but local burdens had been placed one after another upon their shoulders, because they were not sufficiently organised to prevent that being done. He hoped they would be able to do something for themselves in the direction of organisation, and that they would be enabled to bring upon this question all the wisdom and experience which their members possessed, so that helped by themselves and helped by Parliament they might do something to rescue agriculture from the deplorable state into which it had fallen, a state which was not only dangerous, but was widening its influence to such an extent that it was affecting the income of everyone in the land. He would venture to promise Her Majesty's Government support for any measure of that kind which they might introduce, and no one had a

greater interest in these matters than the Members of their Lordships' House.

VISCOUNT MIDLETON thought that before the Debate closed they ought to know upon what grounds the remarks with regard to the steady decrease of crime in Ireland in the gracious Speech from the Throne had been based. He failed to understand where Her Majesty's Government could have obtained such information. There was no question that for the last six years under the late Administration there had been a steady progress in the establishment of law and order in Ireland. There could be no question that agrarian crime had been, for a time at all events, entirely extirpated in many parts of the country. There were, of course, exceptions to the rule, and to one of those exceptions he wished to draw their Lordships' attention—that was, the state of the County of Clare. At the time the late Government quitted office the county of Clare was one of the few portions of Ireland still subject to the operation of the Crimes Act. The first thing that happened when Mr. Morley went to Ireland was that the provisions of the Crimes Act were suspended throughout the length and breadth of that county. What had been the result? It was perfectly true that crime had not been entirely extirpated by the Crimes Act; and it was perfectly true, because a very singular state of things existed in that county. Crime in Clare was not only agrarian, it was a sort of internecine war or vendetta, carried on between rival factions representing secret societies, and perpetuating outrages upon each other. But what was the position now in Clare? Although it was stated there had been a steady progress in law and order, at a meeting of magistrates there, presided over by a Member of that House, as well acquainted with the state of the country as any man in the three kingdoms, they had given their opinion that the state of the county was alarming in the extreme; that crime had steadily increased; that outrages were frequent; that fires were of constant occurrence; and more than that, that the number of crimes reported to the constabulary was not one-third of those which were actually committed—sufferers from the outrages being afraid even to report to the police the treatment to which they had been subjected. A statement to that

effect was signed on behalf of the magistrates by the Lord Lieutenant of the county, and was forwarded to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and also to the Prime Minister. Any one who knew what the actual state of the County Clare was would know that there was no more chance of obtaining a conviction for an agrarian crime, or any crime of a serious character, than there would be of obtaining a conviction for high treason against the Prime Minister, with a jury of his own Cabinet trying him, and the Lord Chancellor sitting on the Woolsack to decide the case. It was utterly impossible to obtain a conviction in that part of the country. Another part of Ireland which he would mention was West Kerry. Although he was not personally acquainted with it, he had the best means of knowing what was going on there. Castle Island, a name not unfamiliar to their Lordships, had been the centre of all that was turbulent in Kerry. He would ask any one to glance over the public papers, and see what was happening in Castle Island and its neighbourhood at the present moment. He believed the last occurrence that had happened there was entirely devoid of any agrarian character. The parish priest had appointed a very competent person to be teacher in the school. The friends of the former teacher had resented this. A number of houses were visited in the night, shots were fired, and the inhabitants were warned that if they continued to send their children to the school where the obnoxious teacher presided, serious consequences would happen to them. And yet Her Majesty's Government thought it right to put in the Speech from the Throne that there was a steady progress in Ireland towards a better state of things. He could not believe that the two noble Lords, who had each held the Government of Ireland in troublous times, and had done good service in the public interest, could have taken the trouble to look into statistics which they might have obtained from reliable sources before a statement of that kind was put into the Speech. He might say without fear of contradiction that if the state of the country was fairly examined by them, although it was very much better than it had been at many previous periods of its history, it would be found that during the last six months

there had been a steady retrogression in the state of the country, and that every month had made it more apparent that the laws which restrained crime in the disturbed districts of Ireland had been relaxed far too soon. Of course, the difficulty of obtaining such statistics was very great, because the moment anyone showed unusual activity in the suppression of crime, or had done so in the past, he was immediately removed by the present Chief Secretary, and, perhaps, relegated to some distant part of the country of which he had known nothing whatever before, and it was pretty generally understood that such persons were not popular under the present Castle régime, and that they would have to suffer for their temerity. That, at all events, was the impression among those who had the administration of law and order in Ireland. Another point was the extraordinary manner in which the Chief Secretary had acted with regard to the Judiciary. When a Judge felt it necessary in the execution of his duty to make a statement about the prevalence of crime in a particular locality he was immediately accused by the Chief Secretary of having spoken with the Parties opposite. That was not very encouraging. But what was still more extraordinary was that the Chief Secretary, who thought that the Irish people were to be trusted in every respect, had thought it necessary to subtract a Judge from the English Judiciary to carry out the investigations he required, because there was not to be found, forsooth, on the Irish Bench a Judge of sufficient impartiality to preside over such a Commission. He could hardly conceive how a greater insult could be conveyed to a nation than to say that a body of men who had been appointed by Prime Ministers, taken from both sides of the House, who had discharged their duties faithfully for years, were to be held wholly incompetent to conduct any inquiry which the Government saw fit to institute. If there was any answer to all this he confessed he should like to hear it. He would like to hear from some Member of Her Majesty's Government upon what authority these things had been done, why these statements had been made in the Speech from the Throne, and how they proposed to justify the line of

Viscount Midleton

action they had taken in matters so seriously affecting the interests of the country. They had thought fit to issue a Fishing Commission which was more extraordinary than had ever been issued by the Crown before. He was not aware that any precedent existed for such a Commission except that created by Mr. Morley himself in the case of Belfast some six or seven years ago.

THE MARQUESS OF LONDONDERRY said that, as there were a number of Peers connected with Ireland, and well acquainted with the present state of affairs there, who were anxious to discuss this question, and to state their views upon it to the House, he would, in order to afford them an opportunity of doing so, move the adjournment of the Debate until Thursday next.

Moved, "That the Debate be adjourned to Thursday next."—(*The Marquess of Londonderry.*)

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: There is no objection to that course.

Motion agreed to; Debate adjourned till Thursday next.

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES.

The EARL of MORLEY appointed, *nemine dissentiente*, to take the Chair in all Committees of this House for this Session.

COMMITTEE FOR PRIVILEGES—Appointed.

SUB-COMMITTEE FOR THE JOURNALS—Appointed.

STOPPAGES IN THE STREETS—Order to prevent, renewed.

APPEAL COMMITTEE—Appointed.

House adjourned at twenty minutes past Seven o'clock, to Thursday next, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 31st January 1893.

The House met at half after One of the clock.

Message to attend the Lords Commissioners;—

The House went;—and, having returned;—

One Member took and subscribed the Oath.

NEW MEMBERS SWORN.

Right Hon. William Ewart Gladstone, for County of Edinburgh; Right Hon. Sir William Vernon Harcourt, for Borough of Derby; Right Hon. Herbert Henry Asquith, for Fife County (Eastern Division); Right Hon. H. Campbell-Bannerman, for Stirling District of Burghs; Right Hon. Anthony John Mundella, for Sheffield (Brightside Division); Right Hon. Henry Hartley Fowler, for Wolverhampton (East Division); Right Hon. Sir George Otto Trevelyan, for Glasgow (Bridgeton Division); Right Hon. George John Shaw Lefevre, for Bradford (Central Division); Right Hon. Arnold Morley, for Nottingham (East Division); Right Hon. James Bryce, for Aberdeen (South Division); Right Hon. Arthur Herbert Dyke Acland, for County of York, Part of the West Riding (Rotherham Division); Hon. Charles Robert Spencer, for County of Northampton (Mid Division); Right Hon. Herbert Colttown Gardner, for Essex (Northern or Saffron Walden Division); Right Hon. John Blair Balfour, for Clackmannan and Kinross; Edmund Robertson, esquire, for Dundee Burgh; Richard Knight Causton, esquire, for Borough of Southwark (West Division); George Granville Leveson Gower, esquire, for Stoke upon Trent; Thomas Edward Ellis, esquire, for County of Merioneth; Alexander Asher, esquire, for Elgin District of Burghs; William Alexander M'Arthur, esquire, for Cornwall Mid or St. Austell District.

AFFIRMATION.

The Right Hon. John Morley took, and subscribed the Affirmation according to Law for the borough of Newcastle upon Tyne.

NEW MEMBERS SWORN.

Samuel Howard Whitbread, esquire, for Bedford County (Southern or Luton Division); Sir Charles Hall, for Finsbury (Holborn Division); Walter Hume Long, esquire, for Liverpool (West Derby Division); Thomas William Chester Master, esquire, for Gloucester County

(Eastern or Cirencester Division); Thomas Ryburn Buchanan, esquire, for Aberdeen County (Eastern Division); Viscount Chelsea, for Bury Saint Edmunds; John Lawson Walton, esquire for Leeds (Southern Division); John Rigby, esquire, for Forfar County.

NEW WRITS.

For the Borough of Halifax, *v.* Thomas Shaw, esquire, deceased.—(*Mr. Marjoribanks.*)

Borough of Burnley, *v.* Jabez Spencer Balfour, esquire, Chiltern Hundreds.—(*Mr. Marjoribanks.*)

MR. WILLIAM CODDINGTON (Blackburn): May I be allowed to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer why, in view of the enormous frauds committed by Mr. Jabez Balfour, he was permitted to accept the honourable office of the Chiltern Hundreds?

*THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EX-CHEQUER (Sir W. HARCOURT): The hon. Member who put this question, and I think some other hon. Members, are mistaken as to the nature and tenure of the Chiltern Hundreds. The hon. Member used the words "accepted the honourable position of the Chiltern Hundreds." Now, in order to prevent any conception that the grant of the Chiltern Hundreds was conferring any honour, that any credit attached to it, certain words from the warrant were deliberately struck out. This is referred to in Sir Erskine May's book. Thus a good many years ago the words that attached any honour or credit to the Chiltern Hundreds were deliberately struck out, with the object of removing the misconception that had arisen. This is the only form in which a Member can resign, and by which the House of Commons can get rid of a Member. (Cries of "Oh!") Well, it is quite true that under certain circumstances you may get rid of a Member by expulsion, but we have had some recent experience of the difficulties of that process. For my part, I would always much rather give the Chiltern Hundreds to a Member who is an undesirable Member of Parliament, and whom I should be glad to see cease to be a Member, than to a good Member, whom I should be sorry to see leave this House. That is the true principle attaching to the gift of the Chiltern Hun-

And, in further pursuance of the said Acts, we report that at the conclusion of the said trial we determined that the said Nathaniel George Clayton, being the Member whose election and return were complained of, was not duly elected or returned, and that his election was void, on the ground that he was by his agents guilty of treating and of illegal practices, and we do hereby certify in writing such our determination to you.

And whereas charges were made of corrupt and illegal practices having been committed at the said Election, we in further pursuance of the said Acts report as follows:—

(a.) That no corrupt or illegal practice was proved to have been committed by or with the knowledge or consent of any candidate at such Election.

(b.) That the following persons were proved at the trial to have been guilty of the corrupt practice of personation, namely, Edward Tate, of Brownknowl, near Bellingham, John Emmerson, of Shildon Hill, near Stockfield.

(c.) That it was proved at the trial that Isaac Baty, the Election Agent of the Respondent, was guilty of the corrupt practice of treating.

(d.) That it was proved at the trial that the said Isaac Baty was guilty of illegal practices.

(e.) That there is no reason to believe that corrupt or illegal practices extensively prevailed at the Election for the Division of Hexham to which the Petition relates.

We have given Certificates of Indemnity to the said Edward Tate, the said John Emmerson, and the said Isaac Baty.

Dated this 7th day of December, 1892.

LEWIS W. CAVE.

ROLAND L. VAUGHAN WILLIAMS.

WORCESTER ELECTION.

The Parliamentary Elections Act, 1868, and The Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act, 1883.

To the Right Honorable The Speaker of the House of Commons.

We, the Honorable Baron Pollock and the Honorable Mr. Justice Wills, Judges of Her Majesty's High Court of Justice, and two of the Judges on the rota for the time being for the trial of Election Petitions in England and Wales, do hereby in pursuance of the said Acts of Parliament certify that, upon the 29th, 30th, 1st, 2nd, and 3rd days of November and December respectively, we duly held a Court at the Shire Hall in the City of Worcester for the trial of and did try the Election Petition for the said city between Glazzard and another, Petitioners, and the Honorable George Higginson Allsopp, Respondent.

And, in further pursuance of the said Acts, we report that, at the conclusion of the said trial, we determined that the said Honorable George Higginson Allsopp was duly elected and returned, and that his election was not void, and we do hereby certify in writing such our determination to you.

And whereas charges were made of corrupt practices having been committed at the said

Election, we, in further pursuance of the said Acts, report as follows:—

That no corrupt practice was proved to have been committed by or with the knowledge or consent of any candidate at such Election.

That there is no reason to believe that corrupt practices have extensively prevailed at the Election for the City of Worcester to which the said Petition relates.

C. E. POLLOCK.

ALFRED WILLS.

EAST CLARE ELECTION.

In the Matter of an Election Petition for the East Clare Division of the County of Clare.

Between—

Joseph Richard Cox, Petitioner,
and

William Hoey Kearney Redmond,
Respondent.

We hereby certify to the Right Honorable the Speaker of the House of Commons that the above-mentioned Petition was tried before us at Ennis, in the county of Clare, on the 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th days of December, 1892, and that at the conclusion of the said trial we did, on 12th day of December 1892, determine that the said William Hoey Kearney Redmond, whose Election was complained of by the said Petition, was duly elected to serve in the present Parliament for the East Clare Division of the county of Clare.

And, in addition to the foregoing certificate, we hereby further report to the Right Honorable the Speaker of the House of Commons that no corrupt or illegal practice has been proved to have been committed by or with the knowledge and consent of any candidate at said Election, and that the said William Hoey Kearney Redmond has not been proved to be guilty by himself or his agent or agents of any corrupt or illegal practices.

And, further, that on the evidence before us, it did not appear that corrupt or illegal practices extensively prevailed at the said election, and we have no reason to believe that any corrupt or illegal practices did extensively prevail at said Election.

We beg also to state that a copy of the said Petition and a copy of the evidence given at the trial taken down by the deputies of the shorthand writer of the House of Commons accompany this Certificate.

Given under our hands this 12th day of December 1892.

WILLIAM O'BRIEN.

W. G. JOHNSON.

Two of the Judges for the time being on the rota for the trial of Election Petitions in Ireland, and by whom the said Election Petition was tried, pursuant to the statute in that case made and provided.

ROCHESTER ELECTION.

The Corrupt Practices Prevention Acts,
1854 to 1883.

To the Right Honorable the Speaker of the House of Commons.

We, the undersigned Judges of the High Court of Justice, and two of the Judges for the

time being for the trial of Election Petitions in England, do hereby, in pursuance of the said Acts, certify, That, upon the 1st, 2nd, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th days of December 1892, we duly held a Court at the Guildhall in the city of Rochester, in the county of Kent, for the trial of and did try the Election Petition for the said city or borough of Rochester, in the said county, between Alfred Barry and Charles John Saxby Varrall, Petitioners, and Horatio David Davies, Respondent.

And, in further pursuance of the said Acts, at the conclusion of the said trial, we determined that the said Horatio David Davies, being the member whose Election and Return were complained of, was not duly elected or returned, and that the election was void on the ground that he was by his agents guilty of corrupt and illegal practices, and we do hereby certify such our determination to you.

And, whereas charges were made of corrupt and illegal practices having been committed at the said Election, we, in further pursuance of the said Acts, report as follows:—

(a.) That no corrupt or illegal practice was proved to have been committed by or with the consent or knowledge of any candidate at such election.

(b.) That the following persons were proved at the trial to have been guilty of the corrupt practice of treating, namely:—

William Constable of High Street, Rochester, Fishmonger.

William Boucher of High Street, Rochester, Butcher.

(c.) That it was proved at the trial that Frederick William Walter, the Election Agent of the Respondent, was guilty of illegal practices.

(d.) That facts were proved before us which preclude our reporting that we have no reason to believe corrupt or illegal practices prevailed at the Election, but these facts were not such as would support a report that corrupt or illegal practices have, or that there is reason to believe that corrupt or illegal practices have extensively, prevailed at the Election.

We have given Certificates of Indemnity to the said William Constable, the said William Boucher, and the said Frederick William Walton.

Dated this 16th day of December 1892.

LEWIS W. CAVE.

ROLAND L. VAUGHAN WILLIAMS.

CENTRAL FINSBURY ELECTION.

The Corrupt Practices Prevention Acts, 1854 to 1883.

To the Right Honorable The Speaker of the House of Commons.

We, the undersigned Judges of the High Court of Justice, and two of the Judges for the time being for the trial of Election Petitions in England, do hereby, in pursuance of the said Acts, certify that upon the 12th, 13th, and 14th days of December 1892, we duly held a Court at the Royal Courts of Justice, London, in the county of Middlesex, for the trial of and did proceed to try the Election Petition for the borough of Central Finsbury, between Frederick Thomas Penton, Petitioner, and Dadabhai Naoroji, Respondent.

And, in further pursuance of the said Acts, we report that on the 14th day of December 1892, the third day of the trial, after some witnesses had been examined the Petitioner, by his Counsel, with the assent of the Respondent, by his Counsel, asked leave to withdraw the Petition and without either party paying the costs to the other. We thereupon, being satisfied that such withdrawal of the Petition was not the result of any corrupt arrangement, nor in consideration of the withdrawal of any other Petition, ordered that the Petitioner be at liberty to withdraw the Petition, and we made no order as to costs, and we determined that the said Dadabhai Naoroji being the Member whose Election and Return were complained of, was duly elected and returned for the said borough, and that Frederick Thomas Penton was not duly elected for the same, and we do hereby certify such our determination.

And, in further pursuance of the said Acts, we do hereby report that no corrupt or illegal practice was proved to have been committed by or with the consent or knowledge of any candidate at such Election.

We further report that there is no reason to believe that corrupt practices extensively prevailed at the Election for the borough of Central Finsbury, to which the said Petition relates.

Dated this 19th day of December 1892.

LEWIS W. CAVE.

ROLAND L. VAUGHAN WILLIAMS.

STEPNEY ELECTION.

The Corrupt Practices Prevention Acts, 1854 to 1883.

To the Right Honorable The Speaker of the House of Commons.

We, the Honorable Mr. Justice Cave and the Honorable Mr. Justice Vaughan Williams, Judges of the High Court of Justice, and two of the Judges for the time being for the trial of Election Petitions in England, do hereby in pursuance of the said Acts certify that upon the 15th, 16th, 19th, 20th, and 21st days of December 1892, we duly held a Court at the Royal Courts of Justice in London for the trial of and did try the Election Petition for the Stepney Division of Tower Hamlets between William Rushmere and William Charles Steadman, Petitioners, and Frederick Wootton Isaacson, Respondent.

And in further pursuance of the said Acts we report that at the conclusion of the said trial we determined that the said Frederick Wootton Isaacson, being the Member whose Election and Return were complained of in the said Petition, was duly elected and returned for the said Borough. And we do hereby certify in writing such our determination to you.

And whereas charges were made of corrupt and illegal practices having been committed at the said Election, we, in further pursuance of the said Acts, report as follows:—

(a.) That no corrupt or illegal practice was proved to have been committed by or with the consent or knowledge of any candidate at such Election.

(b) That there is no reason to believe that corrupt practices extensively prevailed at the Election for the Borough of the Stepney Division of Tower Hamlets, to which the said Petition relates.

Dated this 22nd day of December, 1892.

LEWIS WM. CAVE.

ROWLAND L. VAUGHAN WILLIAMS.

NORTH MEATH ELECTION.

In the Matter of "The Parliamentary Elections Act, 1868," and "The Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act, 1883," and in the Matter of a Petition in relation to the Election held in the month of July, 1892, of a Member to serve in Parliament for the North Meath Division of the County of Meath.

Between—

Pierce Charles de Lacy Mahony, Petitioner
and

Michael Davitt, Respondent.

We hereby certify to the Right Honorable the Speaker of the House of Commons that the above-mentioned Petition was tried before us at Trim, in the county of Meath, on the 15th, 16th, 17th, 19th, 20th, 21st, and 22nd days of December, 1892, and that after the conclusion of the said trial we did, on the 23rd day of December, 1892, determine that the said Michael Davitt, whose Election was complained of by the said Petitioner, was not duly elected to serve in the present Parliament for the North Meath Division of the County of Meath, and that his said Election was void.

And, pursuant to the said Acts, we hereby report to the Right Honorable the Speaker of the House of Commons that Michael Davitt, the Respondent, was guilty, by his agents, of the corrupt practice of undue influence by threatening certain persons with spiritual injury to induce them to vote at the said Election for the said Michael Davitt, and to refrain from voting for the Petitioner, who was the other candidate at the said Election.

And we further report that the corrupt practice of undue influence by spiritual intimidation did extensively prevail at the said Election, but that, with the exception of such practice, no other corrupt or illegal practice was proved to have prevailed or to have been committed, nor is there reason to believe extensively prevailed at the said Election.

And we further certify that we differ as to reporting the names of persons guilty of corrupt practices.

We beg also to state that a copy of the said Petition, and a copy of the evidence given at the said trial thereof, taken down by the deputies of the shorthand writer of the House of Commons, accompany this Certificate and Report.

Given under our hands this 23rd day of December in the year of our Lord 1892.

WILLIAM D. ANDREWS,
W. G. JOHNSON,

Two of the Judges for the time being on the rota for the trial of Election Petitions in Ireland, and by whom the said Election Petition was tried, pursuant to the statute in that case made and provided.

MONTGOMERY DISTRICT ELECTION.

The Parliamentary Elections Act, 1868.

The Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act, 1883.

To the Right Honourable the Speaker of the House of Commons.

We, the Honourable Baron Pollock and the Honourable Mr. Justice Wills, Judges of Her Majesty's High Court of Justice, and two of the Judges on the rota for the trial of Election Petitions in England and Wales, do hereby, in pursuance of the said Acts of Parliament, certify that upon the sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth days of December, 1892, we duly held a Court at the Town Hall, in the Borough of Montgomery, for the trial of, and did try, the Election Petition for the Montgomery District, between George and others, Petitioners, and Sir Pryce Pryce-Jones, Respondent.

And, in further pursuance of the said Acts, we certify that we differ as to whether the member whose Election is complained of was duly elected.

And whereas charges were made of corrupt practices having been committed at the said Election, we, in further pursuance of the said Acts, certify that we differ in regard to certain of the said charges, and in regard to the rest thereof we agree that they were not proved.

And we find and report that no corrupt practice has been proved to have been committed by or with the knowledge and consent of the Respondent.

And we find and report that no illegal practice was proved to have been committed at the said Election.

And we further find and report that there is no reason to believe that corrupt practices have extensively prevailed at the Election to which the Petition relates.

C. E. POLLOCK.
ALFRED WILLS.

23rd December, 1892.

LICHFIELD ELECTION.

In the High Court of Justice, Queen's Bench Division.

The Parliamentary Elections Act, 1868.

The Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act, 1883.

To the Right Honourable the Speaker of the House of Commons.

Election for the Lichfield Division of the County of Stafford, holden on the 18th day of July, 1892.

In the matter of an Election Petition from the said division, presented the 12th day of August, 1892.

Swinburne, Bart., Petitioner.
Darwin, M.P., Respondent.

We, the Honourable Baron Pollock and the Honourable Mr. Justice Wills, two of the Judges of the High Court of Justice, being on the rota of Judges selected to try Parliamentary Election Petitions (presented during the year ending 24th October, 1893) in England and Wales,—

Do hereby report that a Summons for liberty to withdraw this Petition, on behalf of the Petitioner, was heard before us on the 24th day of November last, in the matter of this Petition. After we had heard the Counsel on both sides and read the Affidavits of the respective parties we ordered that the Petitioner should be allowed to withdraw the Petition.

We further report that the withdrawal of such Petition was not in our opinion the result of any agreement, terms, or undertaking, in consideration of any payment, or in consideration that the seat should at any time be vacated, or in consideration of the withdrawal of any other Election Petition, or for any other consideration.

C. E. POLLOCK.
ALFRED WILLS.

Dated this 27th day of January, 1893.

MOTIONS.

NEW WRITS.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That Mr. Speaker do issue his Warrant to the Clerk of the Crown in Ireland to make out a New Writ for the electing of a Member to serve in this present Parliament for the County of Meath (Southern Division), in the room of Patrick Fulham, esquire, whose election for the said County has been declared void."—(*Colonel Nolan.*)

(457). MR. MACARTNEY (Antrim, S.): I wish to bring to the attention of the House the circumstances connected with the Petition with regard to the Division for which the Writ has just been moved, and I desire also to move an Amendment. I am well aware that in inviting the House to take a step of a character so grave and important as that which I am about to ask it to take on this occasion, it will be necessary for me not only to justify the terms of the Amendment, but to show that on previous occasions the House has taken steps of an even greater gravity, and exercised more stringent authority with regard to cases of a much less heinous character. The Report which has just been presented to the House by the Judges who tried the Petition with regard to the Southern Division of the County of Meath states that the election has been voided through the exercise of undue influence and spiritual intimidation. Now, Sir, those who are acquainted with the cases in which this House has interfered with the issue of a Writ after the Report either of a Committee of this House or of Judges directed to try an Election Petition, are aware that in most cases

the issue of a Writ has been suspended on account of allegations of corrupt practices, principally connected with the bribery of the constituency. But corrupt practices, Sir, are not confined to mere questions of bribery, and I shall be able to invite the attention of the House to a case which is almost exactly parallel with that which has been revealed by the trial of the Petitions for the Divisions of South and North Meath, and a case in which, having heard the statement of the Chairman of a Committee appointed to consider the question, the House proceeded to take steps of a much more stringent and grave character than that which I invite it to take on the present occasion. In the year 1857 Colonel French moved the issue of a new Writ for County Mayo, upon which occasion the Chairman of the Committee, who had been engaged in trying the allegations connected with the Petition with regard to that county—Mr. Schofield—rose to call the attention of the House to the fifth resolution of the Report. As the allegations contained in that Petition were practically of the same nature as those which have resulted in unseating Mr. Fullam in the South Division of Meath, I think I shall not be intruding on the House if I try briefly to call attention to some of the allegations which were proved before that Committee and which were brought to the notice of the House on that occasion by Mr. Schofield. Mr. Schofield said the House would see by the evidence that the proceedings of the election began with the issuing of a most unseemly electioneering mandate signed by the Archbishop of Tuam in favour of Mr. Moore against Colonel Higgins. He went on to say that this had been followed by unceasing activity on the part of the priests, by spiritual intimidation, and by incentives to violence until the county was in such a state of excitement that it was not possible for Colonel Higgins' voters to go to the poll except they were escorted by the military. Further than that, they were not safe even in the booths. I do not think it necessary to trouble the House with the details on this occasion which Mr. Schofield on that occasion brought to the notice of the Members who were present. But those Members of the House who are curious on the matter will find that

in the case connected with the Mayo Writ in 1857 there is to be found an absolute parallel with the circumstances of the Election Petition tried for the Southern Division of the County of Meath. Mr. Schofield summed up the opinion of the Committee by saying that they had felt it was not a question of Protestantism as opposed to Catholicism, but that it was a question of the freedom of election as against priestly intimidation. So viewing it the Committee discharged their duty faithfully. And although he had always done his best to maintain the civil and religious privileges of his Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, he considered it to be his bounden duty to see that the priests did not infringe upon the civil liberties of the people. On that occasion there was a Debate of some considerable length, in which many Members of the House joined. The Leader of the House then was Lord Palmerston, and he supported an Amendment which had been moved by Mr. Schofield and which was eventually agreed to by a majority of 107. It was an Amendment of a much more stringent character than that which I now invite the House to support. It was on that occasion proposed by Mr. Schofield to suspend the issue of the Writ for the County of Mayo for the whole of that Session of Parliament. I have noticed that in all the Debates that have taken place in this House with regard to the inherent power of the House to suspend the issue of Writs, it has never been denied by any authority whatever that there is in the House absolute power to deal with a Writ in any way it chooses. Now, the circumstances which have taken place in the two elections in Meath—which may practically, for the purpose of this Debate, be treated as one election—are of so grave a character that I presume the House is justified in intervening. I feel that I also have to justify the actual form of the Amendment which I intend to propose. That Amendment is this: To leave out all the words after the word “that” in the Main Proposition of my hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Galway, and to insert the following words:—

“The Writ for the election of a Member for the Southern Division of the County Meath be suspended until the evidence taken on the trial of the South Meath Election Petition has been considered by this House.”

Mr. Macartney

That Amendment is in the precise form of the Motion that came before the House in regard to the proposal made in 1875 by Mr. Whalley, the Member for Peterborough, in respect of the Norwich Writ. Again, when Mr. Lewis, the then Member for Londonderry, proposed the issue of a Writ for the borough of Stroud, the right hon. Gentleman the present Chancellor of the Exchequer opposed his Motion, and in that opposition was supported by the then Leader of the House, the late Lord Beaconsfield. The Chancellor of the Exchequer so opposed the Motion because it proposed to take away from Stroud the right of representation, and the House, he held, ought not to do away with the representation of any particular constituency. I do not propose to go so far as Mr. Lewis did on that occasion, neither do I propose to go as far as Mr. Schofield did in the year 1857. All I ask the House to do now is to do what was unanimously agreed to be done in the year 1875 under a precisely similar state of circumstances. In 1875, as I have already stated, Mr. Whalley moved the issue of a Writ for the borough of Norwich, and the then Attorney General got up and opposed the Motion. He said he had been taken by surprise, as the moment he received the shorthand writer's notes of the evidence and the Report of the Judges, he made a Motion that they should be printed and laid on the Table of the House. Surely it is quite impossible for the House on the present occasion to agree to the Motion which has been made by the hon. and gallant Member for Galway, if for no other reason than that of precedent. I say that we are entitled, and that every Member of the House is entitled, to learn, from an authorised copy of the transactions, what took place in the Court House at Meath; what were the circumstances and what was the evidence upon which the election was upset. On the occasion of the moving of the Writ in 1875, to which I have referred, an Amendment was proposed by Mr. York in the terms of the Amendment which I am to-day inviting the House to consider, and so strong were the arguments advanced in support of it that the Attorney General of that time intervened in the Debate; and Mr. Herschell, who now occupies a very responsible position in the present Government, supported

the Amendment, and it was agreed to without a Division. I cannot help thinking that the House must see that under such circumstances as these it would be inadvisable to proceed with the Motion to issue the Writ which the hon. and gallant Member for Galway has proposed. I should like to remind the House that never before has such an attempt as this been made to issue a Writ under these circumstances at the very commencement of a new Parliament. In former days it was customary, by a Sessional Order, to preclude any such writs being issued until after a period of seven days, although I believe that in more recent times the House has contented itself with a Sessional Order that no such Writ shall be moved for until after a period of two days has elapsed. And if that Sessional Order had been in existence at the present moment, it would not have been necessary for me to have intervened on this occasion, because those of my friends who desire to take action in this matter would have had an opportunity of putting the terms of this Motion on the Paper of the House in due course, and they also would have had a full opportunity of considering what were the circumstances which were necessary to be brought to the attention of the House. I feel certain that the House will pardon me for intervening on this occasion, and I am sure that the older Members of this Assembly—those who have more experience in the business of the House, and are better acquainted with its precedents—will agree that I have a somewhat ample justification for the course which I have taken to-day. I do not propose to argue at any very great length the questions which arose in the Court House in Meath, but I should like to refer for one moment to a passage which occurred in the Judgment of Mr. Justice O'Brien, because, as I before pointed out, the case of the South Meath Election Petition is precisely parallel with the Mayo Petition, in regard to which the House, at the invitation of Mr. Schofield, took far stronger measures than I now ask it to adopt. Mr. Justice O'Brien, after alluding to various matters in the pastoral and the law applicable thereto, said—

"I now come to the particular grounds on which the validity of this election is questioned, and the first and gravest is the pastoral of the

Most Rev. Dr. Nulty, which was read in all the churches on July 3, setting forth as it did the Divine authority of the Church, the obligations of the Moral Law which Mr. Parnell had violated, and the responsibility of those who supported Parnellism."

Then he goes on to comment on the character of the pastoral, and he concludes that portion of his charge with the following words:—

"'Invincible ignorance,'—I quote the words—that exception which identifies the condemned doctrine with heresy, was allowed possibly to excuse misguided men and women, for it was laid down authoritatively that no intelligent or well-informed person 'could remain a Catholic and continue to cling to Parnellism.'"

It is not necessary for me to comment at length on the whole of this Judgment. All I desire now to do is to call the attention of the House to the concluding words of Mr. Justice O'Brien's powerful charge. Referring to the clergy generally, he said—

"I have no doubt a strong obligation of obedience to their own Bishop, and whether or not in conformity with their own opinions and sentiments, did use language calculated to convey to the minds of the voters in this division that their conduct in this election involved the question of eternal condemnation or the contrary. Now, having expressed that opinion, it remains to me to say one word concerning the legal aspects of the evidence concerning this question in relation to agency, and upon that apparently very little difficulty seems to me to arise. I consider if there ever was a case of agency established it was in this particular case. Mr. Fullam was named as the candidate from the very beginning of the contest; he attended all the meetings held; he attended there with clergymen; he named them as his agents, as his personation agents in many instances; he received the subsidy of money provided for the expenses of the election from them or some clergyman; he, upon the public occasion when the victory was celebrated, thanked publicly the clergy for the services they had rendered, and the only question that would remain on my mind as the result of the evidence is the application of this term agent at all, and of the possible application of any such term to the position the clergy assumed. They appear to me to have fulfilled positions of principals, while Mr. Fullam was only the agent, and upon that part of the matter, therefore, I have formed my opinion. We have heard a great deal, of course, of the importance of this question, and this trial, and a great many arguments and observations had been made concerning it. I am quite conscious of the great importance of it—that it is a struggle between great Parties and great interests, and, it may be, of great consequences. But with the consequences I have no concern whatever. My concern is with justice; my allegiance is to justice alone, and in the fulfilment of that obligation I am constrained in justice to declare that, in my opinion, the election for the South

Division of Meath, both under the Statute and the Common Law, is void through undue influence, and must be set aside."

Having, Sir, read the concluding sentences of this Judgment, I venture to say there is not a Member of this House, no matter on which side he may sit, who will not feel that these grave and important words demand at least the attention of the House, and that I am not asking them to assent to a Motion which goes beyond what can legitimately be asked. All I ask is, that before any step is taken in issuing a new Writ, before any further opportunity is given to those who have already trampled on the liberty of individual opinion in the South Meath electorate, before they are again allowed to exercise such intimidation and undue influence, as a Judge of the High Court reports to have been exercised there. Every Member of this House should have the fullest opportunity of acquainting himself with the evidence given on the Petition and with the terms of the Judge's charge. I take it the Government can hardly see its way to agree to the issue of this Writ. I cannot believe that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Midlothian (Mr. Gladstone), who has been one of the most distinguished and careful custodians of the Precedents of this House, will for one moment sanction a departure for a Precedent which is completely on all fours with the course I now invite the House to take, and which in the year 1875 had the sanction of his present Lord Chancellor (Lord Herschell). I think I have said sufficient to justify the Motion I now make, seeing that it will give the House at some future date—after hon. Members have acquainted themselves with what took place in the Meath Court House—an opportunity of deciding what steps, if any, should be taken with regard to the issue of a new Writ.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That," to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "the Writ for the Election of a Member for the Southern Division of the County of Meath be suspended until the evidence taken on the trial of the Election Petition for that division has been considered by the House;"—(Mr. Macartney.)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Mr. Macartney

*THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE, Edinburgh, Midlothian): I can assure the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down that I am by no means insensible of the grave nature of the allegations contained in his speech, and the proposal that I have to make will imply no disposition on my part to disparage them; neither, on the other hand, do I intend to enter in any manner upon the merits of the original Motion itself; but what I wish to put before the House is that there is a prior consideration, which was glanced at by the hon. Member for Antrim (Mr. Macartney), and which ought to preclude the House from proceeding with the Debate at the present moment. My objection, as far as it is an objection when considered in the view of the forms and usages of the House, is undoubtedly an objection not so much to the Amendment as to the original Motion itself. There is no such thing, I believe, as a Standing Order of the House applicable to the question I am about to raise. I do not know that there is so much as a Sessional Order of the House, which the hon. Member believes to exist; but there is a usage of the House which is supported by so much practice and authority that it forms a grave fact in the case, and is, I think, so obviously reasonable that nothing ought to be done to weaken the force of that usage. Usage has been glanced at by the hon. Member for Antrim, and I invite him to consider in an impartial spirit the reference I am about to make to it, a reference in respect to which I am bound to say I should feel myself very greatly confirmed in the view I take of the matter, provided you, Sir, with your great authority in the Chair, are disposed to advise the House in the same sense in respect to this rather important question of its Forms of Procedure. It is an established usage of the House, when any seat has been vacated in consequence of the sentence of a competent tribunal that the election has been vitiated by corrupt and illegal practices, that no Writ shall be moved for the purpose of filling the vacancy until a notice has been regularly given and placed upon the Votes; and that two days shall intervene before the Motion can be entertained by the House. I think that that is obviously a reasonable practice, and I believe it is also an

established practice. If I might venture to make a suggestion, I would say we should most completely conform to the practice. Were the hon. and gallant Gentleman to ask leave for the present to withdraw his Motion, and then to place a regular notice upon the Votes, I have little doubt, from the spirit of his speech, that the Mover of the Amendment would place no impediment in the way of the proceeding. It is not in my power in any manner to enforce that method of procedure, or to make a Motion directly in support of it; but what I can do in order in some degree to attain that object, if there is a general concurrence of view upon the subject, is to move that the Debate be now adjourned. The effect of that would be to give the hon. and gallant Gentleman time for consideration. If the view I have expressed should be supported by the weight of your authority, I would venture strongly to recommend the hon. and gallant Member to adopt this course. It would then be in his power to take steps to re-commence the proceedings, and he could raise the question at a more convenient moment. I venture, therefore, to put in your hands for the present the Motion I have indicated, bearing in mind the great assistance which would be afforded to the House should you be prepared to give an opinion as to the best course to be adopted. I beg to move that this Debate be now adjourned.

* **MR. SPEAKER:** After the appeal of the right hon. Gentleman, I may say that it is generally the case that there is in force an Order passed by this House that in cases such as those referred to, two days' clear notice should be given of a Motion to issue a new Writ. But it is not a Sessional Order; it is not a Standing Order, though I think it ought to be made a Standing Order, but there is now no Order in force. The reason, therefore, why I have not interfered is because I have no order to act on. But in the course, probably, of to-morrow or next day, in accordance with usage, it will be competent for Her Majesty's Government to move that in all cases, such as those referred to, two days' notice should be given. But this is the first day of the Session, and the consequence is that the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan) is perfectly entitled to bring forward this Motion. I would, however, venture to make the

suggestion, not that the debate should be adjourned, but that the previous suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury should be adopted, and that both the Motion and the Amendment should be withdrawn, and that two clear days' notice should be given. The spirit of the Order, which I am sure the House will pass, will then be complied with.

* **MR. W. E. GLADSTONE:** I may say in explanation that, at all events, we are agreed as to the present prosecution of the debate. But if there be a disposition to go a little further back and to re-commence the debate later on, I shall be delighted to withdraw the Motion I have made.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR (Manchester, E.): After what has fallen from you, Sir, I hope there will be no hesitation on the part of the hon. Gentleman who initiated the debate to follow the advice which you have tendered. So far as I can gather from the speech of the hon. Gentleman, I have no doubt that if the course you suggest should be pursued, he would see it followed with sincere gratification. I therefore hope, Sir, that we will defer the debate until Friday next.

MR. JOHN E. REDMOND (Waterford): I ask the permission of the House to make just one remark. My hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Nolan), in making his Motion, had no desire to violate the usage of the House. All that we desire is that the Writ should be moved as soon as practicable. The suggestion made by the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury, that the Motion of my hon. and gallant Friend should be withdrawn, that he should give now a new notice to move for this Writ in two days' time, is a suggestion which I hope my hon. and gallant Friend will adopt. I can scarcely take the view of the right hon. Gentleman who has last spoken that that is the spirit of the hon. Gentleman who moved the Amendment, because the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman was an Amendment directed to the suspension of the Writ until there has been a discussion on the merits of the evidence which would be in due course laid on the table of the House. But what I want to safeguard myself against is that in agreeing to postponing the Motion for the Writ on the suggestion of the First Lord of the

Treasury, that I am agreeing also to the idea that the Writ should be suspended until the evidence is laid on the table, and until there has been a discussion on the evidence. The evidence, I presume, will be laid on the table in due course, and the fact that this Writ has been moved for, and that an election has taken place, will not in the slightest impede the consideration by the House of the undoubtedly grave questions raised by the Petition. I suggest, therefore, to my hon. and gallant Friend that he should adopt the suggestion of the First Lord of the Treasury, on the understanding that if, having given two days' notice, he moves for the Writ, he shall not be met by an attempt, such as that made by the Amendment, to raise the entire question, and that the Writ shall be suspended until the matter has been considered. [*Ironical Opposition laughter.*] Hon. Gentlemen, then, have no right to cheer their leader. The right hon. Gentleman said that was the spirit animating the speech of the mover of the Amendment. I therefore hope that when the Writ is moved for again I shall not be met by the same kind of Motion, but that two days having expired we will then have the Writ issued for a new election, and that the House will consider the questions raised in the Petition in a proper and regular way hereafter. That course will not be impeded in the slightest degree by the issuing of the Writ. Speaking for those who brought the Petition, and against whom these influences were directed, and who were only beaten by 80 votes, we desire above all things that there should be a speedy new election, and that we should again appeal to the suffrage of the people as soon as possible.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON (Armagh, N.): I shall be sorry if there were any misapprehension of the course we intend to pursue with regard to this Writ. We oppose the issue of the Writ, and we shall oppose it when it is moved two days hence. I hope, therefore, the hon. and gallant Member will not be under the misapprehension that we will allow the Motion to pass when it is moved for two days hence.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): Seeing the senior Conservative Whip (Mr. Akers-Douglas) in his place, I desire to ask him if he considers that the Con-

servative Party has a right to move the Writs in the case of Rochester, Hexham, and Walsall where Members of his Party have been unseated, the previous occupants of the seats having been Liberals? This question, I think, involves a matter of considerable importance in regard to the relations of parties in this House. If it is left open to any skir-misher to move a Writ which is generally supposed to be in the hands of the Commander of the Forces of the Regular Army, I need not point out the inconvenience to this House and the obstruction of its business if the moving of Writs were allowed to be sprung upon it, and further the impossibility of the present relations between the Parties as to the moving of Writs being adhered to. For instance, suppose in regard to the Writ for Rochester that some Irish Member on the Nationalist side got up and moved the Writ on some Wednesday when a Tory Bill was on, and that some other Member got up afterwards and moved the Motion that the Member for one of the Divisions for Antrim (Mr. Macartney) has now moved, it would be impossible for the Tory Party, or the Liberal Party, or any other Party in this House to continue the working of its business in the usual spirit that prevails between Parties if hon. Gentlemen who have the proper carriage of Writs were not allowed to intervene. I believe there is also the usage that the Whip of every Party in the House shall receive notice that it is the intention of some other Party to move the Writ. I do not know, so far as regards the right hon. Gentleman the Whip of the Conservative Party, or the right hon. Gentleman the Whip of the Ministerial Party, whether in this case that practice has been carried out; but I submit it is as much incumbent on the Leader of Her Majesty's Opposition as much as on the Prime Minister to see that nobody has the carriage of Election Writs except the Party that has vacated the seat. I submit that as a proposition that ought to carry with it the general and unanimous sense of the House. The object of the present case is plain. Hon. Gentlemen suppose that they may have a benefit in moving for the Writ for South Meath before the Writ for North Meath. They think they have an advantage, but it has always been supposed that it is the Party that vacates

Mr. John E. Redmond

the seat that should within a reasonable limit of time move the Writ. I think I have good reason to complain that not only has the usual order that two days' notice, which we conceive ourselves we are bound to give, has not been followed, but also what I may call the comity of Parties has been broken into by the Motion of the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for North Galway. I hope that this question will be considered by the Whips, both Ministerial and Opposition, and I trust we may have some explanation on the subject.

MR. T. HARRINGTON (Dublin, Harbour) : Before the Whips answer the question put to them. I should like to say a few words on the Motion made by my hon. and gallant Friend, and on the late South Meath Election. The seat for which the Writ was moved was occupied by a member of the Party to which my hon. and gallant Friend belongs. I assume that when an election has been voided by the Judges the seat is not in the possession of the Member elected, but reverts to the position it occupied before the election was voided, and that therefore the Whip of the Party to which it belonged before the voided election has the right to move for the Writ. If the views of the hon. Member who has just addressed the House hold good, I see no way of moving for the Writ except through the Judges who voided the seat. The seat in this case has been vacated by the decision of the Judges who tried the Petition. The seat had been held by a Member of the Party to which the hon. and gallant Member for Galway belongs; and I think it is thoroughly in accordance with precedent that the Party which held the seat before the corrupt election which has been set aside should now move for the Writ.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.) : I wish to say that I do not wish for one moment to violate any of the rules of etiquette of this House. I thought the rules of procedure were all on my side. Before this election the seat was held by Mr. Mahony—no, Mr. Shiel held the seat, and Mr. Shiel was a Member of our Party. The illegal Member elected at the last election was in only long enough to give one vote, and in my opinion it is really our seat for the present until it is filled. Some of the hon. Members around me will be claiming my

seat next, and indeed they tried hard to get it. The Judges declared that this election in South Meath was not a true election, and therefore it was no election at all. I am not giving any word of my own—that is the opinion of the Judges. They declared that in North and South Meath there was so much intimidation and undue influence that they were not free elections, and if an election is not free it is no election whatsoever. Therefore I say that as we held the seat before an illegal election put Mr. Fullam into possession we have the right to move for the Writ. I may be wrong, but I do not see what is to prevent me moving for the Writ unless the Whips of this House—the Conservative Whips and the Government Whips—come together and say I was wrong. If they declare that I am wrong I will not go on except in this way—I will take what is the usual course—I will go to the Whip of the Party who should move for this Writ and say, "If you don't move this Writ on such and such a day I will move it." That is the rule and custom of this House. I have often seen it done in the last twenty years, and that is what I will do if the Whips declare that I am wrong. As to why the Writ for South Meath should be issued first, I moved for it because the Report of the South Meath Petition was first read by the Speaker.

MR. BARTLEY (Islington, N.) : I rise to order. I wish to ask whether this discussion is germane to the question before the Chair?

COLONEL NOLAN : I am justified in answering what the hon. and learned Member for Louth said. He called me a skirmisher. I suppose the hon. and learned Member knows a great deal about law; but I should say his tactical knowledge is not up to date, for this reason—that battles are now almost exclusively decided by skirmishers. Whole lines are made by skirmishers, and I have no objection to be called a skirmisher in that sense of the word. I am anxious to say that if I have sinned against any rule I did it through *bona fide* reasons. I will accept the proposition of the Leader of the House; that is, I will give notice that I will move for the Writ for South Meath next Thursday. I suppose that is two clear days. There are so many meanings now given to three clear days that I must be sure on that point, but I

call that two clear days. I will move for the Writs for South and North Meaths on Thursday, unless the point of etiquette is settled by the Whips against me, and that the Writ will be moved on that day by the Whip properly concerned. I now beg to withdraw my Motion for the Writ, Mr. Speaker.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

SIR THOMAS LEA (Londonderry, N.): I wish to ask, Mr. Speaker, will there be two clear days' notice if the Motion is made on Thursday and not on Friday?

*MR. SPEAKER: The Motion cannot be put on the Paper till Wednesday, and therefore it would not naturally come on till Friday.

COLONEL NOLAN: Then on Friday.

NEW WRITS DURING THE RECESS.

*MR. SPEAKER acquainted the House—that he had issued during the Recess, Warrants for New Writs:—For Burgh of Dundee, *v.* Edmund Robertson, esquire, Civil Lord of the Admiralty; for County of Essex (Saffron Walden Division), *v.* Herbert Gardner, esquire, President of the Board of Agriculture; for Borough of Leeds (Southern Division), *a.* the Rt. Hon. Sir Lyon Playfair, now Baron Playfair, called up to the House of Lords; for County of Bedford (Southern Division), *v.* Cyril Flower, esquire, now Baron Battersea and Overstrand, called up to the House of Peers; for County of Gloucester (Eastern or Cirencester Division), *v.* Arthur Brend Winterbotham, esquire, deceased; for County of Aberdeen (Eastern Division), *v.* Peter Esslemont, esquire, Chairman of the Fishery Board for Scotland; for Borough of Liverpool (West Derby Division), *v.* The Honourable William Henry Cross, deceased; for Borough of Huddersfield, *v.* William Summers, esquire, deceased.

NEW WRIT.

For the County of Cork (North Eastern Division), *v.* William O'Brien, esquire, who having been returned as a Member for the said County of Cork, North Eastern Division, and also for the City of Cork, has elected to sit for the City of Cork.—(*Sir Thomas Esmonde.*)

Colonel Nolan

ELECTIONS.

Ordered, That all Members who are returned for two or more places in any part of the United Kingdom do make their election for which of the places they will serve, within one week after it shall appear that there is no question upon the Return for that place; and if anything shall come in question touching the Return or Election of any Member, he is to withdraw during the time the matter is in debate; and that all Members returned upon double Returns do withdraw till their Returns are determined.

Resolved, That no Peer of the Realm, except such Peers of Ireland as shall for the time being be actually elected, and shall not have declined to serve, for any county, city, or borough of Great Britain, hath any right to give his vote in the Election of any Member to serve in Parliament.

Resolved, That it is a high infringement of the liberties and privileges of the Commons of the United Kingdom for any Lord of Parliament, or other Peer or Prelate, not being a Peer of Ireland at the time elected, and not having declined to serve for any county, city, or borough of Great Britain, to concern himself in the Election of Members to serve for the Commons in Parliament, except only any Peer of Ireland at such Elections in Great Britain respectively where such Peer shall appear as a Candidate, or by himself, or any others, be proposed to be elected; or for any Lord Lieutenant or Governor of any county to avail himself of any authority derived from his Commission, to influence the Election of any Member to serve for the Commons in Parliament.

Resolved, That if it shall appear that any person hath been elected or returned a Member of this House, or endeavoured so to be, by Bribery, or any other corrupt practices, this House will proceed with the utmost severity against all such persons as shall have been wilfully concerned in such Bribery or other corrupt practices.

WITNESSES.

Resolved, That if it shall appear that any person hath been tampering with any Witness, in respect of his evidence to be given to this House, or any Committee thereof, or directly or indirectly hath endeavoured to deter or hinder any person from appearing or giving evidence, the same is declared to be a high crime and misdemeanor; and this House will proceed with the utmost severity against such offender.

Resolved, That if it shall appear that any person hath given false evidence in any case before this House, or any Committee thereof, this House will proceed with the utmost severity against such offender.

METROPOLITAN POLICE.

Ordered, That the Commissioners of the Police of the Metropolis do take care that, during the Session of Parliament, the passages through the streets leading to this House be kept free and open, and that no obstruction be permitted to hinder the passage of Members to and from this House, and that no disorder be allowed in Westminster Hall, or in the passages leading to this House, during the sitting of Parliament, and

that there be no annoyance therein or thereabouts; and that the Serjeant-at-Arms attending this House do communicate this Order to the Commissioners aforesaid.

VOTES AND PROCEEDINGS.

Ordered, That the Votes and Proceedings of this House be printed, being first perused by Mr. Speaker; and that he do appoint the printing thereof; and that no person but such as he shall appoint do presume to print the same.

PRIVILEGES.

Ordered, That a Committee of Privileges be appointed.

OUTLAWRIES BILL.

"For the more effectual preventing Claudestine Outlawries," read the first time; to be read a second time.

JOURNAL.

Ordered, That the Journal of this House, from the end of the last Session to the end of the present Session, with an Index thereto, be printed.

Ordered, That 750 Copies of the said Journal and Index be printed by the appointment and under the direction of Sir Reginald Francis Douce Palgrave, K.C.B., the Clerk of this House.

Ordered, That the said Journal and Index be printed by such Person as shall be licensed by Mr. Speaker, and that no other Person do presume to print the same.

THE QUEEN'S SPEECH.

MR. SPEAKER reported Her Majesty's Speech, [see page 2] and read it to the House.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

* MR. LAMBERT (Devon, South Molton): In rising to move the Address of thanks to Her Majesty for Her Gracious Speech, I wish to claim in all sincerity that privilege of kind indulgence which is usually accorded to younger Members of this House. I esteem it a very great honour indeed to have been selected to move the address of thanks at the commencement of a Parliament, which promises to be of great historical interest. It must be a matter of congratulation and gratification to all the Members of this House that the first paragraph of the Speech indicates that the horrors of war are not known in Her Majesty's Dominions, that our relations with foreign Powers are satisfactory, and that that peace has been, and is being, maintained which is so essential

to the prosperity of our gigantic commercial enterprises. We hope this may long continue to be so. The House will remember that the late Government granted a Charter to the British East Africa Company, for trading and other purposes, in Uganda. Through the unfortunate failure of the anticipations of the company, it has withdrawn from that country. But the Charter involved some governmental control over the company's action; and as it is difficult to relieve control from responsibility, the Government have thought fit to send an experienced Commissioner into Uganda to ascertain if any responsibility involving the honour of Her Majesty's Government has been incurred. The House will no doubt be glad to learn that Papers are promised on this subject at the earliest possible moment. With regard to Egypt, hon. Members are well aware of the complications which recently arose there. The Khedive deposed a Minister who was in sympathy with British authority, and appointed in his place one whom the British Commissioner in Egypt could not recognise as being favourable to those reforms which have happily been initiated in that country under British guidance. When the facts were brought to the Khedive's knowledge he promptly deposed the unsuitable Minister. But although he has thus made reparation, and has promised in all future matters to rule in consonance with the wishes of the British Government, yet the possible consequences of what might only have been a slight youthful indiscretion but when committed by one occupying such a high responsible position has rendered it necessary to slightly increase our forces in that country. It is one of the unsatisfactory characteristics of a military occupation that, if a disturbance were to break out in Cairo or any other large town, we might be held responsible for damage done to the persons and property of foreign residents, and, therefore, it has been deemed proper to have in Egypt a force capable of maintaining that law and order which is so necessary for the good government of the country. The Egyptian Government desired an increase of the Native Army, but that was frustrated (although not by us), while also the recent invasion of the Dervishes has helped to guide Her Majesty's Government in the action they have taken. But the Govern-

ment wish it to be distinctly and deliberately understood that this step involves no change of policy whatever, that the policy laid down in the Queen's Speech in 1883 will be strictly adhered to, and that the withdrawal of British troops will proceed as expeditiously as a prudent consideration of the circumstances will permit. I feel convinced that the vigorous, yet temperate action of Her Majesty's Government will command the approval of every Member of the House. Coming to home politics, I may say it is a matter for great satisfaction that we have a Queen's Speech dealing with so many subjects of the deepest interest to the electors of this country. We know that agriculture is suffering under a grievous depression. It would not be consistent with the traditions of Liberalism were the Government to remain indifferent to that fact, and they are, therefore, prepared, following the precedent laid down by Lord John Russell in 1836, to appoint a Committee to inquire into all the grievances afflicting agriculture. If this cannot afford any immediate relief to farmers, they will, I am sure, have great satisfaction in knowing that their necessities are being made the subject of inquiry by an impartial Committee of this House. Speaking for myself, as one who has been a professional farmer all my life—not a very long life, I admit—I think the duties of this Committee will not be light. They will find a successful foreign producer, who largely cultivates his own land, and who has no restrictive covenants hindering him from making the best of his produce. Whatever capital he spends on his holding goes into his own pocket only. The foreign producer is not hampered as the British farmer is by those largely increased charges for transit which, unfortunately, the Railway Companies have seen fit to impose. I think he competes on more than favourable conditions with the British farmer, who is hampered by the knowledge that he may be vexatiously disturbed from his holding without adequate compensation, and who is in some cases paying at the present time an exorbitant rent for his land. That has been brought about by the keen competition which must exist where an unlimited number of farmers are striving for a limited amount of land, intensified by the fact of the landlord being made a preferential creditor. Then, as we know, British farmers are

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unable to get farms of suitable size for their capital. They have to bear the whole incidence of local taxation, and get no benefit from it when they quit their holdings. They are also hampered by covenants, which restrict them in their cultivation, and which will not allow them to have the freest facilities for the disposal of their produce. If we could get rid of those restrictions, I think the British farmer would be able to adapt himself to the altered circumstances and to the altered demand for the various commodities he has to sell; we should, in fact, see a more prosperous state of affairs for agriculture. In order that agriculture and agriculturists may prosper it is essential that the tenant farmers and the labourers should be prosperous—that their prosperity may shine upon the landlords. I believe the Government are also prepared to deal with the question of land transfer and the law of primogeniture with a view to securing a material increase in the number of owners of land, instead of fostering it by artificial legislation, as has been the case during the past few Sessions. I, for one, deplore very much indeed that any gentlemen calling themselves the friends of the farmer should go into country districts and talk about Protection. They may depend upon it that if a change of our fiscal policy is desirable the large centres of population, such as the hon. Member for Central Sheffield (Mr. Howard Vincent) represents, will not consent to a tax upon food. I regard those gentlemen who go down to the country and make these fallacious promises to the farmer as the worst enemies of my class. In the next paragraph of the Speech is mentioned the question of Ireland. It is difficult to say anything new or that is not controversial on that hotly-contested subject; but I wish to congratulate the House on the fact that the commencement of this Session has not been marred by the announcement of the imprisonment of any Members of Parliament. That, I hope, is a happy augury of the conciliatory policy which the Government intend to introduce for the benefit of the Irish people. It will be a matter of infinite satisfaction to the House that since the rigours of repressive legislation have been removed

agrarian crime has sensibly diminished, proving that even in Ireland respect for the law born of confidence in the law-makers is a far more effectual preservative of the peace than even the most overwhelming physical force. The Irish people have again and again asked for the restoration of their Parliament which was so cruelly torn from them by that venal and corrupt majority which passed the Act of Union. Before that time, according to the historian Lecky, the material progress of Ireland was rapid and uninterrupted. It may be from sentiment that they are asking for this change, but it is patriotic sentiment, and therefore the duty of statesmen, especially of Liberal statesmen, to endeavour to find some remedy to satisfy the aspirations of the Irish people with a due regard to the safety of the Empire. This question has been discussed with wearying iteration on thousands of platforms during the last six years, and now for the first time there is a majority in this House who believe that there is a means of satisfying Irish needs while maintaining the supremacy of the Empire. We cannot atone for the wrongs of the past 700 years, but we can turn over a new page with reconciliation indelibly inscribed upon it. There may be difficulties in the way, but those difficulties will be overcome by the co-operation of the two nations, wishful for an early settlement. The benefit will not be wholly Irish. One result will be to relieve this Parliament from a congested state of the public business which the democratic sentiments of the country impose upon it. It will be a bright jewel in the legislative crown of any statesman who initiates a policy which will tend to the permanent pacification of the Irish people. The next paragraph in the Speech refers to our Registration Laws; and if we have any amendment of them, it must be in the direction of simplification, because it is impossible to conceive anything more complicated than our present system, which seems to be formed to exclude, rather than include, the greatest possible number of electors. There is an urgent necessity for the reduction of the qualifying period, for at the last Election it was obvious that a man must have occupied his qualifying holding two years before he could vote. Men who have, in

search of their livelihood, to move from place to place should not be prevented from claiming their franchise rights within a reasonable time. Our registration is kept up by Party organisation. Surely that ought not to be so, but a public officer ought to be appointed who without legal quips or cranks would put every qualified elector upon the register. I am sure the House will concede this: that it ought to be made as easy as possible for a citizen to exercise the first right of citizenship, that of having a voice in his country's government; and if we can make it as difficult to keep him off the electoral register as it is now difficult to put him on, we shall have advanced a long stage in the solution of this difficult problem. Then there is the matter of official expenses. I presume that Members of Parliament are elected for the public welfare, and, therefore, the public funds ought to bear the official expense. The duration of Parliaments will also receive attention. Seven years is a very long time for a Government to rule a nation without appeal to the electors, and I am sure that hon. Members opposite will give every facility for passing a Bill for shortening the duration of Parliaments, because they will regard seven years as a long time to remain in the cold shade of Opposition. Besides, after a General Election, there is a great outburst of legislative zeal, as we have witnessed by the notice of so many Bills to be introduced this evening. Equalisation of the franchise is also mentioned in the Queen's Speech. This is more usually known by means of the formula One Man One Vote. That would establish the principle that wealth is not necessarily synonymous with patriotism, and that the interest of a man in his country's welfare is not regulated by the extent of his earthly possessions, but by his manhood. And, since a large number of electors hold that opinion, I feel sure that the Government will be justified in giving that measure a foremost place. The next subject mentioned in the Speech is the proposal to introduce Suspensory Bills to check the growth of ecclesiastical establishments in Scotland and Wales. This is according to the precedent of the Queen's Speech of 1869, "that Parliament will be governed by the desire to promote religion through principles of equal

justice." Equal justice, according to the overwhelming expression of opinion by Welsh and Scotch Members, is not now done, and the Government are bound to consider that the Established Church in Scotland or Wales is not the religion of the many, but the Church of the few. Another paragraph in the Speech, that of the extension of Local Government, is of vital interest to one who, like myself, represents a rural constituency, the depopulation of which we all so deeply deplore. The late Government established County Councils, the success of which, I have no doubt, has exceeded their sanguine expectations. But, in order that the County Councils may do their work properly, they must be supplemented by District Councils. We in Devonshire greatly feel the need of a body to which we can delegate our powers in order that they may be more thoroughly performed. Boards of Guardians also need to be popularised. The President of the Local Government Board has done something in that direction by reducing the qualification to a uniform rate of £5. But Boards of Guardians must still further conform to democratic ideas by their members being elected by a single and a secret vote. Some take objection to that on the ground that it would lead to the election of men who have no stake in the economical administration of the funds, but it would be a lamentable fact if the protectors of the poor were to merge their identity into protectors of the rates, and become Poor Rate rather than Poor Law Guardians. The President of the Local Government Board has appointed a Poor Law Commission composed of competent advisers, and I sincerely trust that it will be able to devise some means by which honest aged workers may anticipate a brighter end than the prospect of looking through the workhouse window into a pauper's grave. It has been said that means should be found to inculcate thrift among the toiling classes. However laudable this may be, agricultural labourers do not need to have thrift inculcated by Act of Parliament. Having to live upon 12s. or 15s. a week, the exigencies of their position make it necessary for them to exercise that desirable attribute. But the structure of local government will not be complete without Parish Councils, and a

measure to ensure success must be placed upon a broad, a comprehensive, and a democratic basis to those Councils must be relegated a share in the educational and sanitary arrangements, and other important subjects which affect every day life, so that no right of citizenship that is now enjoyed by the more fortunate dwellers of towns shall be denied to the rural resident. We know that the agricultural labourer, since he has had the political vote, has immensely increased his political knowledge, and we believe that by giving him an active interest in the affairs of his parish, we will be doing something to benefit him and to induce him to remain on the soil which he is now so ready to abandon. I come now to the last paragraph of the Queen's Speech. I leave to my hon. Friend who will second this Address the paragraphs dealing with the London Programme, and with other matters affecting city life; but the last measure referred to in the Queen's Speech is of vast importance to the community at large, and that is the measure which proposes to deal with the increasing evil of the intemperate consumption of strong drink. As instanced by the startling fact that £140,000,000 was expended last year on spirituous liquors, and also emphasised by criminal statistics, this intemperance is hanging like a millstone round the neck of the British nation, and is undermining our whole social system. The evils of intemperance surround us on every hand. We cannot come into this Metropolis without seeing the baneful effects of the intemperate use of strong drink. Thousands of children are brought up in this foul atmosphere. They are pinched and starved, and they hunger for the food that might be bought for them by the money now squandered in the public houses. But although so many evils spring from the excessive use of alcoholic liquors, it is subject to little or no popular control. The Government, however, now intend to throw the responsibility of this question on the people themselves, in order that their representatives shall discharge that duty now devolving on the magistrates. The direct veto will be conceded by a separate vote of the ratepayers in borough and county municipal constituencies, who will have control of

the licences in the whole of the United Kingdom, and the opening of public houses on Sunday will be regulated, too (in England alone), by this new licensing authority. I have only now to thank the House for the very courteous consideration it has extended to me, and to move this Address of Thanks to our Most Gracious Sovereign—

“That we, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to thank Your Majesty for the Most Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament.”

***Mr. M. BEAUFOY** (Lambeth, Kennington): In rising to second the Address moved by my hon. Friend, I hope I may be allowed to mention an occurrence for which I am sure the House will agree with me when I say we feel a deep and sincere regret. I cannot forget the able and interesting speech which was made by the hon. Gentleman who occupied the position I now fill on the last occasion the Address was moved, and I am sure the House will be unanimous in deploring and regretting with me the untimely death of that hon. Gentleman, Mr. Cross. I am informed by those who are entitled to give advice on the difficult task before me, that there are two main objects to be taken in view by those who have the honour to propose and second the Address to the Queen's Speech: One is, that the speakers should, as far as possible, avoid controversial matter; and the other is, that they should confine their speeches to the most reasonable limit possible. But I am bound to say that the task of dealing with controversial matters in an uncontroversial manner is entirely beyond my powers, and I feel that in that respect I can only throw myself on the kind indulgence of the House. The maxim which declares that brevity on such an occasion as this, if not the soul of wit, is the essence of wisdom, commends itself more readily to my mind; and if the House grants me but a brief indulgence, I shall endeavour not to press unduly on their attention. My hon. Friend who moved the Address expressed his gratification with the tranquillity which now prevails in Ireland, and expressed the hope that that tranquillity would go on increasing, and that there

would be a still larger decrease in agrarian crime. I cordially share in that gratification; and I think I may congratulate Members on all sides of the House on the prominence given in the Queen's Speech to the Government measure which will soon be laid before us for the better government of Ireland. No doubt that is a highly controversial measure, on which I should now be unwilling to enlarge; but I think every Member will share with me the satisfaction which I feel that this difficult question is about to be withdrawn from the heated discussion of the platform to the calmer, if more critical, consideration of this House. I do express the hope that in spite of the many difficulties with which this question bristles, the discussion of it will be worthy alike of the great importance of the subject and of the best traditions of Debate in this Assembly. I share with my hon. Friend his pleasure that the Government is about to introduce a Registration Amendment Bill. My hon. Friend has dealt with the question as it affects the rural voter; but I venture to say that great as is the injustice in the rural districts, it is greater in urban districts, and greatest of all in this city of London. I hope some means will be found of doing away with the old and out-of-date borough limits, and that we shall secure greater ease in enforcing claims for successive occupation, and so enable thousands to exercise the franchise who have been so long deprived of that privilege. But if this question is interesting, as it undoubtedly is, to the electors, it possesses a peculiar interest to those elected by the electors. Though, no doubt, the evils of the present system are evident to every citizen, I am sure that every hon. Gentleman who has gone through the difficulties and trials of a contested election can feel nothing but the greatest possible relief that the Government intend to modify and simplify the present confusion that exist in our Registration Laws. With regard to the shortening of Parliaments, that is a matter which, however viewed in this House, will be viewed with satisfaction by the country as tending to bring the sentiments of the House into closer connection with the electors outside, and thus insuring that it shall be more representative of the real feelings of the people.

With regard to plural voting, it is an interesting question to rural districts, but it is one of those subjects that have a peculiar interest to London, for one of the effects of the proposed change will be to minimise the evils of the present old and out-of-date Livery Franchise, which so discredits our elections in London. I rejoice that the Government have shown a determination to take into consideration questions affecting labour. The Employers' Liability Bill now before the House is likely to receive support from all parts of the House, and the support given to the Bill of the late Government shows it is desirable that the term "common employment" should be satisfactorily defined. I venture to think that the country generally has lost very little by the postponement of the consideration of this measure. I think the House now contains a larger number of working men than it ever contained before, and we cannot over-estimate the advantages which will accrue to the deliberations of this House on labour questions by having a number of skilled experts, with not only sound views on the subjects, but able also to bring to bear on our discussion their practical experience of what the real wants and wishes of the working men are. I venture also to express the hope that one of the results in the amendment of the Registration Laws will be a very large increase in the number of working men Representatives in this House. The overworking of the railway servants has been a source of danger to the travelling public, and the time, indeed, has come for the House to take this question into consideration, for not alone in the interest of the public, but in the interest of the working classes, some means of limiting the long hours of labour is required. The amendment of the Conspiracy Laws has been frequently before the House, and I must congratulate my hon. Friend the Civil Lord of the Admiralty on the prominence given to a subject in which he has taken such great interest, and which he has done so much to elucidate. But there was one part of the Queen's Speech to which, as a London Member, I attach peculiar importance, and that is the paragraph which deals with the proposed enlargement of the powers of the London County Council. That is a ques-

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tion of the greatest possible interest to Londoners, and, therefore, of the greatest possible interest to those who represent Londoners in this House. The claims of London are not few; and if I may speak somewhat plainly, they are not always peculiarly modest; and while we should like to see a whole Session devoted to London, it is obvious that in the present congested state of affairs and arrears of Public Business, it is too much to expect that any great sacrifice of the time of the House can be made for the furtherance of measures which affect London alone. But I am sure the people of London will be gratified by the announcement in the Queen's Speech in reference to London affairs, not only because they will be pleased to find that Her Majesty's Government places confidence in the London County Council—a body in which London itself has placed its confidence—but because I venture to think it foreshadows a greater union between the Government and the London County Council than has ever existed before. Speaking as a metropolitan Member, I may be allowed to express a hope that the benevolent intentions of the Government towards London will not be exhausted by the production of this measure. It is an open secret that the London County Council is preparing, or has already prepared, a number of bills or questions of importance affecting London, and I hope that the Government will give the greatest possible consideration to those bills, as a proof of their confidence in the London County Council. There are, of course, many questions affecting London which are of a national and Imperial character, but there are many minor questions which can be better and more speedily remedied by the London Parliament sitting at Spring Gardens than by the Imperial Parliament at Westminster. I am sure that Londoners will be grateful to the Government for this mark of confidence in the London County Council, and I hope it foreshadows the coming of better things for London. I hope I have not broken my pledge that I would not unduly take up the time of the House. I thank the House for the indulgence it has extended to me and for the assistance it has given me in the discharge of the duty allotted to me. I think that the list of measures

mentioned in the Queen's Speech will give us considerable work for some time to come. Of course, much controversy must naturally arise from the variety of interests affected; but actuated as we all are on both sides of the House with a sincere desire to do our duty to our constituents and to forward the best interests of the country, I hope the result of our labours will be not only to obtain a well-earned holiday, but to better the welfare of all classes.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That," &c. [See page 85.]

MR. A. J. BALFOUR (Manchester, E.): Mr. Speaker, the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down told us in the closing observation of his speech that the task entrusted to him and his colleague on the present occasion was not an easy one. I am sure the House will agree with that statement, and will feel that I am only expressing the common sentiments of the House when I say that that task, difficult and delicate as it was, has been performed by them admirably and to the satisfaction of all who heard it, to whatever Party or politics they may belong. The hon. Gentleman who moved the Address told us, and told us truly, that there was a large number of interesting subjects dealt with in the Gracious Speech from the Throne. That certainly is the case. Whatever criticism may be passed on the Speech Her Majesty has been advised to deliver, it cannot be said that it lacks interest or lacks matter. I notice, further, that the hon. Gentleman is not quite content with the Speech as it stands, and that he showed some disposition, I thought, to add to it a large number of Bills which may some day see the light, but which are not noted at present in the programme of the Government. He referred to District Councils—a matter of which I see no mention in the Speech—to a Land Transfer Bill, to various Bills connected with agriculture, and to a Bill dealing, root and branch, with the form of the present Poor Law administration. These are all no doubt very interesting and important questions. They are questions which are certainly worthy of the consideration of the House, but, so far as I have observed, they do not form a part of the programme—the ample and sufficient programme which the

Government are to bring forward in the course of the present Session. The hon. Gentleman spoke with especial authority on the question of agriculture, and that question of agriculture is mentioned in the Speech from the Throne in words of sympathy that everybody connected with agriculture, directly or indirectly, either as owner, occupier, or in any other capacity, must feel are none too strong for the present unhappy condition of that great national industry. Whether the remedy which the Government proposes, which is that of a Parliamentary inquiry, is likely to do much good I cannot say. I think it may be of interest and importance, and I do not at all desire to minimise the value of any such investigation. But the hon. Gentleman was not content with either the expression of sympathy in the Speech or with the particular remedy proposed by the Government, for, if I do not misunderstand him, he appears to attribute the present unhappy position of those interested in the cultivation of the soil in this country to the fact that farmers were restricted in their mode of tillage; that the existing law of compensation for unexhausted improvements was wholly inadequate, and that there was competition between the farmers for farms which drove up rents to the highest possible height. Well, I do not mean in any controversial sense to object to any of the questions thus raised, especially as they are not in the Queen's Speech; but I think if the experience that he has had in his own part of the country at all resembles the experience I have had in such parts of the country as I have had an opportunity of examining, certainly among the evils under which agriculture groans at the present time, an undue competition among the farmers for farms is not one. I now pass on to those paragraphs of the Speech which deal with the very important questions of foreign and colonial policy. The first paragraph deals with the question of Uganda, and on this subject, though I have a question to ask the Government, I have nothing but congratulations to offer them on the policy which I understand they have adopted. There was a moment when I, at all events, was afraid that the spirit which animated them in opposition might continue to animate them in Office, and that we should find that they dealt with the problem of

Uganda as responsible statesmen very much in the spirit of those Debates which we all have fresh in our minds, and which took place in the spring of last year. Some influence or influences, of which I do not possess the secret, appear to have made a profound modification in the views of the most powerful Members of the present Administration. At all events, we have heard nothing of that policy of abandonment which certainly I understood to be recommended by the present Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir W. Harcourt), speaking at that time merely as the Member for Derby. However, better counsels have prevailed, and I do not wish to rake up unnecessarily what is past; but I should like to ask with regard to the future what provision the Government have made—I do not ask for details, but I should like to have some general account of the provision they have made—for that interval which I presume must elapse between the abandonment by the company of Uganda and the period when some final and permanent arrangement will be made by Her Majesty's Government for dealing with the great interests and the vast populations of that district in Africa. I notice, and notice with satisfaction, from a phrase in Her Majesty's Speech from the Throne, that the Government are fully alive to the fact that unless Sir Gerald Portal be supported by material force he is not likely to be able to carry out with success the object of his mission. But when that mission has been accomplished—when he leaves Uganda and returns to make a Report, I should like to know what plans the Government have for administering the country? They must have some policy on the subject, and all I desire to know, and not in any controversial spirit, is whether it is at the present time consistent with the public interest to tell us what that policy is? Egypt, I am glad to say, affords but little matter on which we need do otherwise than congratulate the Government. They had to meet a difficult and very sudden crisis—apparently a crisis of which no previous warning was given, and which, as far as we know, they had no reason to anticipate. They met that crisis with courage, with directness and promptitude, which is the very best way to secure that their object shall be peaceably accomplished; and I

can assure them that if their policy in the matter of Egypt, and in other foreign affairs, is on the same lines as those which they have pursued during the last few weeks, they may count on the support of gentlemen sitting on this side of the House. I should like to know, however, from the right hon. Gentleman whether he can give us any account of the causes which have led to this apparently most unexpected difficulty. I do not anticipate an exhaustive account of those causes from him, because I imagine that it is impossible to deny that among them are to be found the somewhat rash utterances which he and the Secretary for Ireland made on the subject not long ago. I do not know precisely what policy with regard to Egypt was in their minds when they made these statements, but they surely might have known, and if they did not know they ought to have known, that it is impossible for men in their position, speaking whether as Ministers or as ex-Ministers, to make the statements which they did make about our position in Egypt without raising expectations in foreign countries and in Egypt itself which cannot but be fruitful, and I fear have been fruitful, of great trouble in that country. I notice it is stated in the Speech from the Throne that the measure—the strong measure, I admit the necessary measure—of sending troops to Egypt does not indicate any change of policy on the part of Her Majesty's Government, or any modification of the assurances Her Majesty's Government have given from time to time respecting the occupation of that country. That is true; but do not let us go off with the delusion that, because no modification is made, or indeed ought to be made, in the pledges and promises to which we stand committed in this matter, nevertheless the position is changed—is materially changed, and may be changed for many years to come—by the incident that has occurred. It has been brought home to us in the clearest manner—it has been emphasised by acts of policy that cannot be forgotten that, in addition to the external dangers of Egypt, to the dangers of internal sedition, to all the difficulties which must ensue from the peculiar relation in which Egypt stands, to the power of Europe this further danger has

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been added : that the fruits of our long labour in that country may at any moment be upset by a Ministerial crisis at Cairo. It is a fact ; it is true ; it stands evident on the face of the Queen's Speech ; it is written deeply on the page of history. We cannot forget it ; and it must inevitably profoundly modify the view we take, which we must take, of the difficulties of our position in that country, and the added responsibility thrown upon us. Now, Sir, I do not think that it is necessary for me to say more than I have said upon the first portion of the Queen's Speech, which deals with questions of foreign affairs. I turn, therefore, to the second portion, which deals with projects of legislation and questions of domestic concern. Of agriculture I have already said something ; I will not say more, especially as I doubt not that those who represent in this House agricultural constituencies will feel themselves in duty bound, before this Debate comes to an end, to deal at length with that most important question. But I must make this observation. The words of the Speech leave it vague, leave it doubtful as to whether it is to be dealt with by Committee or Commission. The Mover of the Address, I think, clearly gave it to be understood it was to be dealt with by a Committee of this House. I must congratulate the Government on that decision, for I cannot pretend that they have been happy in their attempts to deal with problems by Commissions instead of Committees. They have appointed two Commissions—one dealing with the Highlands of Scotland, and the other with a very important and interesting problem in Ireland. The Highland problem, in its ultimate bearing, has a social aspect, but the basis for any legislation with regard to the extension of crofters' holdings is a question, in the first instance, of the possibility of turning the land in the Highlands to a particular purpose. It is rather a question for experts, and for experts alone. The Government have chosen to make up a Commission of eight, four of whom I understand to be gentlemen interested in, and acquainted with, the Highlands generally, but not acquainted with the agricultural possibilities of the Highlands at all, whilst all of them are deeply committed on the very question into which they are asked

to examine. I do not know what good results the Government anticipate from their inquiry. I am not hostile to the inquiry itself. I am sure the more the truth is known about the state of things in the Highlands the better for everybody concerned ; but if the Government desire not to put off awkward questions by appointing a Commission, but to have a Commission which will command respect, that is not the way in which a Commission should be constituted. But there is a Commission even more famous, I would say notorious, than that which is about to begin in the Highlands, and that is the Commission which, in consequence of a compact between the present Government and that most important section of their followers, was appointed to examine into the position of the evicted tenants. I have had to deal with this Commission elsewhere, and I have no particular desire to repeat, though I am ready to do so, what I have already said ; but I think it is absolutely necessary that on this occasion, when it is our business to make a survey of what the Government has done since last we were assembled within these walls, it is absolutely necessary I should say something about a question which has so properly engaged the attention of the public. The composition of the Evicted Tenants' Commission was, on the face of it, an unfair one. Turn and twist the thing as you may, it is quite clear that the opinions of the majority of the gentlemen who are now carrying on this examination into the position of the evicted tenants do not make them fair representatives of the various interests concerned. You might have appointed a Commission not containing persons of strong political views to make a representation as to what you were to do with the evicted tenants. I admit that the objection to such a course was great, because probably any small body of gentlemen who were not committed to political views on this question would have told you there was nothing to be done. That would not have suited the views of the right hon. Gentleman who was responsible for the government of Ireland, and, therefore, there is a great deal to be said for appointing gentlemen who, at all events, represented something or other. But I think you should have chosen a Chairman who would preserve,

at all events, the externals of fairness. I do not think you add to the dignity or authority of the Commission you appoint when you select men who, whatever be their ability or their position in the country, are moved to behave as the President of that Commission undoubtedly did behave, even from the very first day it sat. He appeared to riot and revel in his sudden freedom from the trammels which bind an English Judge, and he could not refrain from indulging in the unwonted luxury of delivering the verdict before he had heard the evidence.

MR. W. O'BRIEN : A gentleman of law and order.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR : But my complaint in reference to this Commission is not based wholly or chiefly on what I am obliged to describe as its imperfect composition. My complaint is that there is no adequate machinery, and that, owing perhaps to the action of the President, and perhaps to the action of the right hon. Gentleman, no machinery has been provided by which any cross-examination could take place on the evidence put before the Commission. I believe the right hon. Gentleman is under the impression that he was following a precedent, or that the Commission, at all events, were following precedent in not allowing counsel or persons interested to appear and cross-examine on their own behalf. So far as my knowledge of the matter goes it would be difficult, and perhaps impossible, to find a Viceregal Commission in Ireland—("Oh, oh!") Is this, or is it not, a Viceregal Commission? It would be difficult, if not impossible, to find a Viceregal Commission like this—for it was a Viceregal Commission and nothing else—in which cross-examination by counsel or the parties interested has not been permitted. I care nothing about these technicalities. I should not have objected to the right hon. Gentleman creating a new precedent had it been a good precedent. But you have only got to read cursorily the examination on any day of this Commission to see that the results of its labours are rendered hopelessly worthless—"No, no!"—by the fact that no adequate cross-examination takes place upon it at all. I heard some hon. Gentleman expressing dissent from the Benches opposite, and, therefore, to satisfy him I will give an illustration of

the kind of thing I mean, and he will find twenty more if he wants them. The hon. Gentleman the Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) was examined the other day before the Commission, and he gave a very great deal of interesting and valuable information, and among other things he stated that the "Plan of Campaign" was a purely agrarian battle. He was asked a good many questions on that subject, and nobody who reads his evidence, as reported in the *Freeman's Journal*, but will agree with me in saying that the purport of it was unquestionably to this effect: that the "Plan of Campaign"—with regard to which not a single criticism has ever been passed by any member of the Commission at all—the "Plan of Campaign" was for purely agrarian purposes. Now, Sir, one of the members of the Commission was Mr. Roche, Q.C. He was counsel for the hon. Gentleman the Member for East Mayo when he was tried for participation, I think I am right in saying, in the "Plan of Campaign." [Mr. W. O'BRIEN : No; I think you are wrong.] At all events, that is not material to the point I am about to make. Part of the evidence against the hon. Gentleman the Member for East Mayo consisted in certain speeches delivered in connection with the "Plan of Campaign." In those speeches I understood—I have looked at those speeches, and they are incapable of any interpretation whatever other than this—that the "Plan of Campaign" was part of a political movement carried on for political objects, and was part of the machinery by which Home Rule Government was to be brought in. Now, Mr. Roche must have been cognisant of these facts, because he was counsel to the hon. Gentleman, and I presume he knows enough about Ireland, even if he had not been counsel, to have been aware that the statement of the "Plan of Campaign" was a purely agrarian business is a paradox so monstrous that, at all events, a little bit of cross-examination would not have been indecent or improper. Not one single word or question was asked by any member of the Commission, from the President downwards, in order to test the statement, which, I suppose, will appear in the official Reports of that Commission as an authoritative and unquestioned fact. The

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hon. Gentleman who said "No, no" when I said just now that the machinery for cross-examination was inadequate may now be disposed to change his opinion, and he may think, at all events from the point of view of the Government themselves, it would have been well that they should have appointed a Commission, the result of whose labours would have been less open to question than is inevitably the case at present.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): Will the right hon. Gentleman pardon me? I say the question was put to me, in connection with that question, whether, in instituting the "Plan of Campaign," we ever considered the political opinions of the men connected with it. I was cross-examined on that.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Member, I believe, was asked that question, and I believe he said "No." But I notice a passage in one of the hon. Gentleman's speeches—

"We call upon you to tell us to destroy this Government of men called landlords—(cheers and groans)—who never in the past history of Ireland have shown any sympathy for her people, and who, when any demand has been made in the past to set free our country, these landlords have always stood forward as foremost and bloodiest to put down the national ranks. Believe me, you will never see in Ireland a free people, never see this country a free country able to deal with its own laws until," as he implied, "this plan was successful."

MR. DILLON: I am sorry to interrupt the right hon. Gentleman, but as he has taken me so strongly to task, and insinuated that I gave an untruthful answer on that occasion, I would ask him to be good enough to explain to the House his idea of the distinction between an agrarian and a political movement?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: That would be a very interesting and proper subject for cross-examination. The hon. Gentleman has replied it was not political but it was agrarian. I will give him a broad distinction which I think adequate. I say that a conspiracy which is directed against men, not because of their particular relations to their particular tenants, but because they formed what is described as part of the garrison—the loyal garrison of the country—a conspiracy which is directed avowedly to bring these men to their knees, and is

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avowedly a part of the method by which Irish nationality is to be vindicated, that, I say, whatever else it is, is unquestionably a political movement; and in spite of the speeches to which I have referred, and in spite of Mr. Roche's knowledge of those speeches, the hon. Gentleman the Member for East Mayo was allowed to answer, without cross-examination, a question as to the character of the combination in these words, "It was a purely agrarian movement. Entirely, of course." I have no desire to come into conflict with the hon. Member for East Mayo, and it is not his merits or demerits that are now in question, but what I am pointing out to the Irish Secretary, and to the right hon. Gentleman who will follow me in this debate, is this—you have by this incident, and many others I might have mentioned, erected a tribunal which is incapable of carrying out the first duty of any tribunal, because by its lack of power of cross-examination it cannot get at the truth. Before leaving this question of the evicted tenants I should like to ask, as a merely practical inquiry, whether the right hon. Gentleman has any hope of their reporting soon? As far as my observation goes, there was nothing in their reference, though there may have been in their instructions, but there was nothing in the reference to confine their attention to the "Plan of Campaign" estates; I am not aware they made any inquiry into the case of tenants not on the "Plan of Campaign" estate. Are they going to report only on one branch of the inquiry? Are they going to report soon, and, if not, are these tenants—in whom the hon. Gentlemen from Ireland and the Government are so deeply interested—are these tenants going to continue in their present difficult position without in the least knowing what is the elucidation and the position to be proposed by the Government? It would be interesting to know this, and I hope the right hon. Gentleman will give us some information on the subject. Well, Sir, the Speech goes on to say that—

"The proclamations recently in force which placed Ireland under exceptional provisions of law have been revoked, and I have the satisfaction to inform you that the condition of that country with respect to agrarian crime continues to improve."

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but that is the view of the hon. Member for Cork. That is what the Member for Cork thinks of it, and I say if the right hon. Gentleman has the misfortune to possess such friends, it is impossible he should wholly escape from the accusations which have been levelled—and, as I believe, unjustly levelled—at the Home Office administration for the last few weeks. There is another and even more serious reason or justification for the suspicion which undoubtedly exists in the public mind on the subject, and that reason is the action of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for Ireland dealing with the release of the Gweedore prisoners. Now, Sir, I do not wish to go at length into the case of the Gweedore prisoners, but I must remind the House of the bare outline of certain material facts. There was a warrant out against Father McFadden. Father McFadden deliberately evaded the police weekday after weekday. Father McFadden publicly announced that if he were arrested there would be bloodshed in Gweedore, and finally, after the police had in vain attempted to serve the warrant upon him, an effort was made at a certain place on a Sunday morning, and in the course of that effort Inspector Martin was most brutally murdered. A certain number of the persons engaged in that transaction were made amenable. They were brought before the magistrates, and subsequently brought before the Assizes. They pleaded guilty, or rather a number of them pleaded guilty, and they received sentences most carefully considered by the Judge, as anyone can see who reads the reports of the case. One got 10 years, two seven, and one five. Their cases were separately and carefully considered by the Judge, and he explained at great length that they were fortunate in getting off with the sentences which were inflicted upon them. The right hon. Gentleman comes into office, and the Lord Lieutenant, the controller of the prerogatives of mercy, takes up his duties, and almost immediately after all these men, whether sentenced to 10, seven, or five years, are let out without, as far as I know, or as far as we have heard, any steps being taken by the right hon. Gentleman either to discover the Judge's opinion, or to discover the merits of the case and deter-

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mine what ought to be done. The right hon. Gentleman objects to that. I assume, therefore, he did go into the merits of the question, and I presume, therefore, he consulted his present Attorney General. His present Attorney General (The MacDermott) was the counsel for the accused on that occasion.

MR. J. MORLEY : As a matter of fact I did not consult the present Attorney General, exactly, because he had been counsel in the case. The person I consulted most was the Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR : Did he then bring before Lord Herschell the facts which, had he consulted the Attorney General, he might have made himself acquainted with? The right hon. Gentleman appears to think I brought in the name of the Attorney General because there might be a suspicion that the Attorney General having been counsel for these men would be unduly favourable to this case, but my point was exactly the opposite. [An hon. MEMBER : Explain.] I will explain. The Attorney General for Ireland knows too much about the case. Had you consulted him he could not have said—and you know he could not have said—that in his opinion these men did not deserve all they got in the way of sentences; but even more, because it so happens, Mr. Speaker, that on this case a side light was thrown by a certain trial of libel, in which the hon. Member for Louth (Mr. Timothy Healy), who was one of the counsel for these men, was plaintiff. The present Attorney General for Ireland was the other counsel with him for the defence of these men, and he was examined in this libel action. What came out at that trial? It came out that in the opinion of counsel themselves—in the opinion of the Member for Louth and the Attorney General for Ireland—the Crown had got a pull in this case—the Crown had got worsted in the trial of these men, who had got off with much smaller sentences than they would have got if the Crown had laboured successfully to conduct their own case. It came out conclusively that there were facts stated upon the brief for the defence which, had they been known to the counsel for the prosecution, might

have ended in the hanging of these very men; that these were facts known to a Castle official—I suppose the Attorney General is a Castle official—they were known to the Member for Louth, they might have been known to the right hon. Gentleman, for they were not secrets which a counsel was bound to keep with regard to his clients, but facts made notorious in the Courts of Law in Ireland, and of which reports can be read to this day in the files of the *Freeman's Journal*. I say these being the facts of the case, the Minister who shows his contempt for the safety of the police by arbitrarily diminishing the just punishment of these malefactors is using the prerogative of mercy not as it was intended to be used—namely, as an instrument of justice—but that political ends may be furthered. The remainder of the Speech, about which I shall be very brief—as I am conscious that I have already occupied the House an undue length of time—deals with projects of legislation. I do not mean to discuss those projects at any length. Some of them deal with subjects which ought to be dealt with, and which in my opinion are eminently worthy of the consideration of this House. Some of them deal with subjects on which I shall certainly reserve my criticism till we see the exact form in which the present Government propose to deal with them—such, for instance, as the reform of the Registration Laws, the Employers' Liability Bill, and other Bills. Other measures seem merely to be considered—I judge from the position they occupy in the Speech—as a somewhat barren homage paid to the Newcastle Programme—and I do not collect that the Government have any very great belief in the possibility of bringing them to an issue in the course of the present Session. That may well be. All Governments are liable to bitter disappointments—and I have no ground for anticipating that the present Government are likely to be more fortunate than their predecessors. One of these Bills, however, I must say a word about. It is that dealing with the Ecclesiastical Establishments in Scotland and Wales. I pass by the question of shorter Parliaments, for I do not suppose that any gentleman on either side of the House supposes that the life

of this Parliament, at all events, will be unduly prolonged. But with regard to Ecclesiastical Establishments, I want to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he agrees with, I think it was the Mover of the Address, who stated that this procedure—namely, of bringing in Bills for the prevention of the growth of new vested interests in the Ecclesiastical Establishments of Scotland and Wales—is in accordance with precedent. So far as I have been able to discover, it is not in accordance with precedent. A Bill of a similar import was brought in, no doubt, in the case of the Irish Church, but after a Resolution of the House of Commons—declaring in favour of Disestablishment. Then, and not till then, did the right hon. Gentleman think himself justified in bringing in a Bill which must have for its effect the paralysing of the great clerical institutions with which it deals, and can anything be conceived more cruel than the position of a Church in Scotland and in Wales if these Bills were passed? That they would be followed rapidly or effectually by any process of Disestablishment nobody acquainted with the difficulties inherent in any programme of Disestablishment can possibly believe, and therefore it is actually proposed by the Government that, in the absence of any Resolution of the House in favour of Disestablishment, and with nothing before them except the record of past Sessions, uniformly adverse to Disestablishment, they should bring in, and, if possible pass, Bills which, should they become law, will paralyse the efficiency of the Church of Scotland and the Church of Wales, will place them in an impossible situation, and will hold out to them no hopes of a final issue either in the direction of Establishment or in the direction of Disestablishment. Sir, I cannot conceive that when the Government really face the policy which they have undertaken in the Speech from the Throne they will deliberately elect to adhere to it. But, Mr. Speaker, all these final paragraphs of the Speech sink into insignificance compared with that one paragraph dealing with what is described as “provision for the government of Ireland.” The task of carrying through that gigantic constitutional revolution is, indeed, heavy enough for the shoulders of any Parliament, sufficient to occupy

the time of any Session. I suppose it will be my fate to make many speeches before the Session closes upon this question. I do not mean to discuss it now. It can hardly even be that the Debate on which we are now engaged shall close without some gentleman opposed to that policy challenging one or other of the main issues raised by any Home Rule Bill. I shall reserve until that occasion arises anything I have to say, contenting myself now with observing that vigorous indeed must be the faith which shall seriously believe that any measure of the kind indicated in the speeches of the responsible Members of the Government shall carry out the great objects indicated in the paragraph which deals with the question of Home Rule. There we are told that this Bill

"has been prepared with the desire to afford contentment to the Irish people, important relief to Parliament, and additional securities for the strength and union of the Empire."

Even in the first blush of enthusiasm for their own measure I can hardly believe that the gentlemen on that Bench accept in their own hearts the statement that they have put in the Speech. Well, I do accept that, but it is difficult to accept it. I admire the robustness of their faith; I admire the boldness and the audacity of their convictions. We are asked to find securities for the strength and union of the Empire in a measure which reverses the invariable process by which every Empire in the world has been built up. It is a measure which runs counter not to this lesson or that lesson, but to the whole lesson of all history. Show me an Empire which has grown in strength by any measure of the kind and I withdraw. So far as my researches in history go, it has been by the concentration and not by the dissipation of power that Empires have been built up, and I shall not readily believe that the laws of history are going to be reversed for the special benefit of the British Empire. With regard to the other statement, that it has been prepared with the desire to afford contentment to the Irish people, I can only say that a measure which is regarded not merely with dislike, but with passionate and irreconcilable aversion by one-third of the Irish people, which is regarded with a sentimental approval mixed up

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with a certain desire for spoliation and plunder by another third, and which by the remaining third is regarded simply as an instrument by which you are to wrest further concessions from the Imperial Parliament, is not one, whatever else may be said of it, which is likely to afford contentment to the Irish people.

*THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE, Edinburgh, Midlothian): Mr. Speaker, though I have heard many portions of the very comprehensive speech of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Balfour) with deep regret and strong dissent, some of his remarks even exciting in my mind astonishment at the course pursued on this occasion, for the first time in my recollection, by a leader of the Opposition. I have great pleasure in referring to the graceful tribute which, at the opening of his speech, he paid to the Mover and Seconder of the Address. He did them both justice so large that for me he has left nothing to do. I will only say with respect to my two hon. Friends that, in acknowledging the tact and judgment of the speeches which they delivered, so much to the satisfaction of the House, I am, I can assure them, not merely complying with a conventional custom—for such it may almost be said to have become—but I am rendering to them a spontaneous and genuine tribute which everyone who heard them knows to be deserved. The right hon. Gentleman in the beginning of his speech, which was the more pacific part of it, referred to the intentions of Her Majesty's Government and to Bills not in the Speech, as well as to Bills in the Speech. Undoubtedly those intentions are large. Some, perhaps, may press us to frame further plans and add to the proposals that are now coming before Parliament. We may, like others, fail to give full effect to what we desire, but the measure of what we desire and what we have announced is to be found in the fact that we have seen for a long course of years, with an increasing eagerness in the country for vigorous legislation, a continuing growth in the arrears of that legislation, and we have thought it our duty to acknowledge largely that desire of the country, with the firm intention of losing no opportunity and sparing no effort to give effect

to the views we have expressed. There are Bills, undoubtedly, which it is the intention of the Government to present, and which it is their hope to pass, not named in the Speech from the Throne. I will not go over them, because I trust that in the course of a few days the notices given by the members of the Government will convey the most authentic information as to those Bills. There is one thing I should mention. It is the intention of the Government, proceeding partly from recollection of Debates in this House during the last Session and in no small part upon what has taken place in Wales during the recess, to issue a Royal Commission for the purpose of examining into the land question in Wales. The right hon. Gentleman has put to me a number of specific questions. He asked me whether the proposal to introduce suspensory Bills is agreeable to precedent.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I said "without previous Resolution."

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: If the right hon. Gentleman will look back to the circumstances of 1868 he will see that the Suspensory Bill did not rest simply on the previous Resolution and was not the natural sequence of such a Resolution. The Suspensory Bill was passed because the House was on the eve of dissolution, and not because it was an adequate sequel to the Resolution. There was no connection between the two, and the Suspensory Bill grew out of the circumstances of the House itself with respect to dissolution. Why, Sir,—why are we to be prohibited from taking cognizance of other circumstances besides a Resolution of the House? If out of 30 Members for Wales 28 are returned determined for disestablishment, are we to be precluded from taking notice of that fact and proposing a measure which I do not believe with the right hon. Gentleman will in the slightest degree suspend, on the contrary, I believe it will quicken, the activity of the Church in Wales, and which is thoroughly justified by opinion in that country? The same considerations are applicable to Scotland, though the numbers are not so conclusive. The right hon. Gentleman has spoken in his speech of precedent. I would like to know where he got the precedent for the Leader of the Opposition, in discussing upon the Queen's Speech a specific

announcement, an inoffensive announcement, of a measure of the most enormous constitutional importance, and, while disdaining all intention to discuss it, entering in inflammatory sentences into a case which begged every question, which broached every argument, which exaggerated all that could have been said as the result of the most careful inquiry and most comprehensive investigation of the Bill. The right hon. Gentleman has done his best to prepossess the minds of those who follow him with conclusions the most extravagant, with contradictions of history the most glaring. "Show me," he said, "an Empire strengthened by the principles of local autonomy." I will show him that every Empire which has adopted those principles has been strengthened. I quote the case of Austria. Now, Sir, I am going to carry the right hon. Gentleman back to the days of the declarations of Lord Salisbury. Lord Salisbury was then engaged in courting assiduously these Home Rulers—these Separatists—and he alluded in glowing terms to the case of Austria, and intimated that it was not impossible that matter might be drawn from the case of Austria applicable to the case of Ireland. Have we in this country no experience in this matter? What was the relation of this country to its colonies 60 years ago? A relation which, in the view of the right hon. Gentleman, would have been perfection itself. They were all ruled from the centre. The principles of freedom were discounted. The desire for separation was charged in Canada upon those who called for Canadian Home Rule. The same arguments were used, and the same imaginings freely dealt in, but not by the then Leader of the Conservative Party. He was not the man to follow such a course. What has happened? An absolute revolution has taken place in the entire system of governing the people of the colonies of the Empire, and the consequence is that, instead of being a cause of weakness and discredit, they have become one of the chief glories of Great Britain, and one of the main sources of our moral strength. I want to get rid of these vagaries of the right hon. Gentleman, and pass to his treatment of Ireland. He appears to consider we have been guilty of great offence,

because after removing certain proclamations which he criticized in no invidious terms, but in terms of great mildness, we find a decrease of agrarian crime in Ireland. Let me here say that with one sentence of very severe denunciation in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman I should stand in the most cordial concurrence but for one slight defect, and that was its total want of truth and accuracy. No one, to whatever school or creed he belonged, would fail to denounce any Government which would condescend to debase itself by making the prerogative of clemency an instrument for gaining political support. And if these acts were proved, we should not be behind the right hon. Gentleman in the severity of the censure we should bestow upon the guilty politicians. The principle of the right hon. Gentleman cannot be matter of debate. It cannot be denied that the wise administration and the wise clemency, in my opinion, of my right hon. Friend and of the Irish Government has been simultaneous with, and has been an illustration, and a favourable illustration, I think, of a continuing decrease of agrarian crime in Ireland. I will only say on that part of the subject that it appears to me painful to notice the unwillingness, the almost resolute determination, of the right hon. Gentleman to allow nothing to clemency and mercy, nothing to the disposition of a political mind which strives as far as possible to meet the demands of a nation. I thought the whole of that part of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman was pervaded by what I must call the animus of coercion. I have not time now to examine the great inaccuracies of the statement of the right hon. Gentleman on that subject, nor will I follow him into the argument about the dates of the withdrawal of the Coercion Act, or the particular parts of the Coercion Act withdrawn in various parts of Ireland. I must say one word on the subject of the Commission appointed under the advice of my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary. My right hon. Friend placed at the head of that Commission one of the most respected Judges in England. It was impossible for any man to give a better indication of the spirit in which he wished the inquiry to be conducted. The right hon. Gentleman has raised two

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points, which are these—one is that cross-examination was improperly refused. If he can give me a single precedent of a case in which cross-examination has been practised, I —

MR. A. J. BALFOUR : I said there was no precedent in Viceregal Commissions.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE : What are the Viceregal Commissions in which cross-examination has been practised ?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR : And I ask for a Return.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE : You ask for a Return. But why, before a Return is granted, make these accusations ? The right hon. Gentleman said that Mr. Justice Mathew is guilty of giving the verdict before he heard the evidence. That is what the right hon. Gentleman has himself been about. The whole of the attack on this Commission was an attack upon a body upon which it is totally impossible to form a judgment until its Report is before us. The charge which the right hon. Gentleman made against Mr. Justice Mathew is a charge which in its fulness and its force as it appears to me recoils on himself. The Report he has declared must be absolutely worthless. If it is to be absolutely worthless, why does he weaken his own position by anticipating the fact ? Why does he not wait until the Report is before us, when, if he is justified in his accusation, he might urge it with legitimacy and with force. Now, I ought, before going to foreign affairs, to give one assurance with regard to Egan. The right hon. Gentleman demands of us that we should disclaim the idea which may have been charged upon us by some that the release of Egan was part of a policy of release—that is to say, a policy of release other than the policy of release which has been traditional in the Home Office, and which depends upon the careful examination of case by case, and upon the dealing with each case on its real merits. The right hon. Gentleman may receive from me on this subject the most unequivocal answer. The subject was raised in the debate which preceded the defeat and resignation of the last Government in August last, and, in terms agreed upon with the most competent of my colleagues, I entirely disclaimed any such policy of release or any such intention to

seek for political advantage through this medium, and I pledged those who were then in Opposition under no circumstances to follow a contrary plan to that which has been in operation at the Home Office in respect to the remission or mitigation of sentences on prisoners. The right hon. Gentleman commented on two paragraphs of the Speech which relate to foreign affairs. He said he did not complain of the spirit of the paragraph which touches upon the case of Uganda, though he appeared to think it was totally out of keeping with the sentiments delivered by those who were in opposition when they questioned some proceedings of the late Government in respect to the country. He put to me a question which was pointed in its nature and which deserves a reply. He wanted to know if Sir Gerald Portal proceeds to Uganda and makes a Report upon the subject, what provision is to be made for the peace of the country during the period between his making that Report and the time when that Report might be received, might be considered, and acted upon. The right hon. Gentleman seems very sensitive upon the condition of Uganda during a period of about nine or 12 months. Does he not see that, with tenfold force, the question he has put applies to the declaration of policy he made himself on behalf of his colleagues with regard to Uganda? What was that declaration? He disclaimed abandonment. He announced in 1892 his intention to apply to Parliament in 1893 for powers to make a railway. The making of that railway of over 700 miles and over an elevation of many thousand feet must have occupied, I suppose, at least three or four years, besides the preliminary year of delay with which he began. What was to become of Uganda during those five years? He is horrified at the idea that Uganda should be for one moment without the presence of the British Government, but he contemplated with perfect satisfaction the five years—a most moderate estimate if Parliament had ever agreed to his railway at all, of which I am doubtful. But I am aware that although that is a *tu quoque*, it is in a form which shows that five or six times what we appear to contemplate was the fixed, and announced as

the fixed, policy of the late Government. Yet *tu quoque* is a poor argument if you rest on *tu quoque* alone. The reason why we have done this is because our inquiry is a *bona fide* inquiry. With respect to Uganda there may be those in this House who think, and there may be many who desire, that we should wash our hands of it, and have nothing to say to it; but these gentlemen ought to consider what are the terms of the Charter given by the Crown to the East Africa Company. I will not at this time of the night attempt to weary the House by reading the terms of that Charter, but they are most remarkable, by reason of the largeness of the powers which they convey to the Secretary of State both for compelling and controlling the company, and by the manner in which they give authority to the company for exercising the rights of government. They certainly raise questions which are not very easily answered. What is the condition of the British Government? Its condition is this—that it has been represented in the country almost exclusively by two parties—on one side the agents of the East Africa Company, and on the other side by the missionaries, to whose independent efforts all possible honour is due. But there is no evidence before us which proceeds from persons who are entitled or who are even well qualified to speak on the part of the British people, or direct the course which they ought to take. The Government of the right hon. Gentleman accepted—I do not see how they could do otherwise—the policy of withdrawal of the company. They did not provide—and I do not see well how they could wisely have provided—any machinery to take up the actual work of the company and form a consecutive line of proceedings. They left a state of things in which we are almost entirely in the dark as to what may be the relations and what the expectations created by the circumstances that have taken place. We had no other course to take except by sending a competent person to that country in order to make investigations upon the spot and to place ourselves in such a position that we might be enabled to arrive at a rational, temperate, and well-informed conclusion on behalf of Parliament and

the country. I have seen it stated by a gentleman of very good authority that Sir Gerald Portal carries to Uganda a foregone conclusion, and that he is a determined advocate of annexation. If that be so, it is not known to us; it is not believed by us. It is believed and it is known—we proceed on his own official declaration—that he proceeds there with large and comprehensive views upon the whole question, with an earnest desire to bring out its difficulties as well as its obligations, and advise that course which may appear for the best, and place us in a condition in which we may be enabled to arrive at a rational conclusion. Then comes the criticism of the right hon. Gentleman upon the case of Egypt. The right hon. Gentleman asks me if I can give the causes of the late proceedings of the Khedive in Egypt. Sir, I think I am hardly the person to whom such an inquiry should be addressed. What we lament and consider unfortunate is that the Khedive made no communication to us about these causes, that he took a very important measure of internal government, and took it not, as we conceive, in conformity with the usage which had been long established and uninterruptedly pursued—with one exception, I may say. There was a circumstance which tended to raise the notion that the Prime Minister whom he dismissed was a person whom he might properly dismiss—that was, that he was unfit for his duty, as he was suffering at the time from grave indisposition—an indisposition which at the time disqualified him from performing the duties of his office. It did not disqualify him, as we believed, permanently, but at the same time there was a course open there which it would be unfair to suppress. Apart from that, I am afraid I must refer the right hon. Gentleman to other quarters. What we had to do was to consider the state of facts which arose in consequence of the act of the Khedive—an act followed by explanations and assurances on his part, the terms of which were such that it was impossible for us to take exception to them. We consider that as far as those terms are concerned the relations of the two Governments are placed on a footing which ought to be perfectly satisfactory. But the right hon. Gentleman went a little beyond this—with what

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intention I do not exactly know. He said that there had been rash declarations on the subject of Egyptian policy. It appears to me that when statements of that kind are made—and made with regard to persons whom they treat as having an important influence on foreign policy—they ought to be supported by something like particulars. I entirely deny the statement of the right hon. Gentleman. What has been said by me on this subject of Egypt is, in my opinion, not half so dangerous as what has been said to-night by the right hon. Gentleman himself. And now I am referring to what all have heard. What did he mean by his description of the increase of difficulties in Egypt, and why did he dwell on that subject except in order to suggest that we ought to lose no time in getting out of it? If not, what is the point in any declaration made by me which he refers to as rash and dangerous? I believe that what I said was that if Lord Salisbury were able to carry to a conclusion the plans and policy which he himself had promulgated, which he had pursued with great zeal and much ability and nearly brought to a conclusion, that he would have my support and approval in concluding them. It should be recollected that if Lord Salisbury's plan had been carried out, if the Drummond Wolff Treaty had been ratified—and it was not his fault that it was not ratified—we should at this moment be out of Egypt. It was due to an adverse series of circumstances—which we were taught to believe were untoward circumstances—that that Treaty was not carried into effect. In Egypt there are two things perfectly distinct. The one is the condition of the occupation, the great—according to the right hon. Gentleman, the increasing— dangers which surround it; and the grave political considerations which are thereby raised, and which ought, I think, to be reserved for the most careful and most dispassionate consideration. That is one of the questions connected with Egypt. We had not to deal with that question, but we may have to deal with it as our predecessors had. A communication was made in the autumn to the British Government to the effect that the French Government desired to address to us some friendly overtures upon that subject, and

the French Government were assured, in reply, that any such overtures proceeding from them would be received by us in a corresponding spirit. Nothing has occurred in consequence of those preliminary communications; but possibly something may occur, and if it should occur, doubtless among the historical circumstances that will assist in guiding us will be the very important proceedings adopted by the late Government. But the question we have had before us is a totally different question. I believe that not perhaps the whole of Europe, but that, almost the whole of Europe, perceives that we had virtually no option in the crisis which was recently brought about. The responsibility of our position is of the gravest character. We are entirely and exclusively responsible for the maintenance of peace and order in Egypt. The question whether the evacuation of Egypt would be a sound policy or not is a totally distinct question, and any opinion any man may hold upon it ought on no account to be allowed to obscure his perception with regard to the other and, for the moment, imperative question—what are our duties to Egypt while we stay there? If our duty is plainly to maintain order, if we are responsible for the preservation of order to all who might suffer from breach of order, for my own part I do not see how that responsibility is to be avoided. Undoubtedly, then, we must not flinch from doing—whether it be agreeable to us or not—that which on a rational and temperate view of the circumstances is necessary for the purposes of so maintaining order. We did not proceed on any vague intimation or any unwarranted assumption of our own, but upon the assurances both of the civil and military authorities on the spot; and I rejoice to think that what has been done has received the general acquiescence of the great body of the community both at home and abroad. I think that is all I have to say on the subjects referred to by the right hon. Gentleman, but I think I must add one word more upon the condition of Ireland. Perhaps it might be of interest to the right hon. Gentleman and the House if I gave the figures, which are very short, that show that the statement in the Speech is not a hasty or unauthenticated statement with regard to agrarian crime.

In the year 1891 the agrarian offences were 472, and in the year 1892 they were 405. Perhaps more remarkable than that is the comparison between the two halves of the year 1892. In the first six months the offences were 231, in the second six months they sank to 174. We have faith—within the limits of reason and prudence—in the operation of conciliatory measures. If the right hon. Gentleman says, and says with some truth, that we are supported in the work of maintaining order in Ireland by agencies from which he did not derive a similar benefit, does that not raise very serious questions as to the soundness of his policy for maintaining order in Ireland if it deprived him of some part of the social and moral influence which might have assisted him?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Not moral.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: By moral agencies I mean agencies in the moral sphere. The right hon. Gentleman has ascribed immorality wholesale to the Representatives of Ireland, but he does not seem to see the fundamental weakness implied by that very reproach in his own position. What is the position of a man who, standing in the face, if not of a nation, at any rate of four-fifths of a nation, is obliged to mistrust them, and when he has difficulties to meet has to have recourse to measures of coercion, and is obliged to confess that the Party opposing him has great social advantages over him? One earnest hope I must express, and that is, that we shall not be inflamed before the time by violent denunciations of the Bill we are about to bring in. If, indeed, there were any disposition to hold back that Bill, I could understand that the impatience of the House might then find vent in denunciations of that character. But surely it is better that, instead of resorting at this early date to rhetoric and declamation, we should wait to see what are the provisions which will be propounded for the acceptance of Parliament, and should then endeavour to give to those provisions the full advantage of a careful, and a deliberate, and, if it may be, even a benevolent, judgment.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: There is one opinion which the right hon. Gentleman attributed to me with regard to Egypt on which he was mistaken, and on which I

must have conveyed to him an impression which, I believe, I did not convey to the rest of the House. The right hon. Gentleman appeared to think that I was of opinion that the recent crisis would hurry, would necessitate, a more rapid evacuation of Egypt than might otherwise take place. What I did endeavour to explain was that the recent crisis showed new difficulties in Egypt, new responsibilities, and new dangers that would have to be met. The inference the right hon. Gentleman drew from my words was not the inference I drew myself, nor the inference I intended to convey.

MR. DUNBAR BARTON (Armagh, Mid): I beg to move the adjournment of the Debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—*(Mr. Barton.)*

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

Original Question again proposed.

***MR. DUNBAR BARTON** said, the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister had stated that his right hon. Friend the Leader of the Opposition had addressed the House in an unprecedented manner. It seemed to him (**Mr. Barton**) that his right hon. Friend had, as a matter of fact, shown exceptional chivalry in his speech. Referring especially to the subject of the release of the dynamiters, he (**Mr. Barton**) knew he was speaking the feelings of many Members of the House when he said they would expect more information than his right hon. Friend had asked for. They would have to ask the Home Secretary (**Mr. Asquith**) how it was that the hon. Member for Wexford (**Mr. Barry**) was informed that Egan was to be released from Portland Prison on a certain morning, and was thus enabled to find his way to the door of the prison and meet that released convict. If the right hon. Gentleman did not furnish some explanation, hon. Members would be led to the conclusion that, in the words of a Nationalist newspaper, the Government wished to "noble" Egan for one party in Ireland. As the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister said his right hon. Friend had spoken in an unprecedented way, it was well to

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remind the House that the Government had approached Parliament under unprecedented circumstances. Speaking prior to the General Election of 1885 the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister referred to the state of things that would arise—and which, as a matter of fact, had arisen—if the Liberal Party were returned to Parliament in such a minority that it might become a majority with the aid of the Irish vote. The right hon. Gentleman then said, speaking as he said "seriously and solemnly," that though the Liberal Party was an honourable Party and trustworthy, it would not be safe to trust it, under such circumstances, to deal with the Government of Ireland, and that a Party in such a position and dealing with such a question would be a "source of danger to the country and the Empire." The House thus had it on the authority of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister himself that his Government was under existing circumstances a source of danger to the country and the Empire. Could the Prime Minister be surprised, under these circumstances, if the Leader of the Opposition found it necessary to address to him language which naturally did not meet with his entire approval? His right hon. Friend the Leader of the Opposition was right, and the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary was incorrect, in the statement he made across the Table and in the statement he had made at Newcastle, to the effect that at the Viceregal Commissions hitherto held cross-examination had not been permitted. He (**Mr. Barton**) had inquired into the precedents. He had found that there had been at least six such Viceregal Commissions during the past 35 years in which cross-examination was freely permitted. The Commissioners were generally Irish lawyers, several of whom afterwards became Irish Judges. Among them were Lord Justice Barry, Mr. Justice Bewley, Mr. Justice Murphy, the late Judge Lynch, and the late Baron Dowse. Surely these were not men who would be impugned in the House for their ignorance of precedents. Baron Dowse was Attorney General in a former Gladstonian Government, and certainly he would have taken care to inform his mind on the subject of precedents. Well, in every one of these cases cross-examination was freely

allowed, and the parties were represented by counsel and solicitors, and the Judges subsequently, in their Reports, drew attention to the satisfactory results of the cross-examination. He could confidently assert that if cross-examination had not been allowed these Commissions would not have secured that amount of public confidence which they succeeded in obtaining. The Commissions of which he spoke included those of Londonderry, the earlier Belfast Riots, the Belfast Municipal, Dungannon, and Lurgan. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary relied upon the last Belfast Riot Commission of 1886, but he could not have relied upon a more unfortunate precedent. What had occurred in that case? Why the counsel for the Roman Catholic party asked to be allowed to cross-examine. When Mr. Justice Day refused, Mr. O'Shaughnessy pointed out the precedents, and Mr. Justice Day replied to the following effect: "True, I admit that there are precedents, but my case is a different one. Parliament has given me statutory powers. It has given me by special Act power to summon witnesses; and as I can force them to attend, I think we can dispense with cross-examination." But what was the present case? Parliament had not given statutory powers, and the Commission had no powers of procuring the attendance of witnesses, and could acquire no powers of the kind save by inspiring public respect, and he submitted that powers gained in that way would in this case be very small. The Chief Secretary might fairly be called upon to explain how it was that he had ignored precedents in the present case, particularly having regard to the fact that the Commission was a small one. He would challenge the right hon. Gentleman, furthermore, to defend the composition of the Commission when he came to speak of it. He had defended it at Newcastle, but on extraordinary grounds. He had represented that Mr. Redington was an Irish landlord. If a trades unionist was being tried by a blackleg and was told that that was the proper person to try the case because he was a working man, it would be as reasonable as to defend the appointment of Mr. Redington, because he was a

landlord. When the Chief Secretary and Lord Ripon were enthusiastically received at a demonstration in Dublin during the late Administration, this gentleman made a speech in which he not only practically justified the Plan of Campaign, but in which he denounced the landlords as the worst enemies of their class and the worst enemies of their country. No doubt Mr. Redington believed what he said; but was the man who entertained such a belief the right sort of man to put upon a Commission to try the Irish landlords? It was reported in the newspapers that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary was present when the speech was made. Did he hear it? Did he know of it? If he did, how can he suggest to us that he was acting fairly in putting Mr. Redington on the Commission? Then, as to Mr. Roche, Q.C.—a respected member of his (Mr. Barton's) own profession, and one against whom, as a lawyer, he would say nothing—he held it to be unfair to Mr. Roche, and to all parties concerned, to put him upon the Commission. What was his record? He was a director of the *Freeman's Journal* during the most critical period of the evicted tenants' question, when Clause 13 of the Land Act of 1887 was in operation. No one could better answer the question, "Why was not Clause 13 taken advantage of by the evicted tenants?" than Mr. Roche. The *Freeman's Journal*, for the conduct of which that gentleman was responsible, advised the people not to take advantage of it. One of the most important subjects of the Commission's inquiry was the cause of the failure of this Clause 13 of the Act of 1887; and to appoint that gentleman as one of the Judges to try the case was contrary to all justice. Probably the Chief Secretary was not aware of these things before; but now that the facts had been brought under his notice, he (Mr. Barton) asked him as a fair-minded and honourable statesman how he could justify the appointment of Mr. Redington and Mr. Roche upon the Commission? If it had been proposed to appoint these gentlemen to prosecute the landlords, it would have been most unfair; but to constitute these gentlemen the Judges of the Irish landlords was a public scandal—a scandal which, he ventured

to think, would deprive the Commission and its Report of all value in the eyes of the House and the country. But what about the other two Commissioners? When the Commission was originally appointed there were two other gentlemen upon it. The Chief Secretary at Newcastle had taken credit for appointing Mr. O'Brien. Well, if the right hon. Gentleman had appointed Mr. O'Brien, he had taken care to deprive the Commission of his presence very early. He had appointed him to another office after he had sat for only one day. They were entitled to ask the right hon. Gentleman to explain whether it was intentional or only through carelessness that Mr. O'Brien was promoted to another office after his appointment on the Commission. It was true the right hon. Gentleman had appointed one neutral man on the Commission—Mr. Murphy. He (Mr. Barton) knew something of politics in Ireland, but he did not know that Mr. Murphy was a Unionist until he saw it announced in the newspapers. He would give the Chief Secretary every credit for having appointed this gentleman. But what happened in his case? So shocked was he at the high-handed conduct of the President, and the proceedings of the Commission, that he left the Commission in disgust; and how could any fair-minded man blame the landlords for refusing to take part in the proceedings which the independent gentleman selected by the right hon. Gentleman found to be so inconsistent with his honour or position that he declined to take part in them? The right hon. Gentleman would find it hard to justify those proceedings. He (Mr. Barton) did not wish to enlarge upon the other subject the right hon. Gentleman referred to—the release of the Gweedore prisoners. The hon. Member for North Louth (Mr. Timothy Healy), who defended the prisoners, had, of course, done his best for them, and he had had to confess after the sentences that they had “got off in a coach.” Had the Chief Secretary released the men on a ticket-of-leave?

MR. J. MORLEY: No.

MR. BARTON would therefore ask for precedents. He would ask the right hon. Gentleman to tell them the precedent for men who had pleaded guilty to

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manslaughter, and whom their own counsel had declared had got off fortunately in the sentences they received, being released after three years without a ticket-of-leave?

MR. TIMOTHY HEALY: I cannot admit that the men got off fortunately. It seems to me that the understanding arrived at was broken.

MR. BARTON said that the circumstances to which he was drawing attention fairly entitled him to demand an explanation from him on these points. On what grounds could he justify these releases? Why had he released Barabbas? The reason he had offered at Newcastle—namely, the peaceful condition of Donegal—was neither more nor less than a paltry excuse for a revolutionary act. What was that peaceful condition due to? To the conviction and imprisonment of these very men whom the right hon. Gentleman had now sent back without a ticket-of-leave to the district in which they had committed the offence. The right hon. Gentleman thought he had governed Ireland with success during the last six months. The right hon. Gentleman's colleagues and the leaders of the Nationalist Party joined in praising the right hon. Gentleman's Administration. If they were sincere in their praise, what a powerful argument that was against Home Rule. If the right hon. Gentleman had been able to govern Ireland with success under a Liberal Administration, why were they going to waste this Session by bringing in this miserable Home Rule Bill which everybody knew could not possibly become law? If the right hon. Gentleman had succeeded in the government of Ireland, he had provided the most formidable argument against Home Rule that could be provided. But how had he governed Ireland? He had governed it in a way which could not ensure permanent success. The right hon. Gentleman and his friends were delighted because the country had not yet been plunged into disorder. But it was the Leader of the Opposition who had restored order in Ireland. The system which the Leader of the Opposition set up in Ireland was not a transient system, and the stable structure which his right hon. Friend had built up could not be destroyed quickly.

It would take more than six months to destroy the good work he had done in six years of Unionist Government. How had the present Chief Secretary governed Ireland? He (Mr. Barton) would not deal with outrages. The right hon. Gentleman had shown himself a master of Castle statistics—he had shown how well he could shuffle and deal them. But he ventured to think that the right hon. Gentleman had largely preserved order, so far as he had preserved it, by making promises which he could never perform, and holding out expectations which were doomed to disappointment. For example, he had led the Irish Nationalists to believe that the evicted tenants would be reinstated, and that the honest men who had taken their farms would be turned out. These promises of the right hon. Gentleman were bills which would not be met when they fell due, and cheques which would be dishonoured when presented. Under these circumstances, what would become of the contentment of the Irish people? The right hon. Gentleman had, as a matter of fact, yielded to the blackmail of his political associates. The right hon. Gentleman would not refuse responsibility for the advice he had given the Lord Lieutenant, and he (Mr. Barton) would therefore ask him to explain how it was that the Lord Lieutenant refused the addresses of loyal subjects of the Queen who came forward and expressed the view that the legislative union was essential. The Chamber of Commerce of Dublin was a body of importance, and included men whose names commanded general respect. Their Council approached the Lord Lieutenant with a respectful address expressing welcome to him without a word of bitterness or reproach, but adding an opinion to the effect that the commercial interests of Ireland would be injuriously affected by any interference with the legislative union. How did the Lord Lieutenant receive that address? These respected merchants of Dublin were sent away, being told that their address was an insult to the Lord Lieutenant—Lord Houghton. The address was similar to the one they had presented to the Earl of Aberdeen. After that, what were they to believe about this veto of the Lord Lieutenant, which they were told was to be such a

great protection for the Loyalists of Ireland? What chance had the Loyalists that his veto would be exercised to protect them when respectful addresses submitted by them were not listened to, because they expressed approval of existing institutions. The Methodists of Ireland, than whom there was not a more orderly, quiet, or retiring body, came forward with addresses, stating most respectfully that their lives and liberties depended on the maintenance of the legislative union, and the Lord Lieutenant refused to receive them. Then in the appointments to Public Boards the Chief Secretary had made a clean sweep all over the country, removing many Unionists or Loyalists, and putting Nationalists in their places. He did not complain of Nationalists being put on the Boards when vacancies occurred in a proper way. But was a general policy of removal partisanship, or was it fair play? He would take the case of the division he represented. The Chairman of the Town Commissioners—the principal citizen of the town—had been removed, also the leading Presbyterian minister, who had been seventeen years on the Board. There was a universal belief in the place that these two men were selected for removal because it was desired to give a deliberate slight to the Loyalists of the place. The right hon. Gentleman, in carrying out his policy of blackmail, had been using not only his friends the priests and his supporters in the National Party, but all the instruments of coercion which remained at his disposal. He had been packing juries. In a non-political trial at Wicklow, in which the present Attorney General prosecuted, about 15 jurors were ordered to stand aside, all of whom were believed to be Catholics. No doubt the Attorney General would say, "We set aside jurors in order to secure fair trials." Well, that was what the late Government and their supporters had said all along. When the Chief Secretary came to justify his release of the Gweedore prisoners—if he did so—and made use of the pretext of jury-packing, he would tell him to look into his own house and inquire how it came about that his own Attorney General had acted in the way

than we can in the paths of other industries. If we think we can raise more produce by a more enlightened system of husbandry there is, I am satisfied, no landlord sitting on this (the Opposition) side of the House who would not gladly enforce that view. There are many ways in which, in my opinion, we could considerably mitigate the difficulties of husbandry at this time; and I am glad to see that more than one of my friends have Motions down with that object. At the same time, we must remember that in this matter a great deal depends upon the action taken by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. I trust that he will see his way to reduce those local burdens which press so heavily upon agriculture, and which give foreign countries and our colonial possessions so great an advantage over home producers. Speaking as largely interested in land, and as being a very large farmer on my own account, I know that America and our colonial dependencies can send produce to London very much cheaper than we can send it from the south of Scotland, simply owing to the inequality of railway rates. Although I am not an advocate of protection—and I can tell hon. Gentlemen opposite that I have never advocated protection—I do think that home producers ought not to be unfavourably handicapped by preferences given to foreign competitors. We ought to stand on level terms with the foreigner when his produce reaches this country. It is said that it is the best foreign produce that is sent to this country. We cannot help that. We do not wish for any protection beyond that which is fair and just and needful. And this applies not only to dairy produce and meat, but also to fruit and other matters with which we are deeply interested from an agricultural point of view. There is another point on which I should like to see something done—a point of which some notice should have been taken in Her Majesty's Gracious Speech. I think that all foreign animals ought to be slaughtered at the port of debarcation. That would entail no extra cost or inconvenience to the consumer, and it would be a great protection against the importation of foreign disease. Then I should also be disposed to schedule not only pleuropneumonia and rinderpest, and every other disease at present scheduled under

the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, but also swine fever and tuberculosis. I have no doubt we shall be met with opposition from different parts of the House, and mainly from gentlemen opposite, who always imagine that we are trying to raise the price of meat on the poor man. We are trying simply to do what is right and just, and we think that unless these diseases are stamped out the poor man will suffer more than the rich man. I have the greatest horror of tuberculosis. I am satisfied that many young people have their constitutions tainted with that fell disease amongst cattle, and it is rather to prevent that, and to take the proper and right view in regard to the poor man, that I venture to make this suggestion to the President of the Board of Agriculture. And here I must congratulate the President of the Board of Agriculture (Mr. Herbert Gardner) on the firmness of his attitude in carrying out the action of his predecessor in office. No doubt he has had difficulties to contend with. No doubt he may have felt disposed to take a somewhat opposite view, but he has not acted from Party motives. He has been just and equitable, and for that he deserves the support and confidence of this side of the House. I trust the suggestions I have made will meet with a favourable response from Members sitting below the Gangway on this side of the House. They have every reason to desire that all cattle diseases should be stamped out, and that foreign cattle should be slaughtered at the port of landing. If this is done we shall have to go to Ireland for our store cattle, and knowing that Ireland is essentially an agricultural country, and that every Irish Member must feel deeply interested in the agricultural industry, I do trust that those Members will give us their support in carrying out the measures which we deem so necessary. If the Government propose those measures we shall be very glad to afford them all the assistance in our power in carrying them. Another matter I wish to refer to is this: Could we not make some effort during this Parliament—whether it be a short or a long-lived one—to give better houses and homes to the working classes? Could not the Government see their way to enable landowners, who are by no means in a very healthy condition as regards

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their finances, to raise money at a cheap rate in order to give better houses to the working classes? If they could see their way to do that they would earn great credit throughout the country. Just one word on Ireland. To my mind there is far more interest taken in social questions than in the one great question that I suppose is to monopolise the whole of the time of this House during the present Session—a question which two-thirds of the constituencies do not care a rush about. It is monstrous that where there is so much depression in trade, particularly in agriculture, we should be concentrating our attention upon effecting a revolution in our Constitution, and in satisfying the small band of so-called patriots in Ireland who do not, as we believe in this part of the House, represent Ireland in its entirety. Then there is a question which, I believe, Gentlemen on the other side of the House lay great store by. They talk of “One Man One Vote,” without in any way looking at the consequences of such a piece of legislation, or considering the justice and fairness of the proposal. Why should not a person, provided he has intelligence, be permitted to vote in two counties, supposing he has property in them? “One Man One Vote” seems to me a monstrous proposition, unless it is accompanied with the provision of “one vote one value.” I hope it will not meet with ready acquiescence—at any rate on this side of the House. In regard to Uganda and Egypt, the Government deserve the hearty congratulations of the House for the course they have followed. Coming to Scotland, the most important paragraph in the Queen’s Speech is that in which it is stated that attention will likewise be invited to measures “for the prevention of the growth of new vested interests in the Ecclesiastical Establishments in Scotland and in Wales.” I want to know the reason of that sentence. We have had none assigned as yet, except the precedent quoted last night. The Prime Minister stated last night that a Suspensory Bill was passed in the case of the Irish Church because the House was on the eve of a dissolution. Are we to understand, before the Address has been voted, that the Government are going to the country in a very short period of time? That is the

interpretation which any one would place on what the right hon. Gentleman stated to the House last night. He denied altogether that the Suspensory Bill was the sequence of the passing of a certain Resolution, which stated that the Irish Church would be disestablished and disendowed. That was the meaning my right hon. Friend on this side of the House attached to the Suspensory Bill, but it was repudiated by the Prime Minister. The Welsh Members, I understand, are fairly unanimous as to the expediency of disestablishment in Wales, but it must be remembered that there are a large number of persons in the Principality who are not quite so anxious for the change as the Welsh Members. There are a large number of clergymen who are doing good, and who wish to continue doing it, who are not desirous of the change, also a large number of students who are preparing for the ministry. Those people, and many besides them, think that disestablishment, instead of increasing the activity of the Church, will have the reverse effect. But I can speak with more authority and knowledge on the subject of the Church of Scotland. To disestablish that Church I am convinced would be to damage the zeal of many who aspire to the ministry, and wish to devote their lives to the service of the Scotch Church. What reason does the Prime Minister or any of his colleagues assign for this part of the Address? There has been no reason whatever assigned. We had in the last Session of Parliament a very remarkable illustration of the versatility of the Prime Minister’s mind. We saw how completely he changed his front, because he thought that change of front was suited to the circumstances of the day. It was not long before the General Election. He had had many opportunities of satisfying himself of the attitude of the Scottish people on this question, and he had promised over and over again that full opportunity should be given to Scotland, as it had been given to Ireland, to express its feeling on the matter. The right hon. Gentleman went down to Midlothian apparently satisfied that he had hit the right nail on the head; and what was the result of his extraordinary change of front during the last Parliament? Why, in 1885, when

the right hon. Gentleman was elected for Midlothian, after a long and severe contest, he had the magnificent majority of 3,931. At the election of 1892 he had the insignificant majority of 660. To what was that attributable? Why, it was entirely to be attributed to his conduct in connection with the Established Church of Scotland. If anything was calculated to injure his reputation as a far-seeing statesman it was his attitude on the Church of Scotland, and now he invites us to commence this scheme of confiscation. The right hon. Gentleman has said over and over again that all he wishes to live for is to give justice to Ireland. Does he wish to give injustice to Scotland? The Scotch people do not want this measure. The people of Scotland are satisfied in the matter. We may have a majority against us in this House, but I am satisfied that if a fair *plébiscite* of the whole of Scotland were taken—if a double ballot could be taken at a General Election, one for the election proper and the other for the Church, as the Church Party desire—a large number of people who voted Liberal would also vote for the Established Church. Is there any reason why, in the year 1893, we should for the first time have a direct proposition from the Government in power for the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of Scotland—for that is what this amounts to? It is the first nail, as you might say, in the coffin. If you drive home that nail, you must follow up and drive many more nails in before you effect your purpose. Does the Church of Scotland command the sympathy, the respect, and veneration of the people of Scotland? Why, there never was a time when more life, more vigour, more work was done by that Church. I do not say by any means that the Church of Scotland is perfect. Far from it. It is after all only a human institution. You may find many flaws in the constitution of that Church, but I will say that there is a more determined effort now made by the Church to do good than there ever was before. This is proved by the universal liberality shown by it during the past few years. It is proved by the fact that you have over 350 new parishes organised and endowed since the great disruption in 1843. It is proved by the fact that it is possible not only to continue the old parish

system in outlandish places in the Highlands and Islands and elsewhere, where no other provision is made for supplying the religious needs of the population, but to place new churches in large centres of the population where no church could have existed but for some endowment, and but for the existence of a great organising body like the Church of Scotland. The members of the Scotch Church desire to join hand in hand with its sister churches, and even to share its endowments with them. There are agitators in Scotland, however, as there are in Ireland, and when the Prime Minister and his colleagues are under their heel, they, of course, find it necessary to introduce drastic measures to keep themselves in power. Those who are advocating these changes in Scotland are, however, by no means the largest following of Gentlemen opposite. How will disestablishment quicken the activity of the Church of Scotland? Is it to be supposed that the many young men who are pressing forward in the Universities with the object of entering the Church of Scotland will display the same eagerness and ardour if they find that the endowments of the Church, small as they are, are *in extremis*? The State may later on seize something else. There are endowments in the Free Church as in the Established Church. I know it is not at present proposed to touch them, but political affairs move very quickly, and if Gentlemen opposite are successful in one act of spoliation, they may perhaps be successful in others. Hon. Members have heard a good deal about buying support, but I consider the present proposal of the Government a greater act of corruption than the hatbands at the Walsall election. When the result of the last Midlothian election was announced, a whisper went round the country that disestablishment was to be dropped, and immediately the Liberals who had been supporting Unionist candidates went back to their old cause, in the belief that the Church of Scotland was safe. The people of Scotland feel on this question of disestablishment a great deal more strongly than they feel on the question of Uganda or the question of Egypt, and they are determined, come weal or come woe, to bitterly oppose and resent any proposal tending in that direction.

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*MR. J. PARKER SMITH (Lanark, Partick) congratulated his right hon. Friend the Member for Berwickshire (Mr. Marjoribanks) upon the state of discipline into which he had brought the Liberal forces, and said he was pleased to see that even six months of absence had not led to any desire on the part of the Government supporters to express any opinion in the House. He thought, however, they would presently come to feel that readiness to meet their political opponents face to face had more weight in the country than mere willingness to harangue in places where they could not be answered. It had been intimated that Suspensory Bills for the Church of Scotland and the Church in Wales were to be introduced. The Prime Minister had said that the Irish Suspensory Bill was passed because the House was on the eve of dissolution, and not because it was an adequate sequel to the Disestablishment Resolutions, and, further, that there was no connection between the two. He (Mr. Smith) was totally at a loss to understand that statement, inasmuch as the Irish Suspensory Bill embodied the substance of the Resolution previously passed, which declared that it was expedient to prevent the creation of new personal interests by the exercise of patronage. It was quite true that the Suspensory Bill was not an adequate sequel to the Disestablishment Resolutions, the only adequate sequel being the Bill for the complete disestablishment of the Church of Ireland, which was brought in immediately after the appeal to the country. The probability of being able to carry a measure of that kind was the only thing that could justify the Government in bringing forward a Suspensory Bill. Was it the intention of the Government that the Suspensory Bill they had just announced should follow on the lines of the Irish Bill by being made of only one year's operation? If that was their intention, and they were prepared to follow the measure up by immediate action, they were justified on their own principles in what they were doing. If they merely wished to pass a Suspensory Bill which would be nothing more than a Resolution their action was wholly unjustifiable. It must be remembered that in the case of Ireland almost the whole

of the patronage was in the hands of the Crown and the Bishops. It was perfectly arguable in that case that during the period that must ensue before the Disestablishment Act was passed there might be abuse of patronage by the ministers then in power and by the Bishops. In Scotland there was no patronage at all, the appointment of ministers being wholly in the hands of the people. Was there the smallest shadow of pretence that there would be any abuse of power of that character? He could hardly believe that the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister was serious in saying that a measure of the kind proposed would not injure the Church. At the present moment the Church to which he himself belonged was vacant, the minister having gone to another parish, and he (Mr. Smith) was a member of the committee that was looking for a new minister. Every man who had the slightest chance of being chosen was in charge of a church in another part of the country. If a Suspensory Act were passed, could anyone expect these men to leave their present positions, in total ignorance of the conditions under which they would have to work in the future? The particular church he was referring to was an important one, in an important parish, and yet the people would have to be content with the ministry of some raw young man, as they would be totally unable to obtain such a man as they wanted. This was just one instance of the mischief which the passing of such a Bill would do. He could understand and sympathise with the position of men who held that it was wrong that there should be any connection between Church and State, and that in severing such connection they were doing nothing but good to the Church of Scotland. He could also understand, but did not sympathise with, men who were blinded by jealousy and dislike of another ecclesiastical body. He could not believe that any man who was seeking to do not evil to the Church of Scotland but good to religion would accept such a scheme as was contemplated by the Government. Only those whose concern was the benefit not of religion but of their own sect would accept it. Their outcry was like the cry of the false mother before King

Solomon, because genuine voluntaries would be prepared rather to give up the child altogether than to destroy it. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister was a pure Scotchman when it was a question of depreciating or chastening the English race, but on all ecclesiastical matters he was a pure Englishman and an Anglican of the Anglicans. The right hon. Gentleman, who boasted himself of Scotch birth, had now been a Scottish Member of Parliament for nearly 15 years, but whenever these questions were under discussion he looked on from the outside, never pretending to have any knowledge of them, or to take any personal interest in them. For many years, instead of expressing any opinion of his own, which as a Scotch representative he might have been expected to form, it had been his pride to look at Scotch questions from the outside, and to express his views by quoting and misquoting the declaration of an English statesman avowedly speaking on general grounds, and in ignorance of the merits of the question. With regard to Wales, no doubt the right hon. Gentleman did feel strongly, and had spoken in a way that was probably not altogether acceptable to his supporters below the Gangway. How could the right hon. Gentleman bring himself to leave the Church in Wales in such a position as he knew it would be left in by the passing of a Suspensory Act? There was one patent fact to which with perfect candour the right hon. Gentleman had alluded on the previous evening—the fact that the representatives of Wales, by a majority of 28 to 2, were in favour of disestablishment. The right hon. Gentleman, whenever he happened to be defeated, could, with most marvellous subtlety, enter into all sorts of meteorological calculations, which would reason away any state of facts, but when he was successful he declined absolutely to look behind the most immediate facts, or to take into consideration anything that could give a truer picture of the state of public opinion. He pinned his faith to the numbers on the benches behind him, and resolutely refused to see anything further. There was a certain Midlothian *plébiscite* which very decidedly changed in 1885 the attitude which the right hon. Gentleman was popularly believed to have gone down

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to Scotland ready to adopt. There was also a very significant Midlothian *plébiscite* which took place last July. What the Church of Scotland asked was that the opinion of the people of Scotland should be taken fairly on the question. Ten years ago the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Midlothian held the view that the case of Scotland was far stronger than that of Ireland, and that if the latter country was entitled to a General Election upon the question of the disestablishment of its Church, Scotland had a far stronger claim to one. At the last General Election the Disestablishment question was kept in the background, and did not greatly influence votes in most of Scotland, and for this reason, therefore, they demanded that before the subject came up for serious consideration, there should be taken, either by a *plébiscite*, by a *referendum*, or by a direct vote, the opinion of the Scotch people upon it. By the result of such a verdict they were perfectly prepared to abide. Their feeling could not be stated more clearly than it was by Mr. Gladstone in 1879. He (Mr. Parker Smith) did not intend or desire to quote the right hon. Gentleman's words in order to make a point against him, for it appeared to him there was nothing which so completely proved the greatness of the man as the fact that there were no fetters which could bind him. He was stronger than Sampson; he could not be bound even by his own words. But at that time the right hon. Gentleman evidently well understood their position, for he said that all they were afraid of was that some attempt would be made to smuggle the Established Church of Scotland out of existence, and the question he put into their mouths was whether members and ministers of that Church might make themselves assured, so far as there could be certainty in human affairs, that consideration would be given to these fears on the part of the people before Parliament proceeded to deal with the question. The right hon. Gentleman on that occasion stated that that was an absolutely reasonable demand. Had he now changed his opinion? It seemed to him that the present proposal to introduce a Suspensory Bill was a piece of Parliamentary strategy, used in the hope of gaining votes; it was a mere trick, and the

attempt to deal with the matter in that way would be strongly resented in Scotland. It would fail to secure the support of hundreds and thousands of those who were most profoundly in favour of Disestablishment, and it certainly would not pass through the House without full discussion and without the Government being pressed to disclose its scheme of Disestablishment, and to pledge itself to follow up the Bill by immediate action. If they failed to get this information and these assurances they would know that behind the Bill was the desire to cripple the Church, to scotch it, and to leave it maimed and paralysed until such time as they were ready to come forward and kill it. He did not suspect the Front Bench of any special hatred of the Church of Scotland; he had no doubt that in their own minds right hon. Gentlemen looked upon it as a mere counter in the high game of politics. They had had no time to look into the merits of the question at all; with them it was a vote-catching fulmination. But the people of Scotland would not sympathise with it; whatever view they might take upon the question they still had faith in the Church of Scotland; they believed in it as an agency which had worked mightily for good in the past; and, whether established or disestablished, they believed that would be a grand agency on the side of religion and goodness in the future.

*THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (Sir GEORGE TREVELYAN, Glasgow, Bridgeton): It is from no desire to prolong a general Debate upon the subject of the Scotch Church that I rise at this moment, but I do so out of respect for the measured and thoughtful speech of the hon. Member who has just sat down, and the earnest speech which was made from the Benches opposite. I shall certainly not enter into this subject at length; but I desire to answer one or two criticisms which have been made on our Suspensory Bill—which has not yet been seen by the hon. Member—and the Suspensory Bills in general. One or two questions put by the hon. Member who last spoke merit an answer. In one respect the hon. Member occupies rather a weak position, seeing that he, speaking from Benches which recognise the leadership of a certain eminent man, has made a speech directed against the prin-

ciple of religious equality and against the principle of Disestablishment, with special reference to the disestablishment of the Scotch Church, when his own leader on a critical occasion voted with those who called for the disestablishment and disendowment of that Church on broad public grounds. My hon. Friend has not left us in any doubt as to his own feelings in the matter: he is against the disestablishment of the Scotch Church, and he does not follow his leader in that matter. Now, into the question of religious equality in general, and as to whether or not the Church should be disestablished —

MR. PARKER SMITH: I did not enter into the merits of the Church Disestablishment question, though I did not conceal my opinion on the matter; all I contended was that that question should be fairly and fully submitted to the people most concerned.

SIR GEORGE TREVELYAN: My hon. Friend, in the course of his speech, commented on the nature of the agitation in Scotland and upon the conduct of the Government in taking up the question in a way that would prevent any measure for the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of Scotland from being carried if his views were generally entertained by Scotch Members, and would indeed prevent any Minister from moving in the matter. The hon. Member put two questions, both of which it is important should be answered. The first reassured me very much as to the manner in which hon. Members will meet the Bill when it is brought before the House. He asked whether this Bill in favour of cancelling vested interests might be regarded in the light of a general resolution in favour of Disestablishment; and if it would leave the Scotch Church long in suspense, was it intended merely to catch votes, or was it a definite, practical measure intended to remain in force for a limited time, which he himself defined to be a year, and to be followed at the expiration of that period by immediate action on the part of the Government? Was it a genuine earnest of the intention of the Ministry to deal practically and promptly with the question? I say that we desire to be judged by the test which he himself has laid down, and I ask him to wait for a short time until we can lay the Bill before the House. I am

willing to rest our justification on that ground. Then my hon. Friend, in a particularly interesting part of his speech, spoke of the damage which this Bill might inflict on the Church of Scotland even after it was disestablished. He apprehends that there are certain large populous, and, therefore, probably very well-paid livings which may become vacant; that ministers who could fill them with propriety and satisfaction to the congregation would be debarred from accepting an invitation to them through the fear that their vested interests would not be considered, and that, therefore, they would fall to the lot of those whom he speaks of as young and crude ministers, who were not at all adequate to the duties to be performed. That is a point which has been very carefully considered by the Government. I quite agree with my hon. Friend that to make this Bill a method of damaging the Church in that particular—for a very serious damage it would be—would not be a justifiable proceeding. I fully admit the force of the argument of my hon. Friend when he says that the Church of Scotland stands upon a very different footing from that of the Irish Church, inasmuch as the patronage of the former is in the hands of the congregations, by whom, as Scotch Members know, it is most worthily exercised—whereas that of the latter is, to a large extent, in the hands of the Government. But when a good minister is appointed by the congregation of the Established Church he has advantages over equally good ministers who are appointed by the other Churches of Scotland, advantages which we believe the great majority of the Scotch people hold ought not to continue to exist. [An hon. MEMBER: “No!”] At any rate, it is my opinion that the majority hold that view. The hon. Baronet who spoke first to-day asked, “What is the use of introducing this Bill as a Suspensory Bill?” I will tell him a good thing cannot be done too soon, and a good thing cannot be begun too soon; and this is, at any rate, a beginning. I cannot understand why the hon. Baronet lectures us on our small majorities. He talks of himself as standing on a rock raised by the confidence and gratitude of the Scotch people. But the rock from which he looks down is nothing compared with that on

which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Midlothian stands; and, as compared with my own, so far from being a rock, it is a miserable molehill. Anyone who consults *Dod* will see that the hon. Member for the Partick Division should be the very last to speak of small majorities. The hon. Gentleman below the Gangway asks my hon. Friends about me why they do not repeat in Parliament the speeches and promises made on the platform. The reason is that the promise which they most frequently made on the platform was to do everything in their power to further business, and to give the country that legislation for which it has been so long waiting. They want to see the Bills and to help to pass them, and they know that every half-hour spent in discussing the general principles of measures which are not before the House, and in the bandying to and fro of old Party taunts, of which we had enough at the General Election, is so much time wasted and taken from the practical legislation which they promised on the platform. The hon. Gentleman below the Gangway made one reference to my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister which I cannot allow to pass. The hon. Gentleman says that the Prime Minister makes use only for political purposes of Scotch ecclesiastical questions, that his heart is with English ecclesiastical questions, and that he does not understand Scotch feeling on these matters. I appeal to every Member who belongs to one of the two great non-protected religious bodies in Scotland, and to a great many who belong to the Established Church, to say whether the most satisfactory, the most ample, the most exhaustive, and the most pregnant speech ever made on Scotch ecclesiastical matters within these walls, in our lifetime at any rate, was not that made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Midlothian upon the Patronage Bill? In that speech he showed that he thoroughly understood the feeling of the great voluntary Churches in Scotland, and expressed that feeling as it has never been expressed before. The feeling of those Churches is that, whereas their fathers, and in some cases themselves, many years ago, on a great occasion, vindicated freedom for them-

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selves, now they have come to the conclusion, by slow but sure degrees, that it is their duty to extend that freedom to all Scotland together. They believe that true freedom can never be obtained by a Church trammelled by State support, and that true religious equality cannot exist where State privilege has been given and is preserved. Privilege—always oppressive and always indefensible—they believe to be most oppressive and most indefensible in religious affairs; and they firmly believe that it will be not only an act of justice towards themselves, but an act of liberation, of strengthening, and of true advantage in the highest sense to the Church of Scotland itself when that measure is passed, of which this measure which will be soon on the Table of the House, is a forerunner, under circumstances which, in the words of the hon. Gentleman below the Gangway (Mr. Parker Smith), will be “absolutely justifiable.”

SIR CHARLES PEARSON (Edinburgh and St. Andrews Universities): I shall not interpose for many moments to give further colour to the charge which has been made, that this discussion tends to a waste of the time of the House. The topic which the right hon. Gentleman has dealt with is one of such surpassing interest, not only to Scotland, but to England and Wales, that it would be wrong to suppose that anyone who associates himself with the protest which has been made is in any sense whatever wasting the time of the House. In the Speech from the Throne a declaration is made by the Government that they intend to legislate for the prevention of the growth of new vested interests in ecclesiastical establishments in certain parts of the country. The right hon. Gentleman repudiated one view which gives a possible meaning to these words. I wish he had been able to give the House a little more information than he did as to how vested interests in the immediate future can be prevented from increasing consistently with any Suspensory Bill which would not have the effect of paralysing the action of the Church and of laying a practical interdict upon it. Any proposal which may be wrapped up in the words of the Speech must necessarily be an unjustifiable proposal, and must result in the paralysis of the Church. I

carry the matter further than the hon. Member for the Partick Division, who quoted a case in his own experience in which ministers having vested interests would be unable to accept a call to a Church. If the right hon. Gentleman accepts the precedent of the Irish Church Suspensory Bill, then the present Bill either will have no application to the present state of ecclesiastical arrangements in Scotland, or else it will operate not only to deter existing incumbents from competing for a vacancy, but will prohibit the filling up of the vacancies themselves. A reference to the Irish Church Bill will show that, so far as it was intended to have operation, that would have been its effect. I should like to know whether the Government admit the Irish Church Bill as a precedent or not? I think I have said enough to show that if it is this Bill will have a most unfair and partial operation against the best interests of religion in those parts of the country to which it is intended to apply. A distinction ran through the remarks of the Prime Minister on this topic which the House should take note of. The right hon. Gentleman stated that there was no connection between the previous passing of the Resolutions for Irish Disestablishment and the introduction of the Suspensory Bill. That the introduction of the Suspensory Bill was not an adequate nor satisfactory sequel to the passing of the Resolutions for Disestablishment, I admit; because undoubtedly the only adequate sequel was the introduction of the Disestablishment Bill itself. The right hon. Gentleman, however, denied that the one was the natural sequel of the other. There I am totally unable to follow him. I say that to take up this question of the suspension of further vested interests, before Parliament has affirmed the proposition that the Church should be disestablished, and that it is inexpedient to allow further vested interests to be created, is, in the strictest sense of the word, a preposterous proposal. I go even further. The right hon. Gentleman said we ought not to be prohibited from having regard to other circumstances. I agree with him. There are many circumstances which ought to be taken into account as applicable to the present case. But, as to whether the proceedings of 1868 form a precedent or not, one of the most cogent circumstances to be taken

into account is that, whereas in 1868 the House had by a considerable majority passed Resolutions affirming the necessity for Disestablishment, in the present case there is not only the absence of that fact, but the presence of the contrary. The Resolution has been over and over again laid before the House of Commons, and it has been always negatived. That seems to me to be a circumstance to which the Government is bound to look in considering whether they are entitled to lay before the House a suspensory measure, and I therefore associate myself in the strongest way with the protest against the unfairness—the double and the treble unfairness—of this proposed piece of legislation. I say treble unfairness, because, in the first place, I have no doubt whatever that upon fuller discussion of this question the opinion of Scotland in the main will be that it will have the most disastrous effect upon the interim administration of Church affairs. In the second place, we are face to face, for the first time in the consideration of this question, with an attempt to shift the issue from the only fair ground on which it could be tried, for the House is asked to discuss a measure which, though it does not directly raise the question of disestablishment, will not prevent the discussion of that question, and can only be passed on the assumption that disestablishment is certain to come. In the third place, I should like to hear a little more as to the aspect of the case that I am going to refer to, and that is the comparison of the relative situations upon this question of England and Wales and Scotland. If there was anything in the reply of the right hon. Gentleman (Sir George Trevelyan) it was this: that the circumstance which he looked at as justifying the introduction of this measure is the fact that certain majorities of the Scotch Members had pronounced, in what he considered a constitutional way, in favour of the disestablishment of the Church. I should like to know how that consideration is to be applied to the question in England and Wales? We deprecate altogether the right of the Government to brush aside the interest of the Church of England in this matter, and say that it is to be treated merely as a matter of local interest and concern. If that be so, I should like to know how the Govern-

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ment would like to be treated by the same principle which they are willing to apply to Scotland in the great question—the much larger question than the Scotch one—that is, the disruption of the Church of England into two parts, when it is notorious that if the votes of the English Members were taken in the constitutional way in which it is supposed the votes of the Scotch Members have been taken, the proposal of the Government would fail. I therefore join in the objection against this proposed measure, and regret that at this stage we cannot go further.

*MR. RICHARD M. DANE (Fermanagh, N.) said he desired to say a few words on the condition of Ireland. He had always regarded it as a most unfortunate fact that Ireland should have been made from time to time the battle-field of Political Parties, because the result of such had been that the work of every Minister, and the efforts of every Government who meant well towards Ireland, had been frustrated by reason of the fact that each successive Minister, or each successive Government, had endeavoured as rapidly as it could to undo the work which its predecessor had done. He thought, also, that the history of Ireland had not been as thoroughly appreciated by the people of England and Scotland as it ought to have been. That history told us that since the country had been conquered in the reign of Henry II., and finally subdued in the reign of Elizabeth, it had been the battle-field of English Political Parties, and that before that latter period it had been the battle-field of its own native Princes and Chiefs. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Midlothian had told us in his interesting speech that he had always been moved by a strong belief in the policy of conciliation towards Ireland. He (Mr. Dane) admitted the fact, but he believed the House would come to the conclusion that the right hon. Gentleman had not always been successful in justifying that belief. It was that same policy of conciliation which drove Earl Cowper and poor Mr. Forster from the Government of Ireland in 1882. It was the same policy of conciliation which was rewarded the day their successors came to Ireland—that memorable day in May, 1882—when Lord Frederick Cavendish and the unhappy Mr. Burke met their fate on the soil of the Phoenix Park. The so-called policy

of conciliation of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Midlothian was considered by those in Ireland who respected the laws of their country as a mere pandering to the disloyal classes of the country. The right hon. Gentleman had quoted some figures in reference to the decrease of agrarian crime in Ireland. He told us that whilst in 1891 the number of agrarian cases of crime was 472, that in the succeeding year it decreased to 405. To anyone who knew the history of the country that was certainly a striking decrease. To what was it due? He claimed to know the condition of Ireland well; he lived in the country; he loved the country, and he had an intimate knowledge of the people of the country; and he said without any hesitation that the decrease in crime was due to the firm and able administration of the right hon. Gentleman who now leads the Opposition. And he said, further, that at no time in the history of Ireland—since Scotland sent Drummond as Secretary to Ireland in 1835, until the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition went there as Chief Secretary—was such an intimate knowledge shown by any statesman of the condition of the people, or a greater desire to benefit them, regardless of politics or Party. The Prime Minister analysed crime in 1892, and placed it in two divisions, and said that whereas in the first six months during the Administration of the late Government the cases were 231, since the present Government had been in Office they had fallen to 174. It might be perfectly true that the number of cases of crime had decreased, though he had reason to know—indeed, the matter had been stated in the public Press—that a number of serious crimes had been committed throughout the country which had not been recognised in the published Returns; but, assuming that crime had decreased in the six months of last year, to what was it due? In his opinion it was due, in the first instance, to the continued effects of the firm administration of justice in the country by the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition, and it was due, in the second place, to the compact which was entered into by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Midlothian and the Nationalist Party prior to the 11th of August last. The terms

of that compact were, that, in consideration for his policy of conciliation, his Government was not to be embarrassed, and there was now no public meeting held in Ireland by the Nationalist Party in which from layman and cleric the word was not sent out—"do nothing to embarrass the Government." Therefore, if crime had decreased in Ireland during the past six months, was there any reason to suppose that if the right hon. Gentleman failed to carry his measure of conciliation there would be no recrudescence of that crime? He was as convinced as that he stood on the floor of the House that within 48 hours after the defeat of the Home Rule Bill we would see Ireland in as worse a condition as it has been in during the last half century. In pursuance of the policy of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Midlothian, the first act his Government did was to send over to Ireland an estimable nobleman as Lord Lieutenant, who, in the opinion of every respectable man in the country, worthily filled that high position. But he was not looked upon as an independent nobleman who had to govern the country, but merely as a puppet in the hands of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Midlothian and the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and nothing could have been done to horrify more the feelings of the law-abiding classes than Lord Houghton's action in rejecting the loyal addresses that were about to be presented to him. As a lawyer he (Mr. Dane) had always understood it was one of the rights of the people to approach the Sovereign, and he also understood that, as a matter of practice, the Sovereign was approached in Ireland through the Lord Lieutenant. The loyal people of Ireland—the million and a quarter of Protestants in Ireland—feel that since the Revolution of 1688 they have never been placed in so critical a position as they are in now, and, therefore, in all fairness they should have been heard by the Lord Lieutenant. If His Excellency did not approve of what was said in the addresses, he might have said so; but to deny to the people of Ireland their constitutional right, and that by the act of a Political Party, was going a little too far; and he declared, without fear of contradiction, that not only every Protestant,

but thousands of Roman Catholics—men of interest, position and stake in the country—had their feelings outraged by that act of the Government. What was the next proceeding? It was, practically, the repeal of the provisions of the Crimes Act. The two provisions which, in the experience of those who had governed the country ably and well for six years, were necessary for the preservation of law in some parts of the country—he referred to the provisions relating to secret inquiries and to change of venue—were set aside. But the Government which took this step, within a very short period after their accession to office, were compelled recently to put in force the provisions for a secret inquiry under the Explosives Act of 1883 in reference to the most diabolical dynamite explosion in Dublin. In further pursuance of that policy of conciliation, the men who were concerned in the brutal murder of one of the most faithful officers that ever served his country—District Inspector Martin—were released, and within forty-eight hours after the release an attempt was made to blow up the room in Dublin Castle in which the Chief Secretary carries on his business as a Minister. It had been stated, and not contradicted, that a portion of the body of the detective Synnot, who was killed, was actually blown into the library of the Chief Secretary. Within twelve hours of the occurrence of that diabolical outrage he (Mr. Dane) stood on the spot dyed with the blood of the unfortunate man, and he saw portions of his flesh on the pavement beneath the windows of the Chief Secretary's office in the Castle. That was the mode in which this policy of conciliation was received by the supporters of the right hon. Gentleman in Ireland. Another most valuable portion of the Crimes Act was the power to change the venue. He thought the people who talked about coercion in Ireland were entirely ignorant of the condition of that country. When the country was conquered by the English people, and up till 300 years ago, it was in a state of utter barbarism. He often heard of "Ireland a nation." It had been a curious nation. It consisted of a number of Princes and Chiefs—from one of whom was descended the present Attorney General for Ireland—whose subjects were always at one another's throats. After the country was

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finally conquered in the reign of Queen Elizabeth it was partially colonised, and this was followed up in the reign of James I., when large numbers of Englishmen and Scotchmen—from whom he (Mr. Dane) was proud to claim descent—went over to that portion of the country called Ulster; they civilised it, and made it the fairest portion of Ireland, so that it was now called the garden of Ireland, though at the time they took possession of it it was the poorest, the most barren, and the most barbarous portion of Ireland. Shortly after the attempt to colonise Ulster in the early portion of the reign of James, the English Government sent over as Attorney General Sir John Davies, an able and most distinguished Englishman, who had left behind him some very remarkable historical tracts, published in the year 1787, which he (Mr. Dane) would recommend confidently to the reading of the English and Scotch Members of the House. Sir John Davies found that in the portions of Ireland inhabited by the Celtic population, it was absolutely impossible to get a just verdict from a jury. Writing in 1607 to the Earl of Salisbury of that day, and giving a description of the Ulster Assizes, he said—

"Touching the service performed in this country by the Justices of Assize, albeit they found few prisoners in the gaols, the most part being bailed by Sir Edward Blaney, to the end the fort where the gaol is kept might not be pestered with them, yet when such as were bailed came in upon their recognisances, the number was greater than we expected. One Grand Jury was so well chosen as they found with great expedition all the bills of indictment true; but on the other side the juries that were empanelled for trial of the prisoners, did acquit them as fast and found them not guilty; which, whether it was done for favour, or for fear, it is hard to judge; for the whole county consisting of three or four names only, viz., McMahonne, McRena, McCabe, O'Connolly, the chief (*i.e.* the foreman) was even one of these names, and of these names this jury did consist; so that it was impossible to try him but by his kinsman, and therefore it was probable that the malefactors were acquitted from favour; but on the other part, we were induced to think that fear might be the cause; forasmuch as the poor people seemed very unwilling to be sworn of the juries, alleging that if they condemned any man his friends in revenge would rot, or burn, or kill them for it; and that the like mischief had happened to divers jurors since the last Session holden there, such is the barbarous malice and impiety of this people."

Since that year, 1607, down to this present year of 1893 the same state of things

exactly existed in the portions of Ireland inhabited by the descendants of the original Celtic population, and therefore since Ireland has been governed by England it has been found absolutely necessary, in order to protect life and property, to pass year after year Acts for the preservation of law and order, which Acts were now popularly called "Coercion Acts." It was most essential that the power should exist, in the government of Ireland, of exercising this right of change of venue, because it was absolutely impossible—as the Chief Secretary would find in cases of agrarian crime—to put men on their trial in the local venues where that crime took place, because, as Sir John Davies said in 1607, the juries would never convict the prisoners, but would acquit them either through fear or favour. He, therefore, thought that the Government should never have abandoned—even in furtherance of this policy of conciliation—so powerful a weapon as the change of venue for the repression of crime in Ireland. There was another matter which had caused considerable alarm in Ireland—that was the mode in which Resident Magistrates who had discharged their duties during trying and difficult times had been treated by the Government. Why should certain Resident Magistrates have their services absolutely dispensed with, and why should others be removed to other parts of the country? And he would also like to know why the only vacancy which had been caused had been filled up by a gentleman named Mr. McDermott, who was not entitled to it by reason of his position in the force to which he belonged, but who, it was said, was a relative of the present Attorney General of Ireland. This appointment had caused widespread dissatisfaction amongst the District Inspectors of the Constabulary, who looked upon it as a gross job. He wished now to call attention to one of the most extraordinary things which they had had in Ireland for a long time—he referred to what was known as the Evicted Tenants' Commission. In dealing with this question, he wished to say that he could not be set down as a bigoted Orangeman, like his friend the Member for North Armagh, or his friend the Member for South Belfast, because he did not happen to belong to that institution; he

could not be set down as a landlord, because, thank God, he owned no land in Ireland, and he could not be set down as a landlord's partisan, because he represented an agricultural constituency in Ireland which consisted entirely of tenant farmers, and a constituency which was deeply and vitally interested in the amendment and in the extension of the land laws in Ireland, but one which, he was proud to think, recognised that a matter far more vital to its interests than even the land question was the attempt of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Midlothian to impose the yoke of Home Rule upon them. With reference to that Commission, he might say that great things were expected from it in every part of Ireland, as showing up the iniquitous results of the Plan of Campaign, and it was a remarkable fact that the only attempts, which he was glad to say were unsuccessful, made by the right hon. Member for Midlothian to get his own followers, Gladstonians, returned by any constituency in Ireland were made in the North of Ireland. In five constituencies in the North of Ireland, five pure and unadulterated Gladstonian candidates came forward, and they kept the Home Rule Question completely in the background, and put in the forefront of their appeal to the constituencies this land question, which they knew people of the North of Ireland, Protestants as well as Catholics, were so deeply interested in. They thought that by appealing to the self-interests of these men they would be able to carry some, if not all, the five seats on the land question. Accordingly, North Londonderry, South Londonderry, North Antrim, North Tyrone and South Tyrone were all, some days before the General Election, inundated with those five pure Gladstonian candidates, all men absolutely sound on the land question—men who would not only give the tenants what they wanted in the way of sale, but who promised them the most liberal measures from a Liberal Government. He was glad to say that not one of those five impostors succeeded in their attempt, and that at the present moment there was not a single Gladstonian representative returned from Ireland. They were here assembled in a House consisting of English, Scotch, Welsh and Irish Members, and the right hon. Gentleman

the Member for Midlothian was entirely dependent upon the 79 gentlemen who had been returned from Ireland, not as Gladstonians at all—men who would not touch Gladstonism—but men returned from Ireland as pure Nationalists. He was very glad to say that every one of those constituencies swept those impositions from them by majorities of 3,000 downwards. Having regard to the previous promises which were made by these candidates during the Election, the tenants throughout Ireland expected great things from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Midlothian in regard to the land question, and when they heard that a Commission was to be appointed with reference to the tenants who had been evicted in Ireland, they hoped it would be of such a wide scope that it would have enabled the true history of the evictions to come out, and that it would throw such light upon the land question as would enable amendments of the Land Acts in Ireland generally to be shortly obtained. What was the result? If there was one circumstance connected with the constitution of the Commission to which they would have looked with favour, it would have been the appointment of an English Judge as its chief. They in Ireland had always held in great respect and repute the Judges of the land, and more particularly the Judges of England, because they necessarily were not so much connected with agrarian matters as possibly the Judges in Ireland were, who at Assizes twice a year, and sometimes three times, had to sentence a number of persons for agrarian offences. The result was that on the very first day this Commission sat this English Judge, from whom they expected so much, absolutely prejudged the case which he had come over to investigate. That was not calculated to inspire hope or respect for the Commission; and, further, the Judge not only in his opening statement prejudged the case, but when counsel, two of the most distinguished men at the Irish Bar, appeared for some of the owners of the campaign estates, he absolutely insulted them on the spot. He, as a member of the Irish Bar, could say that the treatment dealt out to those two distinguished counsel of the Irish Bar at the hands of the Judge was conduct that was reprobated by the Bar of Ireland as a whole. Further, he was aware that since that, and with reference to the inquiry as to

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one of these estate two other distinguished members of the Irish Bar refused to take briefs before a tribunal that had so grossly insulted their colleagues. The Member for Midlothian asked the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition what it was he wanted cross-examination for, and the right hon. Gentleman immediately referred the Prime Minister, as an instance, to the evidence given by the hon. Member for East Mayo, evidence which it would have been vital for the people of England and Scotland to have inquired into and investigated with reference to the Plan of Campaign, but which it was absolutely impossible to have done, because there was no one there allowed to cross-examine. He would give the House another instance of what might have been elicited. This Commission, which they were told was to inquire into the particulars of all evictions in Ireland, had only scheduled seven estates, and had only dealt with estates which had been placed by the hon. Member for Mayo and his confederates under the Plan of Campaign. With reference to one of these estates, a gentleman who had been agent, a solicitor of the name of Dudgeon, was so amazed and shocked when he read in the newspapers the evidence which had been given by some of the witnesses at the Commission that he came to Dublin and interviewed Sir James Mathew and the members of the Commission, and asked that he might be supplied with a copy of the shorthand notes that had been taken. That application was, in the first instance, refused, and the gentleman was told that he might go and read the *Freeman's Journal*, and see in that patriotic paper what had taken place; but subsequently Sir James saw the error into which he had fallen, and sent Mr. Dudgeon a copy of the shorthand writer's notes. The result was that Mr. Dudgeon found, when he came to read the transcribed notes, that most extraordinary evidence had been given with reference to the Massereene estate, and that two witnesses had been examined whose evidence had passed the finest muster before the Commission. And who were those two gentlemen? They were two of the leaders of a conspiracy on the Massereene estate—a conspiracy to boycott every tenant on that estate who did not fall in with the ways of the Land League;

they were two men who, in furtherance of that conspiracy, had followed the tenants of the Massereene estate on the steamboat from Drogheda to Manchester and other English markets, and boycotted their cattle there, and they had been detected and brought to justice by the constabulary in England; by an English Judge and jury they were tried and convicted of that boycotting, and were sentenced to imprisonment. He wanted to know whether the Chief Secretary, in his policy of conciliation, intended to release those men, if still in durance vile? He had been sent to Parliament by a loyal population in the North of Ireland to speak their opinions, and so long as he had the honour of holding the seat he now held he would honestly tell Englishmen and Scotchmen in the House what was the feeling with reference to this national conspiracy in Ireland which was entertained by their brothers in Ireland, who were men of English and Scotch descent, with English and Scotch blood in their veins—descendants of men who were sent over to Ireland 300 years ago to civilise it, and had so civilised it, so far as it was possible. These loyal men looked to them, Englishmen and Scotchmen, to protect them from what they believed would be a fearful imposition, which might drive them into civil war, or force them to leave the country they loved so well.

MR. H. SETON-KARR (St. Helen's) said, he had hoped from the tone of the first speeches of to-day that they were going to get rid of the Irish Question, but the able speech to which they had just listened had dashed his hopes to the ground. Yesterday, no sooner had the Mover and Secunder of the Address completed their task than they drifted into the Irish Question, and he took it that the Debate was to all intents and purposes going to be an Irish Debate, whilst the Address in answer to Her Majesty's Gracious Speech indicated that they were going to have an Irish Session. As an English Member, he ventured to make his humble protest against this state of things. For seven years the wants of the greater portion of the United Kingdom had been postponed to this ever green Irish Question. The responsibility for that did not lie with the late Government, but with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Midlothian, who brought

matters to a crisis in 1886 by the introduction of the Irish Home Rule Bill. He protested against this state of things, and he asked how long were the wants of about 30,000,000, the population of this Kingdom, to be postponed to this Irish Question, which after all only represented the wants, at the outside, of something like 2,000,000 of Her Majesty's subjects. He wanted, however, to drop this part of the question, and as an English Member to allude particularly to one paragraph in the Speech, which he thought was more directly important and affected more directly the welfare of a much larger number of the people of this Kingdom. The paragraph to which he desired to call attention was that which alluded to the widespread agricultural depression at present prevailing in this country. He should venture to make one or two criticisms on the manner in which this matter had been presented to the House of Commons. They were told that agricultural depression existed in many parts of the country, which was no more than a statement of a fact; but the paragraph then went on to express the hope that the depression might be only temporary in its nature, and beyond that there was no indication whatever of any remedy by which the Government proposed to deal with this important question. What grounds were there for supposing that this agricultural depression was going to be only temporary? Anyone with the slightest knowledge of the question knew that the agricultural distress, beginning ten years ago or more, had been gradually getting worse, and its cause was the result of foreign competition and of the low prices of agricultural produce, chiefly corn. While the means of transit continued to improve, and while they should be practically a free trade country, how was this agricultural depression going to be dealt with, and how could any reasonable man suppose that it was going to be otherwise than permanent? That was his first criticism; and, in the second place, he wanted to know why notice of depression had been confined to agriculture alone? They all knew that this depression prevailed in industrial as well as agricultural districts. They had, not many years ago, a great coal strike. At the present moment a great cotton strike prevailed in Lancashire and other parts,

whilst strikes in other industries were threatened. It was a very curious fact that whilst statisticians told them those periods of depression came and went in cycles they always became acute simultaneously with the advent of a Liberal Government to power. The depression affected the industrial districts as much as it did the agricultural. In the former districts wages were low; they had constant meetings of unemployed in the great City of London, together with other signs of depression. When he protested against the prominence given to the Irish Question he did so as an English Member; he did so, because he felt that this Session the House ought to deal with questions of industrial and social reform, the hours of labour, and many other subjects, which had been postponed so long to the sentiments and romance of the Irish people. He desired to ask why the Government, having specially called attention to this distress, had not suggested any remedy? He would like to call attention to a remedy which had been partly put in operation by the late Government, and that was the remedy which proposed to get rid of some of the surplus population by placing them on the unoccupied land in our colonies. He was glad to hear the right hon. Member for Midlothian, in his speech yesterday, allude to the colonies of this country as establishing and forming a great part of the moral position of this Empire. He ventured to think the colonies were not only a source of moral, but also of material strength, and he thought that in continuing the steps which had already been taken to make use of our unoccupied colonial lands a great deal of good might be done in alleviating the distress which was now so extensively prevalent throughout the country. The result of this agricultural depression was to send a large number of agricultural labourers, who were thus thrown out of employment, to swell the ranks of the unemployed in the large towns, and thus to become a burden on the country, although many of them were able-bodied and willing to work. In colonisation they had a remedy which was practical, and which proposed to deal with this state of things. They had read much, and he believed they would shortly hear a great deal in that House, about alien pauper emigration. The subject of pauper emigration was another

side of this great question. The first great cause which aggravated the evil with which they had to deal was the natural increase in the population, which was over 1,000 daily, and the influx of pauper emigrants directly added to that aggravation. The prohibition or restriction of this foreign emigration was merely the negative side of the same question with which colonisation proposed to deal. The one would cut off the supply of these foreign emigrants, who had no means of existence, and the other—namely, colonisation—would send the surplus population, properly selected, to people the lands of our colonial possessions. With regard to colonisation, he should like to refer to some figures in reference to the steps that had been taken by the late Government during the past six years in this matter. In 1888 two colonies were formed in Western Canada, named Killarney and Saltcoats, to which a certain number of families were sent in the following year. A Report was issued last June describing the state of prosperity of these families. They now knew, after three years practical experience, how these colonies had succeeded, and he ventured to think they had succeeded in a most marvellous and satisfactory manner. Thirty families were sent to the Killarney settlement in 1888, and the value of wheat in the year 1891 was estimated at over £5,550, and oats about £355, in other words, the average value of crops amounted to something like £200 per family, a sum considerably in excess of the amount originally expended in sending these families out to Western Canada. They were planted on settlements of 160 acres, which were obtained for nothing, and which would shortly become the freehold property of the families settled there. They could not find anything to equal that in this country. The value of the security offered for these developed properties—that was, the value of the land in this settlement—was £16,000, against an indebtedness of about £5,000. In other words, the freehold value of this settlement was more than three times the value of the mortgage upon it. The neighbouring settlement of Saltcoats had not been quite so successful, but the Report stated that the crofters who formed that settlement acknowledged that they had never been so well off. He did not know how far

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the present Government intended to continue this system of emigration, which had been commenced on a small scale. They had in the country where this experiment had been tried a railway which was 4,300 miles long, they had land almost limitless in extent, a great deal of which could be available for the same purposes, and these colonies could be largely extended. Were the Government going to extend these operations, and if they were not, would they state the reasons which induced them to decline to so extend them? Another important step was taken by the late Government to carry out this principle of colonisation. Negotiations had been going on for a long time with British Columbia in regard to a loan of £150,000, to be used in the colonisation of certain lands in that colony with Scotch crofters and others suitable for the purpose who desired to go there. That loan was finally agreed upon, part of this money had already been advanced, and he believed a private company had been formed to act under the guidance of the British Columbian Government to carry on the scheme, and an opportunity would be given to large numbers of crofters' families to be sent out to British Columbia, where they might improve their lot in a way they could not do in this country. He hoped the Government, so far as opportunity was offered to them, would prosecute this matter, and do their best to carry the scheme to ultimate success. He was over in that part of the world 18 months ago, when he had the honour of an interview with the late Premier of the British Columbian Territory. The old country, said the late Prime Minister, was suffering from over population, whilst Canada, on the other hand, was suffering from the want of population. The remedy was obvious, namely, to transplant suitable and well selected families from one country to the other, and then place them on properly selected land. That process had been commenced, and he hoped would continue for some time. The late Prime Minister of British Columbia told him that an able-bodied colonist was worth 1,000 dollars to the colony in which he was settled. He (Mr. Seton-Karr) thought these were words worthy of serious consideration. The late Prime Minister of British

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Columbia said the Imperial Government seemed slow and inactive in this question, and hardly appreciated the value of the Colonies as an outlet for the surplus population at home. He (Mr. Seton-Karr) thought the opinion of a man on the spot, who occupied the responsible position of Premier of a Colonial Government, was worthy of most serious consideration, and that the remedy suggested should be carefully looked into. He had alluded to these matters, because a debate of this kind afforded one of the few opportunities for dealing with such questions; but the most important paragraph of the Address was concentrated in the paragraph which informed them that on Monday next the Home Rule Bill would be laid on the table of the House. The responsibility for the time that would be occupied by the present Parliament in dealing with the Irish Question rested on the shoulders of the Member for Midlothian. That right hon. Gentleman desired to spend the next four months, he presumed, in tinkering with the British Constitution, and the case became more aggravated when they remembered that, so far as the present Parliament was concerned, the efforts of the right hon. Gentleman could only end in inevitable failure, for until the senior Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) had succeeded in amending the British Constitution by abolishing the other Chamber there was not the slightest hope of the Home Rule Bill becoming law. In view of these facts, all who were interested in social and domestic reform, and in legislation for the alleviation of the distress now prevalent throughout the country, looked upon this state of things with the utmost concern. He had endeavoured to put before the House what he believed to be a practical remedy, and if the Government, in the intervals of their Irish legislation, would give some little attention to this question, they would meet with support from his side of the House. They were, he supposed, committed to Irish legislation, but they had a considerable number of Labour Members in their ranks, and possibly, by pressure put upon them from that quarter, they might spend some time in attending to this question. At any rate, he had endeavoured to indicate some remedies for dealing with the prevalent distress, and if the Government

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would try to pass measures having for their object the alleviation of that distress, they on that (the Opposition) side of the House would gladly accord them their support.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—*(Colonel Waring).*

Motion agreed to.

Debate further adjourned until to-morrow.

MOTIONS.

RATING OF MACHINERY BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Holland, Bill to amend the Law relating to the Rating of Hereditaments containing Machinery, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Holland, Mr. Gerald Balfour, Sir Bernhard Samuelson, Mr. Mather, Mr. Tomlinson, Sir William Houldsworth, Mr. H. S. Wright, and Mr. Strachey.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 1.]

LIQUOR TRAFFIC LOCAL VETO (WALES) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Roland Jones, Bill to enable owners and occupiers in Wales and Monmouthshire to have effectual control over the Liquor Traffic, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Roland Jones, Mr. Bowen Rowlands, Mr. Lloyd-George, Mr. Stuart Rendel, Mr. Abel Thomas, Mr. Lloyd Morgan, Mr. Burnie, and Mr. Herbert Lewis.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 2.]

CLUBS REGISTRATION BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Newdigate, Bill to provide for the more effectual Registration of Clubs, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Newdigate, Captain Grice-Hutchinson, Mr. Caine, Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. Godson, and Mr. Webster.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 3.]

NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Lord Frederick Hamilton, Bill for the better regulation of National Education in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Lord Frederick Hamilton, Mr. Barton, Mr. Ross, Mr. Carson, and Colonel Waring.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 4.]

PLACES OF WORSHIP ENFRANCHISEMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Stuart Rendel, Bill to provide for the Enfranchisement of Leasehold Places of Worship, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Stuart Rendel, Mr. Samuel Evans, Mr. Byrn Roberts, and Mr. James Rowlands.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 5.]

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LOCAL AUTHORITIES (VOTING AND QUALIFICATION) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Henry J. Wilson, Bill to amend the Law relating to voting for, and to the Qualification of Members and Electors of, Local Authorities, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Henry J. Wilson, Mr. Higgins, Mr. Charles Hobbouse, Mr. Leon, Mr. Logan, Mr. Robert Price, Mr. James Rowlands, and Mr. James Stuart.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 6.]

FOREIGN AND COLONIAL FRUIT BILL.

On Motion of Sir William Hart Dyke, Bill for the regulation of the sale of Foreign and Colonial Fruit, ordered to be brought in by Sir William Hart Dyke, Mr. Akers-Douglas, Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen, and Mr. Biddulph.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 7.]

CATHEDRAL CHURCHES BILL.

On Motion of Sir Charles Dalrymple, Bill to provide for making Statutes respecting Deans and Chapters and Cathedral Churches in England, ordered to be brought in by Sir Charles Dalrymple.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 8.]

WORKING MEN'S DWELLINGS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Wrightson, Bill to give facilities for the acquisition by working men of their own dwelling houses, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Wrightson, Sir John Gorat, Mr. James Lowther, Sir Albert Rollit, Sir Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett, Sir Alfred Hickman, Mr. Graham, and Mr. Cust.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 9.]

MINES (EIGHT HOURS) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Storey, Bill to restrict the hours in Mines to Eight Hours per day, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Storey, Mr. Pickard, Mr. Woods, Mr. Leake, Mr. Jacoby, Mr. Abraham, Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. Cremer, Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Philipps, Mr. Randell, and Mr. Conybeare.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 10.]

LAND VALUES (TAXATION BY LOCAL AUTHORITIES) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Dalziel, Bill to provide for the taxation of Land Values by Local Authorities, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Dalziel, Mr. Storey, Mr. James Stuart, Mr. Lough, Mr. Benn, Mr. Beaufoy, Dr. Hunter, Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Provand, and Dr. Clarke.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 11.]

MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Rees Davies, Bill to amend the Law as to Marriage with a Deceased

Wife's Sister, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Rees Davies, Mr. Arch, Mr. Brand, Mr. Cameron, Mr. Colman, Mr. Crossfield, Captain Fenwick, Sir Frederick Seager Hunt, Mr. Labouchere, Mr. Robert Reid, Mr. T. W. Russell, and Sir Thomas Sutherland.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 12.]

MAGISTRATES' QUALIFICATION BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Neville, Bill to amend the Law as to the appointment and Qualification of Magistrates, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Neville, Mr. Dodd, Mr. Stansfeld, Mr. Arch, Mr. Channing, Mr. Storey, Mr. Charles Fenwick, Mr. Carvell Williams, Mr. Brand, and Mr. Leese.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 13.]

POOR RATES ASSESSMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Theobald, Bill to amend the Law with respect to the Rating of Occupiers for short terms, and the making and collecting of the Poor Rate, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Theobald and Mr. Warmington.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 14.]

SACRED MUSIC ON SUNDAY BILL.

On Motion of Sir George Sitwell, Bill to amend the Law relating to performances of Sacred Music on Sunday, ordered to be brought in by Sir George Sitwell, Sir Frederick Milner, Mr. Manfield, and Mr. Loder.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 15.]

COTTON CLOTH TRADE ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Sir Henry James, Bill to amend the Cotton Cloth Factory's Act of 1889 and the Factory Acts Amendment Act of 1892, ordered to be brought in by Sir Henry James, Sir Henry Roscoe, Mr. Fenwick, and Mr. Mowbray.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 16.]

MUSIC AND DANCING LICENCES (MIDDLESEX) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Howard, Bill to amend the Law as regards Music and Dancing Licences in Middlesex, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Howard, Mr. Bigwood, Mr. Ambrose, Captain Bowles, and Mr. Stephens.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 17.]

EVICTED TENANTS (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. P. A. M'Hugh, Bill for the restoration of Tenants Evicted from their holdings in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. P. A. M'Hugh, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Dillon, Mr. Joseph Healy, Mr. William O'Brien, and Mr. Sheehy.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 18.]

JUDICIAL RENTS, &C. (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Sheehy, Bill to amend the Law relating to Judicial Rents and the tenure and purchase of land in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Sheehy, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Dillon, Mr. Healy, Mr. Condon, Mr. Finucane, and Mr. Pinkerton.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 19.]

AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS (OWNERS' AND OCCUPIERS' RATES) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Halley Stewart, Bill to secure a division of Rates between Owners and Occupiers of Agricultural Holdings, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Halley Stewart, Mr. Francis Stevenson, Mr. Channing, Mr. Cobb, Mr. Brand, and Mr. Lambert.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 20.]

PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE (WOMEN) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. C. B. M'Laren, Bill to extend the Parliamentary Franchise to Women, ordered to be brought in by Mr. C. B. M'Laren, Mr. Courtney, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Viscount Wolmer, Mr. Webb, Mr. Carvell Williams, Sir Algernon Borthwick, Mr. James Stuart, Sir Albert Rollet, and Mr. Jebb.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 21.]

CARRIERS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Bromley-Davenport, Bill to amend the Law relating to Carriers, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Bromley-Davenport, Mr. Staveley Hill, Mr. Bill, and Mr. Howell.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 22.]

MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Long, Bill to amend the Municipal Corporations Acts, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Long, Mr. Forwood, Sir George Baden-Powell, and Mr. Stock.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 23.]

SWINE FEVER BILL.

On Motion of Mr. E. Stanley (West Houghton) Bill for conferring powers, under the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts, 1878 to 1868, with respect to Swine Fever, ordered to be brought in by Mr. E. Stanley (West Houghton), Mr. Fellowes, Mr. Jeffreys, Mr. Channing, Mr. Brand, Mr. Hare, and Mr. Kilbride.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 24.]

CHEAP TRAINS (LONDON) BILL.

On Motion of Sir John Blundell Maple, Bill to secure the provision of Cheap Trains in London, ordered to be brought in by Sir John Blundell Maple, Sir Algernon Borthwick, Mr.

Bucknill, Sir Frederick Dixon-Hartland, Sir Frederick Seager Hunt, Mr. Howard, and Mr. Theobald.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 25.]

FOREIGN AND COLONIAL MEAT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Disraeli, Bill to regulate the Sale of Foreign and Colonial Meat, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Disraeli, Mr. Yerrburgh, Sir Mark Stewart, Sir A. Acland-Hood, Mr. Barlow, and Colonel Howard Vincent.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 26.]

SOLICITORS' MAGISTRACY BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Maclure, Bill to relieve Solicitors in the High Courts of Justice in Great Britain from certain disqualifications which prevent their acting as County Justices, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Maclure, Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. Coddington, and Mr. Kimber.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 27.]

LABOURERS (IRELAND) ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. William O'Brien, Bill to amend the Labourers (Ireland) Acts, ordered to be brought in by Mr. William O'Brien, Dr. Tanner, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Condon, Mr. Crean, and Mr. T. P. O'Connor.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 28.]

JUSTICES OF THE PEACE BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Owen, Bill to amend the Law in regard to the appointment, qualification, and removal of Justices of the Peace, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Owen, Mr. Luttrell, Mr. Howell, Mr. Coleridge, Mr. Mellor, and Mr. Hugh Hoare.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 29.]

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Arnold-Forster, Bill to amend the Law relating to the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors in Ireland on Saturday and Sunday, and for other purposes connected therewith, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Arnold-Forster, Sir Thomas Lea, Mr. Maurice Healy, Mr. Johnston, Mr. John Barry, Colonel Sanderson, Mr. J. F. X. O'Brien, Mr. T. W. Russell, and Mr. Pinkerton.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 30.]

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (ENGLAND AND WALES) ACT (1888) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Herbert Lewis, Bill to amend "The Local Government (England and Wales) Act, 1888," and to provide for the establishment of a Joint Council of the County Councils of Wales and Monmouthshire, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Herbert Lewis, Mr.

Stuart Rendel, Mr. Lloyd-George, Mr. Rowland Jones, Mr. Bowen Rowlands, and Mr. Herbert Roberts.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 31.]

POLICE ACT (1890) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Samuel Hoare, Bill to amend "The Police Act, 1890," ordered to be brought in by Mr. Samuel Hoare, Mr. Long, Sir Seymour King, Mr. Penrose FitzGerald, Sir George Baden-Powell, Sir Albert Rollit, and Colonel Howard Vincent.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 32.]

BALLOT ACT (1872) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Colonel Waring, Bill to amend "The Ballot Act, 1872," ordered to be brought in by Colonel Waring, Mr. Hozier, Mr. Webster, Mr. Macartney, and Colonel Sanderson.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 33.]

SALE OF LAND (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Sweetman, Bill to provide for the compulsory Sale of Land in certain cases in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Sweetman, Mr. Kilbride, Mr. Knox, and Mr. Pinkerton.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 34.]

AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Hugh Hoare, Bill to consolidate and amend the Law relating to Agricultural Holdings in England, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Hugh Hoare, Mr. Channing, Mr. Cobb, Mr. Halley Stewart, Mr. Francis Stevenson, Mr. Brand, Mr. Lambert, Mr. Billson, and Mr. Luttrell.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 35.]

RAILWAY RATES AND CHARGES BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Burnie, Bill to amend the Railway Rates and Charges Order Confirmation Acts, 1891 and 1892, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Burnie, Mr. Spicer, Mr. David Randell, Mr. Lloyd Morgan, and Mr. Rowland Jones.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 36.]

HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Dodd, Bill to amend the Law with regard to the Housing of the Working Classes, and to amend "The Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890," ordered to be brought in by Mr. Dodd, Mr. Cozens-Hardy, Mr. Arch, Mr. Stern, Mr. Charles Hobhouse, Mr. Channing, and Mr. Stevenson.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 37.]

STEAM ENGINES (PERSONS IN CHARGE) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. John Wilson (Durham), Bill to provide for the granting of Certificates to Persons in charge of Steam Engines and Boilers,

ordered to be brought in by Mr. John Wilson (Durham), Mr. Charles Fenwick, Mr. Joseph H. Wilson, and Captain Fenwick.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 38.]

SEAMEN'S ACCOMMODATION BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Michael Austin, Bill to amend the Laws relating to the Accommodation of Seamen on board ships, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Michael Austin, Mr. Charles Fenwick, Major Rasch, Mr. Joseph H. Wilson, and Mr. Gourley.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 39.]

GOVERNMENT OF TOWNS (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Collery, Bill to provide for the better government of Cities, Towns, and Townships in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Collery, Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. John Barry, Mr. Sexton, and Mr. Patrick M'Hugh.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 40.]

RAILWAY AND CANAL RATES AND

CHARGES BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Robert Price, Bill to amend the Railway and Canal Traffic Act of 1888, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Robert Price, Sir James Whitehead, Mr. Channing, Mr. Billson, Mr. Benson, and Mr. Philipps.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 41.]

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND (CONSTITUTION)

BILL.

On Motion of Mr. James Campbell, Bill to declare the Constitution of the Church of Scotland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. James Campbell, Sir Mark Stewart, Mr. Parker Smith, Mr. Hozier, Mr. Anstruther, Mr. Thorburn, Mr. Baird, and Sir John Pender.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 42.]

ABOLITION OF GROCERS' LICENCES (SCOTLAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Leng, Bill to abolish Dealers' or Grocers' Certificates in Scotland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Leng, Mr. M'Lagan, Mr. Crombie, Mr. John Wilson (Govan), and Mr. Dalziel.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 43.]

REGISTRARS (MARRIAGES ATTENDANCE) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Perks, Bill to amend the Law relating to the Attendance of Registrars at Marriages in Nonconformist places of worship, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Perks, Mr. Illingworth, Mr. Waddy, Mr. Oldroyd, Mr. Powell Williams, Mr. Snape, and Mr. Spicer.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 44.]

BUILDING SOCIETIES BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Jackson, Bill to amend the Law relating to Building Societies, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Jackson and Mr. Gerald Balfour.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 45.]

DRAINAGE SEPARATION BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Stephens, Bill to enable Local Authorities to deal separately with the Sewage and Drainage of their districts, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Stephens and Sir Henry Roscoe.

JURIES ACTS (IRELAND) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Ross, Bill to amend the Acts relating to Juries in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Ross, Colonel Waring, Mr. Macartney, Lord Frederick Hamilton, and Mr. Dane.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 46.]

FIRE BRIGADE (EXEMPTION FROM JURIES) BILL.

On Motion of Viscount Curzon, Bill to exempt members of Fire Brigades from service on Juries, ordered to be brought in by Viscount Curzon, Sir Frederick Dixon-Hartland, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Baird, Sir Albert Rollit, and Dr. Clark.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 47.]

AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS' DWELLINGS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Harry Foster, Bill for the Improvement of Agricultural Labourers' Dwellings, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Harry Foster.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS (ENGLAND) BILL.

On Motion of Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Bill to enable localities by a direct vote to prevent the issue of licences, ordered to be brought in by Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Mr. Allison, Mr. Caine, Mr. Jacob Bright, Mr. Henry J. Wilson, Mr. Allen, Mr. Benn, Mr. Billson, Mr. Crossfield, Mr. Saunders, Mr. Fenwick, and Mr. Snape.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 48.]

SUFFOLK COUNTY COUNCIL COMMITTEES BORROWING POWERS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Everett, Bill to enable the Joint Committee of the County Councils of East and West Suffolk to borrow money, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Everett, Mr. Quilter, Mr. Francis Stevenson, Mr. Stern, Mr. Harry Foster, and Viscount Chelsea.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 49.]

SECONDARY EDUCATION (ENGLAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Henry Hobhouse, Bill to promote Secondary Education in England, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Henry Hobhouse, Sir H. Roscoe, and Sir John Lubbock.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 50.]

SCHOOL BOARD OFFICERS' SUPERANNUATION BILL.

On Motion of Mr. George Dixon, Bill to provide for Superannuation Allowances to Officers of School Boards, ordered to be brought in by Mr. George Dixon, Mr. Jesse Collings, and Mr. Stansfeld.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 51.]

WATERMEN'S AND LIGHTERMEN'S ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Wootton Isaacson, Bill to amend the Watermen's and Lightermen's Acts, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Wootton Isaacson, Mr. Charrington, and Mr. Gourley.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 52.]

CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT (IRELAND) ACT (1887) REPEAL BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Field, Bill to Repeal "The Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland) Act, 1887," ordered to be brought in by Mr. Field.

HOURS OF LABOUR (RAILWAY SERVANTS) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Channing, Bill to further extend the powers of the Board of Trade with a view to the reasonable reduction of excessive Hours of Labour on Railways, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Channing, Mr. John Wilson (Mid-Durham), Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. Crawford, Mr. Walter M'Laren, Mr. McNeill, and Mr. Maguire.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 53.]

LABOURERS (IRELAND) ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. William Redmond, Bill to amend the Labourers (Ireland) Act, ordered to be brought in by Mr. William Redmond, Mr. Joseph Kenny, Mr. Field, Mr. Maguire, and Mr. Clancy.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 112.]

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Snape, Bill to prohibit the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Snape, Mr. Perks, Mr. C. H. Wilson, Mr. Cozens-Hardy, Mr. Walter James, Mr. Woods, and Mr. John Wilson (Durham).

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 54.]

BEER ADULTERATION BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Quilter, Bill for better securing the purity of Beer, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Quilter, Colonel Kenyon-Slaney, Viscount Wolmer, Mr. Francis Stevenson, Mr. Everett, and Mr. Robert Price.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 55.]

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Howell, Bill to consolidate, simplify, and amend the Law relating to Parliamentary Elections, and for other purposes relating thereto, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Howell, Mr. Pickersgill, Mr. James Stuart, Mr. Stewart Wallace, Mr. Fenwick, Dr. Hunter, Mr. Bowen Rowlands, and Mr. Warmington.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 56.]

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACT (1878) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Captain Bagot, Bill to amend "The Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, 1878," and to provide for the slaughter of Foreign and Colonial cattle at the port of debarkation, ordered to be brought in by Captain Bagot, Mr. James William Lowther, Mr. Darling, and Sir A. Acland-Hood.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 57.]

RAILWAY RATES AND CHARGES (NO. 2) BILL.

On Motion of Sir James Whitehead, Bill to amend "The Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1888," ordered to be brought in by Sir James Whitehead, Mr. Robert Price, Mr. Tomlinson, Mr. Channing, and Mr. James Lowther.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 58.]

FARM SERVANTS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Keay, Bill to provide for the better housing of Farm Servants on farms in Scotland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Keay, Mr. Angus Sutherland, and Dr. Clark.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 59.]

FOREIGN GOODS (MARK OF ORIGIN) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Seton-Karr, Bill for the placing of a Mark of Origin on Foreign Goods, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Seton-Karr, Colonel Howard Vincent, Mr. Tomlinson, Mr. Stock, Mr. Cayzer, and Mr. Ernest Spencer.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 60.]

LEASEHOLDERS (PURCHASE OF FEE SIMPLE) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. James Rowlands, Bill to give facilities to Leaseholders for the purchase of the Fee Simple of their Holdings, ordered to

be brought in by Mr. James Rowlands, Mr. Kearley, Mr. Frederick Frye, Mr. Brunner, Mr. Beaufoy, and Mr. Stuart Rendel.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 61.]

LAND TENURE (ENGLAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. William Smith, Bill to amend the Law as to the Tenure of Land in England, ordered to be brought in by Mr. William Smith, Mr. Billson, and Mr. Robert John Price.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 62.]

FOREIGN GOODS (MARK OF ORIGIN) (NO. 2) BILL.

On Motion of Colonel Howard Vincent, Bill for the placing of a Mark of Origin upon imported Foreign Goods, ordered to be brought in by Colonel Howard Vincent, Sir Henry Howorth, Mr. Spencer, Mr. Maclure, Mr. Joseph H. Wilson, Colonel Bridgeman, Mr. Johnston, and Mr. Seton-Karr.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 63.]

BURIALS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Carvell Williams, Bill to amend the Burial Laws, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Carvell Williams, Sir George Osborne Morgan, Mr. Illingworth, Mr. John Ellis, and Mr. Perks.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 64.]

PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Clough, Bill to regulate the profession of Accountancy, and to provide for the registration and control of persons acting as Public Accountants, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Clough, Mr. Kimber, Mr. Atherley-Jones, and Sir Seymour King.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 65.]

CHEESE SALE BILL.

On Motion of Sir A. Acland-Hood, Bill to regulate the sale of Foreign and Colonial Cheese, ordered to be brought in by Sir A. Acland-Hood, Captain Bagot, Mr. E. Stanley (West Houghton), Mr. Strachey, Mr. Disraeli, and Colonel Chester Master.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 66.]

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Bolitho, Bill to amend the Law relating to the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Bolitho, Mr. Courtney, Sir Mark Stewart, Sir Thomas Lea, Mr. Grenfell, Mr. Little, and Mr. David Jones.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 67.]

ARBITRATION BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Cayzer, Bill to establish Councils of Arbitration in trade disputes, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Cayzer, Sir Frederick Dixon-Hartland, Baron Henry De Worms, Sir George Baden-Powell, Mr. Fisher, Mr. Webster, Mr. Butcher, Sir Seymour King, Mr. Wyndham, and Admiral Field.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 68.]

CARRIAGE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS (FAIR RATES) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Digby, Bill to make better provision for equality of treatment in the carriage of British and Foreign Agricultural Products and live and dead stock within the United Kingdom, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Digby, Sir Mark Stewart, and Mr. Bromley-Davenport.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 69.]

VEHICLES' LIGHTS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Macdona, Bill to make compulsory the carriage of Lights by all Vehicles using the highways of England and Wales from sunset to sunrise on any day of the year, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Macdona, Sir John Blundell Maple, Mr. Houston, Sir Pryce Pryce-Jones, Mr. William F. D. Smith, Mr. Boscawen, Mr. Charles M'Laren, Mr. Graham, and Mr. Maclure.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 70.]

OLD AGE PENSIONS BILL.

On Motion of Captain Naylor-Leyland, Bill to establish voluntary State-aided Old Age Pensions, ordered to be brought in by Captain Naylor-Leyland, Mr. E. Stanley (West Houghton), Viscount Bury, and Mr. Round.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 71.]

EIGHT HOURS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. John Burns, Bill to regulate the hours of labour to Eight per day, or forty-eight per week, in all trades and occupations, and to make provision enabling the organised members of any trade or occupation protesting by ballot against the same, to exempt such trade or occupation from its provisions, miners excepted, ordered to be brought in by Mr. John Burns, Mr. David Randell, Mr. Keir-Hardie, and Mr. Havelock Wilson.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 72.]

PARLIAMENTARY VOTERS (REGISTRATION) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Cremer, Bill to amend the Law for the Registration of Parliamentary Voters; and for other purposes relating to elections, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Cremer.

OLD AGE PROVIDENT PENSIONS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Bartley, Bill to provide Pensions in Old Age to the Provident Poor, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Bartley and Sir Frederick Seager Hunt.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 73.]

LABOUR MINISTER BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Ernest Spencer, Bill to establish a Ministry of Labour to be presided over by a Minister to be called the Labour Minister, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Ernest Spencer, Sir Albert Rollit, Sir Joseph Pease, Sir Alfred Hickman, Sir John Blundell Maple, Sir Seymour King, Mr. Dalziel, Colonel Howard Vincent, and Mr. Lloyd.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 74.]

INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY
(HOURS OF SALE) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Stock, Bill to restrict the Hours of Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Stock, Mr. Forwood, Mr. Lawrence, Mr. Willox, and Mr. Houston.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 75.]

HOURS OF LABOUR BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Mather, Bill to authorise the regulation of the Hours of Labour of the Working Classes, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Mather, Mr. Joseph H. Wilson, Mr. William Smith, Mr. David Jones, and Mr. John Wilson (Govan).

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 76.]

LOCAL AUTHORITIES (ACQUISITION OF
LAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Francis Stevenson, Bill to facilitate the Acquisition of Land by Local Authorities for certain purposes, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Francis Stevenson, Mr. Robert Reid, Mr. Channing, Mr. Stern, Mr. Dodd, and Mr. Robert Price.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 77.]

AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION IN
ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Jesse Collings, Bill for giving Industrial Agricultural Education in Elementary Schools, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Jesse Collings, Sir John Lubbock, Mr. Robert Reid, Sir John Kennaway, Sir Bernhard Samuelson, and Mr. George Dixon.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 78.]

VALUATION (METROPOLIS) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Pickersgill, Bill for better securing uniformity in the assessment of rateable property in the administrative County of

London to establish a tribunal to deal with assessment appeals, and for other purposes, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Pickersgill, Mr. Howell, Mr. James Rowlands, and Mr. James Stuart.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 79.]

RAILWAY AND CANAL TRAFFIC ACT
(1888) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Sir Alfred Hickman, Bill to amend "The Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1888," ordered to be brought in by Sir Alfred Hickman, Mr. Ernest Spencer, and Mr. Hingley.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 80.]

SUNDAY CLOSING (WALES) ACT (1881)
AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Spicer, Bill to amend "The Sunday Closing (Wales) Act, 1881," ordered to be brought in by Mr. Spicer, Mr. Herbert Roberts, Mr. Burnie, Mr. Lloyd-George, and Mr. Bowen Rowlands.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 81.]

LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS (TRANSFER)
BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Naoroji, Bill to transfer the trusteeship of Lincoln's Inn Fields, and the powers, estates, and duties connected therewith, to the London County Council, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Naoroji, Mr. Benn, and Mr. James Rowlands.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 82.]

JUSTICES OF THE PEACE (NO. 2) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Luttrell, Bill to amend the Law in regard to the appointment, qualification, and removal of Justices of the Peace, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Luttrell, Mr. Coleridge, Mr. Mellor, Mr. Howell, Mr. Cremer, Mr. Arthur Williams, Mr. Cobb, and Mr. Lambert.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 83.]

PLACES OF WORSHIP, &C., RATING
BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Clarence Smith, Bill to amend the Law relating to the rating of Places of Worship and Schools, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Clarence Smith, Mr. Clough, Mr. Owen, and Mr. Perks.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 84.]

MUNICIPAL AND PARLIAMENTARY
FRANCHISE (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Hayden, Bill for the assimilation of the Municipal and Parliamentary Franchise in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Hayden, Mr. John Redmond, Mr. Harrington, Dr. Kenny, and Mr. Field.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 85.]

**SOLICITORS AND APPRENTICES (IRELAND)
BILL.**

On Motion of Mr. O'Neill, Bill to amend and consolidate the Laws relating to Solicitors and to the service of indentured apprentices in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. O'Neill, Mr. Maurice Healy, Mr. Barton, Mr. William Kenny, Mr. Macartney, and Mr. O'Keeffe.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 86.]

**SECONDARY SCHOOLS (TEACHERS'
REGISTRATION) BILL.**

On Motion of Sir Richard Temple, Bill for the Registration of Teachers in Secondary Schools, ordered to be brought in by Sir Richard Temple and Mr. Roby.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 87.]

**TRUST FUNDS INVESTMENT IN IRELAND
BILL.**

On Motion of Mr. Sexton, Bill to amend the Law as to the Investment of Trust Funds in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Sexton, Mr. Hopwood, Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. Oldroyd, Dr. Farquharson, and Mr. William Johnston.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 88.]

POOR LAW FRANCHISE (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Clancy, Bill to amend the Law relating to the Poor Law Franchise in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Clancy, Mr. Harrington, Mr. William Field, and Dr. Kenny.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 89.]

REGULATION OF RAILWAYS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Husband, Bill to amend "The Regulation of Railways Act, 1889," and to further provide for the safe working of Railways, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Husband, Mr. Channing, Mr. Charles Shaw, Mr. Townsend, and Mr. Luttrell.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 90.]

PLUMBERS' REGISTRATION BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Knowles, Bill for the National Registration of Plumbers, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Knowles, Sir Algernon Borthwick, Earl Compton, Mr. Dixon, Dr. Farquharson, Mr. Bowen Rowlands, and Mr. Sexton.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 91.]

**HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES
(NO. 2) BILL.**

On Motion of Mr. Stern, Bill for facilitating the operation of "The Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890," in so far as it relates to

Rural Sanitary Districts, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Stern, Mr. Francis Stevenson, Mr. Channing, Mr. Dodd, and Mr. Warner.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 92.]

**HOURS OF LABOUR (CROWN, &C., SER-
VANTS) BILL.**

On Motion of Mr. Macdonald, Bill to limit labour in the service of the Crown, of Local Authorities, and of Railway Companies to Eight Hours a Day, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Macdonald, Mr. Beaufoy, Mr. John Burns, Mr. Samuel Evans, and Mr. Keir Hardie.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 93.]

NEW LICENCES (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. T. M. Healy, Bill to suspend the further issue of Licences for the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Collery, and Mr. Crilly.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 94.]

**LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACTS AMEND-
MENT BILL.**

On Motion of Mr. Dane, Bill to amend "The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881," "The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1887," and "The Redemption of Rent (Ireland) Act, 1891," ordered to be brought in by Mr. Dane, Mr. Johnston, Mr. Ross, Mr. Rentoul, and Lord Frederick Hamilton.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 95.]

**PUBLIC LIBRARIES ACT (1892) AMEND-
MENT BILL.**

On Motion of Sir F. S. Powell, Bill to amend "The Public Libraries Act, 1892," ordered to be brought in by Sir F. S. Powell, Sir John Lubbock, Sir John Gorst, Mr. Jebb, Sir John Kennaway, Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. Justin McCarthy, Mr. Storey, and Mr. Loder.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 96.]

**PUBLIC HEALTH (INTERMENTS) ACT
(1879) AMENDMENT BILL.**

On Motion of Mr. Sidebotham, Bill to make better provision for the regulation and control of Cemeteries provided under "The Public Health (Interments) Act, 1879," ordered to be brought in by Mr. Sidebotham, Mr. Albert Bright, Mr. Godson, Mr. Mather, and Mr. William Sidebottom.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 97.]

**PUBLIC HEALTH (IRELAND) ACT (1878)
AMENDMENT (DUBLIN) BILL.**

On Motion of Mr. Clancy, Bill to amend "The Public Health (Ireland) Act, 1878," for lighting purposes in the county of Dublin, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Clancy and Mr. Horace Plunkett.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 98.]

OUTDOOR PROVIDENT RELIEF BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Bartley, Bill to amend the Law relating to Out-door Relief in sickness and widowhood to the provident poor, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Bartley and Sir Frederick Seager Hunt.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 99.]

OCCUPYING TENANTS ENFRANCHISEMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Bartley, Bill to enable Occupying Tenants of houses and places of business to purchase the fee simple of their Holdings, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Bartley, Sir Frederick Seager Hunt, and General Goldsworthy.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 100.]

LEASEHOLD LAW AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Thomas Henry Bolton, Bill to amend the Law relating to Leaseholds, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Thomas Henry Bolton, Mr. Warrington, and Mr. James Rowlands.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 101.]

BUILDING SOCIETIES ACT (1874) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Thomas Henry Bolton, Bill to amend "The Building Societies Act, 1874," ordered to be brought in by Mr. Thomas Henry Bolton, Sir Algernon Borthwick, Mr. Cozens-Hardy, Mr. E. H. Bayley, and Mr. Howell.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 102.]

INSURANCE OF CHILDREN REGISTRATION (SCOTLAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. James Campbell, Bill for the Registration of Insurances on the lives of Children in Scotland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. James Campbell, Mr. Parker Smith, Mr. John Wilson (Lanark), and Mr. Thorburn.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 103.]

SPIRIT GROCERS' AND BEER RETAILERS' LICENCES (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Johnston, Bill to amend the Laws relating to Spirit Grocers' and Beer Retailers' Licences in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Johnston, Mr. Wolff, and Colonel Waring.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 104.]

POLICE ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Sir Albert Rollit, Bill to amend the Police Acts, ordered to be brought in by Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. Leng, Mr. Samuel Hoare, Mr. Lough, and Mr. Molloy.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 105.]

MINING BOARDS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Bousfield, Bill to provide for the establishment of Mining Boards, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Bousfield, Mr. Stephens, Mr. Darling, Sir Andrew Scoble, and Mr. Butcher.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 106.]

HERITABLE AND MOVEABLE SUCCESSION IN SCOTLAND BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Thomas Shaw, Bill to assimilate the laws of Heritable with those of Moveable Succession in Scotland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Thomas Shaw, Dr. Farquharson, Mr. Hunter, Mr. Napier, Mr. Leng, Mr. Haldane, and Mr. Crombie.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 107.]

ASSISTANT COUNTY SURVEYORS (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Sir Thomas Lea, Bill to amend the Law for the payment of Assistant County Surveyors in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Sir Thomas Lea, Mr. Johnston, Mr. T. W. Russell, and Mr. Barton.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 108.]

LODGING HOUSES BILL.

On Motion of Sir F. S. Powell, Bill to amend the Public Health Acts with respect to the regulation of common Lodging Houses, ordered to be brought in by Sir F. S. Powell, Dr. Farquharson, Mr. Henry Hobhouse, Sir Reginald Hanson, Mr. Kenrick, Mr. Knowles, and Mr. Henry J. Wilson.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 109.]

SCHOOL BOARD ELECTIONS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Shiress Will, Bill to amend the Law relating to the election of School Boards in Scotland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Shiress Will, Sir John Kinloch, Mr. Lyell, and Mr. Wason.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 110.]

SUNDAY CLOSING (WALES) ACT (1881) AMENDMENT (NO. 2) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Herbert Roberts, Bill to amend the Sunday Closing (Wales) Act, 1881, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Herbert Roberts, Mr. Lloyd-George, Mr. J. Herbert Lewis, Mr. Alfred Thomas, and Mr. Spicer.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 111.]

House adjourned at half after
Four o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 2nd February 1893.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge—Singly took the Oath.

Several Lords—took the Oath.

SAT FIRST.

Earl Bathurst, after the death of his father.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order of the Day for resuming the Debate on the Motion for an humble Address to Her Majesty, read.

Debate resumed accordingly.

THE MARQUESS OF LONDONDERRY: My Lords, after the remarks made by the noble Earl who leads the House at a banquet over which he presided last week, I confess that it was with no feeling of surprise that I noticed the extremely quiet and modest manner in which he dwelt on the important—the all-important—question of Home Rule in the remarks which he addressed to your Lordships on Tuesday last. But I confess that it was with feelings of the sincerest surprise that I noted the minute—and I might almost say the minutest—of small spaces that was accorded to that great question in Her Majesty's Gracious Speech from the Throne. I venture to say that the course that has been pursued at the present moment by Her Majesty's Government is absolutely unprecedented in political annals. There has not been a measure of such vast magnitude as this question of Home Rule put forward within recent years, and promoted by a large and influential Party, a Party which does not hesitate to say has been returned to power on this question of Home Rule alone; and yet, on the meeting of your Lordships' House, Her Majesty's Government have not confided, even to the supporters of their policy, the essential features being the details of that measure. I cannot but think, my Lords, from the speeches of the noble Lords who moved and seconded

the Address, that they are not among the lucky few to whom this important secret has been confided; for with all due deference to those two noble Lords, they merely dealt with those common-place platitudes which have done yeoman's service within the last six years upon every platform in England in attempting to prove that Home Rule is absolutely necessary for the prosperity of Ireland. I am bound to admit that we have been told by the noble Lord who leads the House that this Home Rule measure is to be of no milk-and-water description, which I suppose means that it is not of the "gas-and-water" description pledged by the candidate who won the bye-election at Rossendale two years ago; and therefore there can be no doubt that the measure of Home Rule shortly to be introduced into the House of Commons will be of an extreme character to please and satisfy the Irish Party among the noble Earl's supporters, who have spoken in no uncertain manner as to the Home Rule which they claim as the right of Ireland. I do not desire to increase the difficulties of the noble Earl opposite, but there may be a certain amount of difficulty in reconciling the opinions of those gentlemen with that of one of the supporters of the noble Earl, Mr Atherley-Jones, who has written a letter in this morning's *Times*, which, it seems to me, is difficult to reconcile with a Bill of an extreme character. Now, my Lords, I will say a few words with regard to some of the speeches made in your Lordships' House on Tuesday last. The noble Marquess (Lord Salisbury), in the course of his remarks, alluded to a speech made some few months ago by the noble Lord who moved the Address, and he quoted from that speech the following words:—

"No great changes can be attempted by the Liberal Party without a commanding majority on this side of St. George's Channel."

The noble Lord who moved the Address does not enjoy a monopoly of that opinion, for it is shared by one of the leaders of the Nationalist Party, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, who said on May 22nd last—

"A majority of 30—"

and I will remind your Lordships that the majority is at present only 38—

"would mean that the majority of the people of Great Britain were against Home Rule, and it is ridiculous to suppose that we can carry a measure against which the British majority has declared."

Well, England has spoken in no uncertain voice; she has declared that she will not have Home Rule; and when that is the case, we of the Conservative Party can look with satisfaction on the future, and say, in the words of Mr. T. P. O'Connor, that—

"Home Rule, in the present constitution of Parliament, is absolutely impossible and impracticable."

I will now say a few words with regard to the noble Lord who seconded the Address (Lord Thring), whose great ability and knowledge of political affairs I fully recognise. In the course of his remarks he said that "90 years had passed away since the Union, and though the first three years were free from legislation of a coercive and restrictive character, during the remaining 60 there was hardly one in which such legislation had not been passed." I would remind the noble Lord that Ireland has had experience of a Parliament sitting in College Green. She has had the experience of Grattan's Parliament, in which no less than 54 Coercion Acts were passed in 18 years. I dislike the word Coercion. The present law in Ireland I infinitely prefer to describe as a measure for the repression of crime, and I defy any noble Lord opposite to show me one single instance of a law-abiding person there who cares one iota for what are called the Coercion Acts, and who only know those Acts as measures which protect them and give them security in their property and person. But I fully admit that there is coercion in Ireland—coercion for the murderer, intimidator, the boycotter, and the moonlight assassin—coercion which enables the Executive, if they choose to exercise it, to bring those ruffians to justice, to obtain convictions against them, and to send them to the galleys, and, if necessary, even to the gallows. That part of the Act for the repression of crime should never have been allowed to lapse for political purposes, and I glory in the fact that, under the *régime* of Mr. Balfour, that Act was mad apart of the permanent law of the land. The noble Lord opposite (Lord Thring) went on to say, on the opening of the Debate the other night—

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"In his opinion, the views of opponents of the present policy of Home Rule for Ireland were exaggerated beyond all measure. They said that the gift of local self-government to Ireland would not satisfy her aspirations, but what shadow of proof was there that it would not?"

Upon that I will give the noble Lord's expressions of opinion by the leaders of the Nationalist Party, which will come home to his mind far more strongly than any words of mine. In the first place their late leader, Mr. Parnell, declared—

"None of us, whether we are in America, or in Ireland, or wherever we may be, will be satisfied until we have destroyed the last link which keeps Ireland bound to England."

Mr. O'Brien has stated—

"I take it that we are all united in demanding that the Irish Parliament, while it acts within its own province, shall be as free from Imperial meddling as the Parliaments of Australia or Canada; that is to say, practically speaking, as free as air."

Mr. Dillon says—

"I deny utterly that I have ever in the course of my life lowered the flag of national independence, and I never shall."

I will quote one more expression of Mr. Parnell's to show your Lordships that the measure of Home Rule put forward in 1886 was accepted merely as an instalment, and not as a final settlement, of the Irish Question. Here are Mr. Parnell's words—

"We have heard that I accepted the Home Rule Bill of 1886; I have not. I accepted the principle of the measure, but I never accepted its details."

To another point of the noble Lord's speech I can give even a better answer. He said—

"Then it is said that the majority will oppress the minority, but there are no grounds on which to base this sinister belief."

If I may use the expression, I think there the noble Lord gave himself entirely away. He has entirely ignored the statements of his supporters in the Nationalist Party, or he could not have failed to see what the treatment of the unfortunate minority in Ireland would be under Home Rule. I will quote both Mr. Dillon and Mr. Davitt, and I do not think that any noble Lord opposite will venture to deny that those two men are now the great leaders of the Nationalist Party. Mr. Dillon says—

"When we come out of the struggle we will remember those who were the people's friends, and who were the people's enemies, and we will deal out our rewards to the one, and our punishments to the other."

We have been told by Mr. Davitt how he proposes to deal with us. He says—

"With regard to the Ulster Protestants, they are not Irish; they are English and Scotch, who have settled among us. Leave them alone to us, and we will make short work of those gentry."

I think I have answered the two statements of the noble Lord opposite, and I will give him one word of advice with regard to the future conduct of Ulster. Ulster, I can assure him, has no idea of being handed over to the tender mercies of Mr. Davitt and Mr. Dillon. They have not hesitated to tell us the manner in which they intend to treat us, and Ulster has no intention whatever of submitting her loyal Protestant neck to the disloyal Catholic yoke. I have had an opportunity of gauging, from practical experience, the feeling of Protestant Ulster. I was an eye-witness of the great demonstration at Belfast, under the presidency of my noble Friend the leader of the Protestants of Ulster (the Duke of Abercorn), and I endorse what my noble Friend said on that occasion—"We will never have Home Rule." There is but one feeling pervading the whole of Ulster, that under no circumstances of any sort or kind will we accept any measure establishing a Parliament in College Green; and a Minister who has had practical experience in the government of Ireland has not hesitated to say that Ulster would be justified in shedding blood rather than allow her prosperity to be ruined and her peace destroyed by the setting up of a Home Rule Parliament. But one feeling pervades Ulster, and if, after her solemn declaration, the present Government persist in carrying a measure of Home Rule for Ireland, on them must be the responsibility of any serious consequences which may ensue, and more especially responsible for them must be held those Cabinet Ministers who have had practical experience of Ireland, and who know that Ulster has said that she will not have those institutions touched under which for generations she has lived a happy, prosperous, and contented portion of the Empire. And now I will say a few

words with regard to the policy of Her Majesty's Ministers during the time they have been responsible for the government of Ireland, unchecked and unhampered by any criticism from Parliament. I will ask any noble Lord who may address himself to the remarks I am now making to point out any act of Her Majesty's Government, of any sort or kind, that has been in any way advantageous to Ireland, or the law-abiding inhabitants of Ireland, during the six months they have been in office. There has been but one policy pursued by Her Majesty's Government, and it was well described two days ago by the noble Marquess (Lord Salisbury) who sits below me as an endeavour to capture the class which sympathises with crime. I do not hesitate to say that it is a policy of truckling to lawlessness and outrage. A body of men who have pleaded guilty to kicking out the brains of an unfortunate Inspector of Police who was discharging his duty have, long before the expiration of their sentences, been released from prison. With respect to that, there are three questions I would like to ask the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack, whom the Chief Secretary says he consulted. In the first place, why were these murderers released? In the next place, why, when the sentences which were passed upon them by the Judge who tried them were different, these men were all released on the same day? And, thirdly, why the Judge who tried the case was never consulted on the subject of their release? I have had experience of such matters, and I can say that never in my experience in any important case has a convict been released without consulting the Judge who tried the case. In the Debate in another place two nights ago the Chief Secretary interrupted my right hon. Friend Mr. Balfour, and said that he had consulted the Lord High Chancellor of England. Therefore, I will ask the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack what were the reasons which induced him to let loose upon the country a body of the worst scoundrels that ever existed or infested any country? Now, my Lords, I will turn from the cases of truckling to the class which sympathises with crime to the Evicted Tenants Commission. That Commission was intended to reinstate a set of men who were nothing

but fraudulent, and consequently criminal bankrupts. There is another point to which I wish to call attention, and that is the removal of capable Unionists from the Governing Boards of asylums in various parts of Ireland. I have had experience in this matter; when Lord Lieutenant I went into the constitution of the various Boards, and I was always careful to give effect to the representation of the different parties in Ireland. The result of the policy pursued by Her Majesty's Government has been an increase of serious crime in the south-west of Ireland. From the information which I possess I would say—without hesitation, that serious crime—boycotting, intimidation, murder, and outrage—has seriously increased. The Chief Secretary stated at Newcastle that in saying that serious crime had increased under Her Majesty's Government in Ireland I had been guilty of making "culpably reckless assertions." Now, to that I will reply that I base my statements on the charges of various Judges of Assize in Ireland. In addressing the Grand Jury of Munster Mr. Justice Harrison said—

"There were some cases of a very unpleasant nature, which rather pointed to a disordered state of society—what were known as White-boy offences, persons rising and assembling to the terror of Her Majesty's subjects with firearms, and, as alleged in some cases, firing into dwelling-houses."

The Lord Chief Justice at the Connaught Winter Assizes said—

"I regret that some of the counties that form the aggregate of what is called the Connaught Winter Assizes County, are not in as satisfactory condition as we could wish. I instance Leitrim. In Leitrim, according to the Report of the County Inspector, there has been an increase of serious crime. Last year the number was 12, in the corresponding period this year it is 21."

He goes on to say—

"I turn next to the West Riding of the County Galway. In that Riding there is a slight increase in the more serious crimes. The number last year was 17, as compared with 23 this year."

These charges of Judges of Assize fully corroborate my statement that there has been a serious increase of crime. Moreover, for the first time we have seen local Boards lately condemning outrages at their meetings, and this fact of itself is evidence that crime exists in the districts

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to a serious extent. At a meeting of working men in Kilrush recently the parish priest supported a resolution calling upon the Government to recognize the fact that their first duty was to support the police and to prevent disorder and crime. Again, at a meeting within the last fortnight in the county of Clare, at which the Lieutenant and county magistrates were present, a resolution was passed expressing "regret that there had been a recent return to lawlessness in the county during the last few months, and calling on the Government to take such steps, either by reviving the powers they already possessed or by fresh legislation, if necessary, to put down acts which are a disgrace to any civilised community." I noticed in *The Times* of Tuesday a list of outrages in County Kerry, and I have been told that even this list does not cover the entire number. I have taken the trouble to have those outrages enumerated verified, and, with only one or two exceptions, every one of them was reported in the *Kerry Sentinel*, which, as a Nationalist organ, would not make the case against its party worse than necessary. It may be said that the counties of Clare and Kerry were never free from crime. Then that strengthens my argument tenfold that, by relaxing the powers which enabled them to grapple with crime, the Government are doubly truckling to the Nationalist Party. I ask to what this unsatisfactory state of things is to be attributed, and I say solemnly that it is due to one thing only—the policy of truckling which has been pursued by the present Chief Secretary for Ireland both in and out of office. A prominent politician like Mr. Morley cannot go down with impunity to the town of Tipperary and there countenance a riot between the mob and the police got up for his special edification, and afterwards proceed to a Court of Law and there give evidence in favour of the mob as against the police. The right hon. Gentleman cannot do these things with impunity, and either in Parliament or out of it denounce his predecessor, Mr. Balfour, for administering the powers intrusted to him and applied with perfect impartiality and justice—power of prosecuting and convicting law-breakers of every sort and kind. The Chief Secretary

could not do those things without creating in the breast of every law-breaker in Ireland the firm conviction that he would favour them when he returned to power. Your Lordships have seen within the last few years a policy of truckling carried on to an unknown extent with the late Mr. Parnell in order to secure the Nationalist vote. The Irish Unionists have watched it with sorrow and horror, and felt at the time that they might say with truth—

"Shall it, for shame, be spoken in these days,

"That men of your nobility and power

"Did 'gage them both in an unjust behalf,—

"As all of you, God pardon it! have done.

And when that ill-fated alliance was shattered and denunciations were falling fast, might we not have added—

"And shall it, in more shame, be further spoken,

"That you are fool'd, discarded, and shook off

"By those for whom these shames ye underwent?"

I make these observations in no spirit of exuberant exultation at the depth of degradation to which the Party opposite has stooped. I make them in the firm hope, however, that they will be guided in their action in future by the painful position they have occupied in the past. I will ask them, once and for all, to abandon the system of truckling which they have pursued for the past six months, and to adopt that policy which only can ensure to Ireland permanent happiness and prosperity. That was the policy of the last Government during the six years they were in power, a policy which raised Ireland from a state almost of rebellion to a peaceful and law-abiding condition, and it is the only policy by which Ireland can be governed—a policy of firmness, fearlessness, and respect for justice. If Her Majesty's Government will in future continue that policy we Unionists of Ireland will give them our hearty support: for with Ireland law-abiding she will in time become law-loving, and then will be seen permanent confidence restored; with that confidence we shall see prosperity, and with prosperity we shall see happiness and contentment, and the cry of "the distressful country" will be forever swept away.

*VISCOUNT DE VESCI said, there were several noble Lords present who represented different Departments of the Government, and he hoped they might even now be inclined to give their Lordships some view of the present policy of Ministers in regard to Ireland. Referring to the administration of Ireland during the last five months, he challenged the release of the prisoners both in England and Ireland. He did not desire to dwell at any length on the release of the men convicted of crimes against the Dynamite Acts in England, but he desired to ask the noble Earl (Earl Spencer) to explain for what reasons and under what conditions and terms those men were released. He would hardly suggest that their release was dictated by the exigencies of political expediency; but he would remind the Government that such doves of a dynamite character, let out to fly over the face of the waters, were apt like curses and chickens to speedily return to roost. He next desired to refer to the exercise of patronage in Ireland, and to the displacement of members of Public Boards, and especially of members of the Lunatic Asylum Board. He did not complain of the fresh nominations to those Boards; they were the spoils of office which the Government owed to their Irish task-masters and allies. No doubt some of those who had been appointed would very likely prove capable members. He would ask the noble Earl the First Lord of the Admiralty on what method or principle some of the former Members of these Boards had been ousted? He would remind the noble Earl that some of those gentlemen had most probably been nominated by him when he was Viceroy of Ireland. He would ask what charges of corruption or maladministration have been made that necessitated such wholesale displacement of the former Governors? Why oust those most conspicuous by constant attendance and business capacities, and retain on the Boards those who from disinclination, stress of business, or serious illness are unwilling, or unable, to give a constant attendance? The Government were to be congratulated that Dean Swift no longer presided at St. Patrick's. As to the Evicted Tenants Commission, he disapproved its composition, and wished to ask whether there was any precedent for

appointing such a one-sided tribunal? As yet no one member of it had shown any inclination to test the truth of any statement made before it. One of the terms of Reference was also open to damaging criticism, for it apparently limited the inquiry to an investigation into the alleged grievances of one class of tenants only, and that class consisted of men who had been living on charity extorted from their neighbours, and who were a cause of terror to well-behaved and loyal people. Why should they alone have an opportunity of stating their grievances, and why should tenants who had left their farms and were now attempting to rebuild their fortunes elsewhere have been excluded and left out in the cold? He could only suppose that they were excluded on the principle that *les absents ont toujours tort*. With reference to the release of the Gweedore prisoners, men who had pleaded guilty, by the advice of their counsel, to a most foul murder, he would ask the Lord Chancellor whether before their release the advice was sought of the Judge who tried the case and of the present Attorney General for Ireland, who was the counsel for the prisoners at the trial, and who advised them to plead guilty? Whilst congratulating the Foreign Secretary on the success that had attended his efforts to maintain for England her legitimate and recognised control over Egyptian administration, he thought it well to point out that foreign Governments who were opposed to our occupation of that country might not unnaturally think that a Government which appeared to be chiefly occupied with schemes of disintegration at home would probably be indifferent to the position held by England in Eastern politics. The danger of the recent situation had been averted by the courageous policy of the Secretary for Foreign Affairs (Lord Rosebery), but it is a danger that is not likely to re-arise. In support of the Home Rule scheme of the Government, the noble Lord the Mover of the Address had expressed the pious hope that the Home Rule measure would be one that a loyal supporter of the Government could cordially accept, and at Hastings he hoped that it would be acceptable to prudent and patriotic persons. It was to be hoped that neither his loyalty, his prudence, or his patriotism

would be put to the test of voting on a Home Rule measure in this House of Parliament. The noble Lord who seconded the Address was much more thoroughgoing. He went back through centuries of misrule before the Act of Union. He would have appealed to primæval chaos if it had been necessary. The Seconder of the Address had cited the case of Austria-Hungary as a precedent. It was true, of course, that Hungary had obtained the autonomy she desired; but had that rendered her more contented or tolerant of the wishes of other people, and was her union with Austria a real union of hearts? Was it not rather a union preserved by the personal influence, the enlightened patriotism, and the transparent honesty of the illustrious Monarch upon the Throne? Those bonds would he expected be rapidly loosened if the reins of power fell into less capable hands. At the present moment a question of great importance was pending between Norway and Sweden. The former country, not satisfied with the autonomy she now possessed, demanded a full and free diplomatic representation abroad. Would not a similar demand soon be made by Ireland if Home Rule were granted? Let them imagine what difficulties would arise if an Irish Consul General in Cairo, acting under the instructions of his Government in collusion with the French representative, were to thwart the British officials in all business to be transacted with the Egyptian Government. If Home Rule were granted they could easily forecast the fate of the Protestant population of Ireland. In Canada there was an instance, in little, of Ireland in the Province of Quebec, where hardly a single Protestant was now allowed to hold any office of profit and honour, and property in Quebec was being rapidly transferred from Protestant to Roman Catholic hands. Her Majesty's Government were confronted in that House not only by a large majority who were hostile to them, but by almost all the Peers who were connected with Ireland. If it were in order to refer to a Debate in a former Parliament, he would remind their Lordships of an illustration or an argument used by the noble Lord the Secretary for Foreign Affairs in a Debate on the Report of a Special Commission.

Viscount de Vesci

The noble Lord read a protest signed and recorded in the Journals of the last Irish House of Lords against the Act of Union, and the noble Lord appealed to those whom he probably considered their degenerate descendants as to why they presumed to differ with their ancestors and predecessors in title. That protest was signed and recorded in all ignorance of the immense advance, by leaps and bounds, of Irish prosperity after the Act of Union—an advance so marked that Mr. Grattan, the great Leader of the last Irish Parliament, declared that he, for one, would never advocate the restoration of an Irish Parliament; but that protest was signed 93 years ago. And it might be asked why Peers, who only nine years ago had the same convictions as the majority of the House, should have now foresworn the truths they then held to. That protest was recorded 93 years ago; nine years ago the then Viceroy of Ireland—to his eternal honour be it said—stemmed, and successfully stemmed, the rising flood of anarchy and rapine.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Earl SPENCER): My Lords, the noble Viscount has referred to the position in which Her Majesty's Government are placed in regard to the majority in your Lordships' House. I fully realize that position. I fully realize that we have a large and important body in your Lordships' House in opposition to ourselves. The Irish Members, with few exceptions, are, we are aware, opposed to our Irish policy; at the same time, while admitting that, and fully admitting the difficulty it places upon us, it is our duty to take part in your Lordships' House, urging the arguments in favour of the principles we think right—principles applying not only to Great Britain, but to Ireland. We have always met with, from the opposite side of the House, a courteous hearing, and I am sure we shall continue to do so during the Session, when perhaps it may be our duty often to take up subjects which do not find favour with your Lordships. Before I turn to the subject of Ireland, I wish to say a few words with regard to the speech of my noble Friend the noble Duke (the Duke of Devonshire), who, I am sorry to see, is not in his place on the opening of the Sitting. The noble

Duke alluded to the multiplicity of the subjects embraced in Her Majesty's Speech from the Throne. I do not deny that we have placed a considerable number of important measures in that Speech. First of all, in this subject, I would appeal to the noble Duke, and ask him whether he himself has not been a party to proposing in Her Majesty's Speeches a considerable number of measures, more, in fact, than could be carried through in the course of a Session? I wish, also, to say this. During the last six years that we have been in opposition and have been brought into contact with the constituencies in different parts of the country—I am referring not only to those of my Colleagues who sit in this House, but also those of my Colleagues who sit in another place—we have heard the wishes and ascertained the views of the constituencies on many subjects. We have considered them, and where we agreed with them we have given pledges that we would support measures giving effect to them, such as the constituencies desired to see passed. We are pledged, therefore, in principle, to a considerable number of measures, and I should like to know, if we had not included a number of those measures in the proposals in Her Majesty's Speech for the coming Session, whether we should not have been justly attacked for not maintaining the pledges we have made in the country? Of course, it is a very different thing to make general statements in favour of principles, and to carry out those principles in an Act of Parliament. We thought it our duty, in order to fulfil the pledges we made during the last six months, to endeavour to put into practical measures the principles we advocated up and down the country. I confess I should prefer to carry out my pledges, even if we cannot carry many of the measures, rather than to give the go-by to those pledges, and to place only a few measures in Her Majesty's Speech. Now, my Lords, I come to the subject of Ireland. The subject of Ireland has been debated in this House to-night and on Tuesday night under two heads. There has been discussion as to the condition of Ireland and as to the administration of Ireland during the last six months, and there has also been discussion as to the measures which we intend to propose

Act under which those proclamations were issued, and when they came into office naturally at once made careful inquiry whether the state of the country was such that it necessitated the continuance of several of those proclamations, several of which had been revoked by the late Government. When the present Government found that they could with safety carry out the policy they had themselves advocated, then, and not till then, did they revoke those proclamations. The noble Marquess referred to districts in Ireland which he said are in a very disturbed condition, and he named Clare and Kerry. I quite admit that parts of those counties have always been exceedingly difficult to manage and very lawless. But the late Government with all their powers were not able to cope with crime in those districts, and in Clare they failed to get convictions.

*THE MARQUESS OF LONDON-DERRY: "No, no."

EARL SPENCER: Then let the noble Marquess quote some case where this power of secret inquiry enabled them to get convictions in Clare. We were taken to task for what we said in the Queen's Speech of improvement in Ireland. We never said every part of Ireland was quiet, but that, generally speaking, agrarian crime had diminished, and I think the figures bear that out. In Ireland, in 1891, there were 472 agrarian outrages, and in 1892 there were 405, a diminution of 67. Deducting threatening letters, there were 257 outrages in 1891 against 213 in 1892. Those facts show we were justified in the statement we made. With regard to Clare and Kerry, I was anxious to see whether we were justified in the statement there. In County Clare, during the period for which the present Government are responsible—from 23rd August, 1892, to 22nd January, 1893, the agrarian outrages, inclusive of threatening letters, were 22 in number, and during the same period in 1892 there were 33, so that there has been a diminution of ten in Clare. Exclusive of threatening letters the figures are for 1892–3, 15, and for 1891–2, 22, or a diminution of seven. In Kerry during the same period the figures are 1892–3, 17, and 1891–2, 22, and exclusive of threatening letters 14 and 15 respectively. Lord Midleton

quoted West Kerry, but I have not got separate figures for that part of the county. I say those facts amply justify the statement in the Queen's Speech and contradict the noble Marquess, who made such broad assertions as to the increase of crime in Ireland. With regard to district asylums, I was surprised to find that the late Government had introduced a very important change, and I congratulate the noble Marquess, the late Viceroy, on having in 1889 changed the appointment of the Governors from a permanent to an annual one. I consider that a very desirable change. I understood the charge to be that the Government had been improperly packing these Asylums Boards with their own supporters. I have made a little inquiry, and I can give two examples which will illustrate what has been done by my noble Friend. I may mention that the contributing bodies appoint one-half the Governors and the Lord Lieutenant of the county the other half. In the county of Armagh the Board consists of 18 members. In 1892 the Grand Jury representatives were nine Protestants and no Roman Catholics; and the Lord Lieutenant appointed seven Protestants and two Roman Catholics. This is in a county where the Roman Catholics are 46·1 per cent. of the population. I maintain that, without any truckling to popular feeling, it was expedient and important that an injustice to the Roman Catholic population should be redressed. Accordingly the present Lord Lieutenant has appointed five Roman Catholics, and the Board now consists of 13 Protestants and five Roman Catholics. On another Board with which the noble Marquess is familiar—the Board of Downpatrick—in 1892 there were 16 Protestants and two Roman Catholics. In 1893 the Grand Jury nominated nine Protestants and the Lord Lieutenant three Protestants and six Roman Catholics, making 12 Protestants and six Roman Catholics. That does not seem to be an undue representation of the minority on that Board. In several cases the Lord Lieutenants, after putting on the Boards representatives of the minority of the population, selected the remaining nominees from gentlemen who had served the longest and were reputed to be the best administrators. There is no pretence for saying that men were put off because

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of alleged faults on their parts ; but a grave injustice plainly existed in the minority of the population not being represented, and it was necessary in redressing that injustice to leave out the names of some men who had done good service on the Boards. I must make another remark with regard to the speech of the noble Marquess. I confess it was with some wonder I heard one who has held the high position he has held express himself in such strong terms with regard to the majority of the population in Ireland ; he said the people of Ulster would never submit to be placed under the disloyal Catholic yoke. This is a very remarkable declaration to be made by a former Lord Lieutenant who has had under him an enormous Roman Catholic population. I admit there is an important Protestant population, and no one believes more than I do that it must be considered ; but who ever has to do with the government of Ireland knows that he has to deal with a vast majority of Roman Catholics ; and I am surprised that one who has held the highest office in the country should have spoken as he did of the majority of its population. I have said that we must have regard to Ulster as a most important part of Ireland. No one who wishes to deal with Local Government in Ireland can for a moment disregard the interests of Ulster ; but is it to dictate to the whole of Ireland ? Is it to dictate to the Imperial Parliament ? Is it loyal on the part of one who has represented Her Majesty in Ireland to use words such as these—that Ulster would never consent to Home Rule and would be justified in shedding blood to resist it ?

*THE MARQUESS OF LONDON-DERRY : I was only quoting the words of the noble Earl in his Bristol speech.

EARL SPENCER : I adhere to what I said at Bristol, which is perfectly consistent with the attitude I now hold with regard to Home Rule ; but one who has held the office of Viceroy in Ireland has no business indirectly to encourage the people of Ulster to oppose as they say "even to the shedding of blood" the decrees of the Imperial Parliament. Considering the long time measures of reform are discussed in this country, and that we thus effect by constitutional means changes which lead to bloodshed

in other countries, it is a serious thing for one who has held so high and responsible a position to use language which, as far as I can see, is little short of encouraging Ulster, in certain circumstances, to rebel.

*THE MARQUESS OF LONDON-DERRY : I must interrupt the noble Lord. What I said was that after the solemn warnings we had had from Ulster, and the way in which she had spoken last month, Ministers were taking a great responsibility upon themselves in forcing Home Rule upon Ulster. I ventured to appeal to those who have had practical experience of the Government of Ireland, and who have not hesitated to say that Ulstermen would be justified in shedding blood to maintain their institutions, and I said that upon Ministers would rest the responsibility.

EARL SPENCER : I have nothing to withdraw from what I have said. Her Majesty's Government are fully sensible of their own responsibility, and I do not think Ulster has the right to dictate to the Parliament of the United Kingdom or to put herself in the position the noble Marquess expects she will assume on this occasion. The noble Marquess said our policy was truckling. I entirely deny it. We do what we consider right and good for the people of Ireland. I quite admit vast improvements have been made in Ireland, but, notwithstanding all these improvements, did you find in 1885 or 1886 any improvement in the loyalty of the majority of the people ? It is because we find that there is still an intolerance of British rule, and because we find, after all our experience of governing and after all the concessions that have been made, the people of Ireland are still resolutely opposed to the present Union, that we say a new policy is absolutely indispensable for the country. Talking of truckling to the Irish, I should like to ask the noble Marquess whether there was any truckling to the Irish Party in the summer of 1885 ? I speak with some reluctance on this point ; I was keenly interested in the attitude taken on that occasion by the Conservative Government. Then, what was the object of that long Maamtrasna debate, and the attacks on the Liberal Government for what they thought it their duty to do with regard to those prisoners ? Was it not to

watch the Irish vote; and was not that truckling to the Irish vote? I do not wish to dwell on this painful subject; but I thought it right, as the noble Marquess has spoken so vehemently, to state plainly, and I hope fairly and honestly, the views I entertain with regard to what he said. There are other points which have been referred to, but I shall not deal with them, as an appeal has been made in reference to them to my noble and learned Friend on the Woolsack. He will be able to deal with the *Clarendon* case, and the other cases which have been referred to. I am sorry to have troubled your Lordships at such length, but I think I am justified on this occasion in making the remarks I have addressed to your Lordships.

LORD ASHBOURNE: I have listened, as all your Lordships have, no doubt, with most earnest attention to the speech of the noble Lord who represents the Government; but he has not added to our knowledge of the Home Rule Bill; and as the Government have kept their secret so long, it would perhaps be unfair to gildize them the luxury of a few more data. We have not asked at any time for the details of the measure; all we have asked was that they would take the country into their confidence on matters of great principle, and that they would not keep them hermetically-sealed in their own breasts. The noble Earl has said that the object of the Government is to conciliate those who are disloyal, and who have not been made loyal by former concessions. There is a vast loyal population in Ireland, and the Government deliberately set at naught the earnest wishes of that loyal population in order to run the chance of conciliating those who are not loyal after all that has been done for them. The whole point of the speech of the noble Marquess (I must be candid) was to show that in the administration now going on in Ireland we have a mixture of what would happen if Home Rule were carried. That the powers of the law have been weakened no man can deny. The landowners have been threatened and the Unionist party have been slighted; and whether you call it a policy of truckling, or prefer some more elevated name, it has been a policy of steady disparagement of all Unionists and all landlords.

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THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: What?

LORD ASHBOURNE: Steady disparagement of all Unionists and all landlords. I do not say this is Mr. Morley's desire. Very likely, nay certainly, he has been a victim of circumstances. His hand has been forced by his position. He had the priesthood all ranged on his side; those who had heretofore been preaching sedition refrained from doing so in order "not to embarrass the Government"—the phrase has become a catch-word in Ireland—while the law-breakers were in the novel position of desiring *not* to break the law. But these advantages were, of course, counterbalanced by relative disadvantages. These people wanted their *quid pro quo*, and thus it happened that the Chief Secretary has been fettered by the yoke of his task-masters, who wanted to keep him up to the mark. There was a desire to make a contrast between him and Mr. Balfour by endeavouring to get him to do something that would capture the popular eye and arrest the imagination. I had understood that the proclamations under the Crimes Act have been put aside as an unclean thing, and by way of redeeming pledges made all through the country; but the noble Earl has said that was not the reason at all, the Government, on a consideration of the whole matter, having come to the conclusion that they could, as a matter of expediency of administration, drop the particular clauses. That takes the question out of the region of principle and places it in the region of administrative expediency. Who, however, can say that the clauses about change of venue and special jury are susceptible of abuse in the hands of any Government? I should think the present Law Officers in Ireland must often feel themselves seriously embarrassed when they consider how they will deal with serious crime from the want of those elementary clauses that should be found in every Criminal Code. Clause 1, enabling secret inquiries to be held, is found in every Bill Mr. Gladstone has ever brought in with reference to Ireland. It is found in the Explosives Act of 1883; Sir W. Harcourt has himself testified to its singular efficiency and value, and so the Executive in Dublin, in dealing with the explosion at the Castle, found ready to their hand what probably they did not

know at the time, a power which they had ostentatiously set aside in connection with the Crimes Act. I do not go into the question of statistics, because the figures of crime, are one thing and the detection of crime is another. Let your figures be many or few, have not you by your action since you came into office weakened your power of detection? And if you tell your statisticians to contrast the number of crimes detected before your advent to office—

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: Does the noble Lord deliberately accuse us of having made false Returns of crime?

LORD ASHBOURNE: No, no. The noble Earl will not get an angry word from me.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: I entirely repudiate the notion that any member of this House has the right, without sufficient ground, to insinuate that we prepare false statistics.

LORD ASHBOURNE: I protest against such an assumption. It never crossed my mind. Though I differ from noble Lords opposite in politics I have the greatest possible respect for them, and I would be the last man to make an unworthy suggestion. But I am passing by the figures and making another contrast. I ask, have you, in dropping these clauses, lessened your powers of detection of crime? I say that is a contrast that would be a real and valuable statistic, more valuable than the statistics with which we have been favoured tonight by the noble Earl. A remark on the Evicted Tenants Commission. The noble Earl has endeavoured to found a case for the Commission on Clause 13 of the Act of 1891, but that fallacy has been disposed of over and over again. Under the Purchase Acts only occupying tenants were capable of becoming purchasers, and to enable those who were not occupying, but were evicted, powers were given to the landlord himself, if he thought right, without restoring the tenant to his position to make a voluntary agreement or contract of purchase with him. All depended on the consent or volition of the landlord, and there is no analogy between that and the appointment of the present Commission. That Commission was a most unfortunate piece of statesmanship. The order of reference was one-sided and partisan. The names of the Commissioners were one-sided and

partisan. To say, as Mr. Morley did at Newcastle, that two out of the five Commissioners, Mr. Redington and Mr. O'Brien, were representatives of the landlords was a grotesque absurdity. When Mr. Morley succeeded in getting a Judge of the English Bench to be President, it was thought there would be an effort to get at the truth, that the evidence would be fairly sifted, and that the landlords would get a perfect opportunity of making their case. But the opening proceedings were a revelation. A political party speech was made by the President of the Commission, and unquestionably the point of that speech was to put Lord Clanricarde in the pillory before a single witness had been heard or any evidence had been taken. If Lord Clanricarde did stand alone, if he was not a fair representative of the landlords of Ireland, if they would all repudiate him as a fair representative, was it right to commence the proceedings, not by a representative case, but by the case of such a man? Sir James Mathews himself conducted the case against Lord Clanricarde and pilloried him before he was tried. The hearsay evidence of Mr. Roche, a leader of the Land League and a notorious agitator, was taken against Lord Clanricarde, and although there were abundant grounds for the cross-examination of the witness to be found in the Report of the Parnell Commission, Sir James Mathews did not deem it desirable to ask Mr. Roche one single question by way of cross-examination, and therefore the damaging direct evidence of this witness was given to the public without one syllable to convey that it was capable of being challenged. Mr. Carson, a most distinguished counsel, and Mr. Kenny, a man of large practice at the Bar, endeavoured to cross-examine, but they were not allowed. Sir James Mathew's action was most unfortunate. He allowed to go forth to the public through the various reporters the hostile evidence against Lord Clanricarde, but he did not ask a question himself by way of cross-examination which would affect that evidence, or allow counsel to ask it. Mr. Morley says that he was proceeding under Section 13 of the Act of the late Government and was trying to give effect to that section. Now one of the few estates on which that section had been availed of was the Ponsonby estate,

and when Sir James Mathew went down to examine into the state of things there he advised the tenants who had entered into contracts with the Land Commission to take legal advice whether they were bound by that arrangement. I cannot conceive anything more likely to disturb the minds of the tenants than to tell them that they ought to take a lawyer's advice as to whether they were bound to fulfil the contract into which they had entered. It would have tended more to the peace of the estate if Sir J. Mathew had followed a different course. The practice of Royal Commissions in taking evidence had been to keep the control of the examination of the witnesses in their own hands, and to take care that no attacks were made on any persons unless an opportunity was given for answering any charges which might be brought. Then, as to Viceregal Commissions—that is, Commissions acting solely by the Lord Lieutenant's warrant—the practice for 50 years has been uniformly at variance with the course pursued by Sir J. Mathew.

EARL SPENCER: I should like to put myself right if I have made any misstatement. I quoted the case of the Belfast Commission under Mr. Justice Day. I am perfectly aware that another course has also been pursued by Viceregal Commissions.

LORD ASHBOURNE: Mr. Justice Day's Commission was appointed after full discussion in the House of Commons; there was an Act of Parliament under which it acted, and therefore Mr. Justice Day reserved to himself the power of permitting cross-examination, when he thought proper, and he thought proper at a very early time. Therefore the precedent of Mr. Justice Day's Commission does not support the course taken by Sir J. Mathew, and I repeat that in the case of Viceregal Commissions the course has been to permit cross-examination, though I do not say that there is a right to cross-examine in all cases. Lord Clanricarde may be open to any charges which Sir J. Mathew might allow to be made; but, like any subject of the Queen, he is entitled to fair play. Again, why did Sir J. Mathew desert his ordinary official duties in order to engage in such a business? Sir J. Mathew laid aside his judicial office for

the purpose of sitting, at the request of the Government, upon a Commission in which he divested himself of his judicial position. Was the Executive right, without an Act of Parliament, in withdrawing a Judge from his judicial duties for a political purpose like this? And was the Judge right in venturing to desert his judicial duties to involve himself in a transaction of the kind? Can another precedent be found of any Judge, obeying the bidding of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, leaving his work here and going over to Ireland to do other work? The Judge's duties are fixed by law, and I know of nothing in Common Law or in Statute Law to sanction a Judge withdrawing from his duties here, and taking part in a roving party Commission such as this. He is not given irremovability from office, and his salary is not placed upon the Consolidated Fund to enable him to do political work for the Executive Government without the sanction of an Act of Parliament. It is no wonder that under the circumstances the landowners refused to appear before the Commission, or that one of Mr. Justice Mathew's colleagues resigned. It has been urged that we ought not to criticize these matters and the action of the Commission until the Report has been produced. Why not? Have we no right before that Report comes out to show the constitution, the mechanism, and the working of the Commission, in order that the public might know what respect and attention shall be given to the Report when it does appear? I think it right to make these statements in my place in Parliament, in order that they may be met, to whatever extent they can be met, by those who are constitutionally bound to defend, as far as they can, the action of Mr. Justice Mathew. The cardinal and primary error, the unfortunate mistake made by Mr. Justice Mathew, in my opinion, was ever to leave his judicial duties to embark in a political transaction like the present, and I know of no Judge or lawyer, or lover of the Constitution, anywhere who has defended that course. My conviction is that Mr. Justice Mathew went to Ireland and undertook this task without the sanction of the Judge at the head of his Division. I should like to say one word about the constitution of the Lunacy Boards. I do

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not think the noble Earl quite realised the exact point of the charge in reference to the appointments on these Boards. I do not object to Mr. Morley, or any one, on suitable occasions, appointing men of particular opinions, politics, and creed if those appointments are proper additions to the Boards. But the point is that on many occasions and in many counties some of the best attendants and the best workers, who have been the mainstay of the Boards for a large number of years, have been left off the Boards without rhyme or reason, while far less able and useful men have been allowed to remain. This has naturally caused a very angry and bitter feeling among Loyalists, and it is regarded as part of a policy to which I referred at the outset—a policy of deliberate disparagement of Loyalists and Unionists, and therefore from that point of view it is material, I think, that some attention to this matter should be given. The last topic to which I wish to refer is the question of the release of the Gweedore prisoners, who were convicted with reference to the brutal murder of District Inspector Martin. It is unnecessary to trouble your Lordships with the full details of the case. The unfortunate police officer, it will be remembered, lost his life in the endeavour to serve process of law on Father M'Fadden, the parish priest of Gweedore. Father M'Fadden made several inflammatory speeches at the time in connection with the matter, but I will only quote from one which he made on September 20th, 1887. He used these expressions—

"I will not appear to the summons;" "then they must issue a warrant to arrest me, but will they dare to arrest me at Gweedore among my own people"; "it would take the whole British Army to do it"; and "some blood will be spilt before they take me out of it."

These are the words of Father M'Fadden, and the prophecy was verified, for blood was spilt, and a heavy responsibility was incurred by him. Now, the law is too plain to be questioned. Every one who offers resistance to the police in the execution of their lawful duty is responsible for wilful murder if any policeman is slain in the discharge of that duty, and I assert that that is the charge which applied to those persons by whom District Inspector Martin was done to death on this occasion. A great many

persons were made amenable and were returned for trial—one man, named Coll, on the charge of murder, but that charge was afterwards mercifully reduced to one of manslaughter. All the prisoners, except Coll, pleaded guilty to charges of obstructing the police. The prisoners were convicted, and the greatest discrimination was shown by the Judge in differentiating the sentences passed on them. In the case of Coll only, who was sentenced to 10 years' penal servitude, a point arose for further consideration. It was referred to the Court for Crown Cases Reserved, and here again the greatest discrimination was observed by the Judges in dealing with the case, but the decision at the trial was upheld. In a civil action that took place after the trial Mr. Healy, who had been counsel for the prisoners, was asked—

"In your opinion, as counsel, were the prisoners getting off easily?"

And he replied—

"We originally believed that some of them would be convicted. I thought, to use a popular phrase, 'they got off in a coach.'"

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: Does the noble and learned Lord mean to say that those remarks of Mr. Healy relate to the prisoners who have since been released? Did not they relate to those who were released at the time?

LORD ASHBOURNE: I think it would be better if the noble and learned Lord would direct his question to those in Ireland who ordered the release of the prisoners. That was what Mr. Healy himself said, and I cannot give it any explanation or justification. Well, the prisoners, whose sentences had not expired, were released on Christmas Eve. Your Lordships know the offence for which they were imprisoned and understand the gravity of such an offence, especially grave in a country like Ireland, where the police want all the protection that can be given them, and where the murder of a policeman is anything but a light matter. Now, these prisoners were not released upon licence. I ask, would it not have been a reasonable precaution to take, before sending these men back to the place where this appalling catastrophe took place, to release them only under such conditions as would secure that, for some time at all events, they would

be law-abiding and peaceable? The other day the Government were asked whether the Judge who tried these prisoners had been consulted about their release, and the answer given was—

“The late Government consulted the Judge as to the case of Coll in 1891, and, having regard to his report, the Government did not think it fair to the learned Judge to trouble him again upon the subject.”

That, I say, was a very curious and insufficient answer, and I ask again, Why was the Judge not consulted about the release of these prisoners? One would think that the Government were going themselves to release Coll. I speak in the presence of the noble Earl (Lord Spencer), who, when Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, always exercised the closest supervision over the exercise of the prerogative of mercy, and I ask whether a case can be cited where the whole procedure of a trial has been undone, where the whole measure of sentences has been set aside, where the differentiating of different degrees of guilt have all been swept away without any appeal having been made to the learned Judge who tried the case as to his view of the matter? What reason was there in this particular case for not following the usual practice? I do not know of any. The opinion of the Judge was asked with reference to the case of Coll, but that was two years ago. What right has the Executive to say, “We did not like to trouble the Judge again”? A Judge cannot think of trouble in the discharge of his duties; he is bound to furnish the Executive with his advice. It is a wise, just, and reasonable practice in a case of this kind to ask the opinion of the Judge who has presided at the trial and represented the majesty and impartiality of the law. The course taken by Her Majesty's Government in not seeking that opinion is exceptional, strange, and dangerous, and their action must tend to diminish the respect in which the judicial office is held. Is the reversal of our known judicial methods a thing to be undertaken lightly? Is it wise, in a country like Ireland, where the law is too often attacked and Judges are too often assailed, and motives imputed to them—is it wise to set at naught the ordinary practice? Mr. Morley, on Tuesday, interrupted a speech that was being made on this subject to shelter himself under the “great authority of the Lord

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Chancellor of Great Britain,” as he described it; but until the Lord Chancellor says it, and until the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, who, I presume, was consulted, says it, I will not believe that they intended that the Judge should be ignored and his office contemned. What were the grounds of the release? If they were legal, was it wise or in accordance with constitutional practice to come to a decision *in camera* without argument? Were the prisoners released in consequence as to a doubt as to their guilt? Why, they all pleaded guilty except Coll. Then the sentences were carefully differentiated and measured at the trial, and yet now they have all been equalised by the release of the prisoners on the same day and at the same hour, and the Judges' measuring and differentiating between them all set at naught. What materials were before those who gave this decision? Were the depositions looked at, examined, and collated? I defer further criticism upon this question until I hear what may upon this subject fall from the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack. I am not opposed in proper cases to mercy and clemency. I admit that a time may come for mercy and clemency being shown, and that many things may be taken into account in permitting people to go free who have committed even grave crimes in the past, but the circumstances here are grave and peculiar, and I think I am not erring when I say that they demand full explanation. These, my Lords, are the only topics that occur to me in regard to Ireland, and I have endeavoured to present my views to your Lordships temperately and moderately, recognizing that there may be many differences of opinion on the question. I have dealt with four points in a short period of five months all of importance, and I think all of them go to show that weight should be given to many of the observations of the noble Marquess who introduced this debate. This administration is a prelude to the Home Rule Bill. It has, at all events, the merit of frankness. It tells the loyalists how little they have to expect, and it tells the other classes in Ireland, some of them mixed up somewhat with crime, how much they have to expect. Does it not give an advance sketch in dim outline of Ireland as it would be under

a Home Rule Government? My Lords, if these things can be done in a green tree, what must be done in a dry? These things that have happened in this short time would be enough to discourage and disappoint the loyalists of Ireland were they not sustained by a confident hope. They do not believe in the existence of the present Government. They are sustained by the expectation—which I believe some of them have themselves—that their tenure of office will be short, and they are cheered by the further reflection that the cause of the Union will be safe in the hands of the succeeding Government.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord HERSHELL): My Lords, if the noble and learned Lord is so completely satisfied that the tenure of office by the present Government will be so short, it seems hardly worth while wasting so much powder and shot on their acts during the last few months. They might have been left to die, as he expects they soon will die, from circumstances entirely independent of the criticism he has just addressed to you. My Lords, I shall make no apology for devoting the remarks I have to make to questions connected with Ireland, because the whole of the debate this evening, with the most trifling exceptions, has been devoted to that topic. I think it cannot fail to strike any impartial observer that there has been a strange change of view in certain matters since the last occasion and previous occasions upon which Her Majesty's Speech was suggested from the other side of the House. There was not one of the debates on those occasions in which the references to Ireland were not chiefly devoted to those statistics of crime which my noble and learned Friend treats with so much contempt to-night. In truth, my Lords, it was upon these very statistics that reliance was placed by the late Government as proof of their efficient and successful government of Ireland, and yet to-night, because those statistics do not happen to suit them, they denounce them as absolutely contemptible. I venture to think, my Lords, that if these statistics, which are the same and prepared by the same authority as those upon which they relied when they were in office, had shown a different result, and, instead of showing a diminution of crime, had shown an increase, do your Lordships

believe for a moment they would have been spoken of with contempt? If, my Lords, it was just in previous years to appeal to such statistics as a proof that Ireland was being well governed, why is it unjust to do so now? If they proved the fact in previous years, surely they must prove it to-day; and if then the only and best proof of good government is the diminution of crime, upon what ground in reason can an impartial man deny a fair consideration to these statistics to-night? The noble Marquess who introduced this debate favoured your Lordships with some statistics of his own, culled from the newspapers. He is evidently still in the happy condition of believing all he reads in the daily Press, and treating it as more authentic than even Government statistics. That is a happy condition which he will not be in when he has learnt from experience that such statements are not always in accordance with facts. But is it fair to pick out certain particular cases of increase of crime and say nothing about the rest of the country? Why did the noble Marquess take isolated facts? The noble Marquess alluded to the Charges of two learned Judges who said that crime is increasing, but where the observations were made by the other Judges he was silent upon. He selected two out of them, and has given your Lordships some observations of those Judges to show that crime in Ireland is increasing. I submit that is hardly doing justice in this matter.

*THE MARQUESS OF LONDONDERRY: I was specially careful to lay stress upon the fact that in certain districts, especially in Counties Clare and Kerry, the increase of serious crime was very marked in my opinion. I expressly stated that I had no official information, but only the ordinary channels in the Press. What else could I allude to? I put before your Lordships the meetings held in different districts calling upon the Government to cope with the fact that crime is increasing, and I ask the noble and learned Lord how else he could expect me to offer any other opinion upon a point like this.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: No doubt the public Press may be the only source of information open to the noble Marquess; but if it is an imperfect source, it is hardly fair to make positive and

extremely strong assertions with regard to the government and condition of Ireland without waiting to ascertain all the facts of the case accurately and what the truth is. The noble Marquess alluded to the Charges of two Judges—Chief Justice O'Brien and Mr. Justice Harrison. Chief Justice O'Brien was not dealing with Clare and Kerry, but with another part of Ireland. It is quite true he alluded to two cases of counties in which there had been an increase of crime, but he said that, on the whole, there had been a decrease. Leitrim being one of the counties to which he alluded, the County Court Judge there said he did not agree with the Chief Justice as to the County being in the serious state described. Then the noble Marquess alluded to Mr. Justice Harrison's Charge, and said there were some cases of an unpleasant character, but he did not read this passage, that

"The police reports are very valuable in guiding us in understanding what the state of society is. I am happy to tell you the reports appear to be of a favourable character."

That is part of the Charge by the same Judge which the noble Marquess read. When your Lordships have heard the official statistics prepared on the same basis and in the same office as those which have been laid before your Lordships year after year, surely we have in all fair dealing established a claim to have it considered that the administration of Ireland has not led to an increase of crime on the whole, but to a diminution. The noble Marquess also alluded to the withdrawal of the Proclamations, and has said that they contain provisions which might well be found in any Code of Jurisprudence, and ought to be in all. That may well be so, but I would remind your Lordships of what was pointed out by the late Lord Carnarvon, when Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, when this question of repressive legislation was being dealt with in 1885. At that time the Conservative Government of the day decided not to renew what was known as the Coercion Acts, and his Lordship expressed the opinion that there were, no doubt, provisions which it might be desirable to pass into law, but if so they ought to be made applicable to all parts of the United Kingdom; and he called attention to the feeling of impatience, irritation, and

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hostility engendered by exceptional legislation for one part of the United Kingdom. I admit that it may be well that the Government should have some such power as those provisions afford; but then, I say, let them apply to all parts of the United Kingdom if they are good provisions, and do not deal with one part of the United Kingdom and put it under an exceptional law. That is the position I have always taken up. I know that in objecting to those provisions for Ireland one lays oneself open to the reproach that one loves crime and criminals; but I assure your Lordships that reproaches of that sort touch me very little—not at all. The objection I formerly entertained on the subject I entertain still. I believe it is an evil and an undesirable thing that any part of the United Kingdom should be put in this way under an exceptional Criminal Law so long as you are dealing with other parts of the kingdom in a different way. It seems to me, in absolute consistency with all our previous conduct, that it should appear to us to be our duty to put an end to that exceptional state of the Criminal Law, unless there was some overpowering reason to the contrary. You can conceive such a state of things that exceptional legislation is absolutely essential. My noble and learned Friend has spoken as if the repeal of those provisions has tended to the maladministration of the law in Ireland. Has he cited one single fact that has given colour to this suggestion? The truth is, you will find, that the diminution of crime since they ceased to be enforced has been quite as great as the diminution going on whilst they were in force. I turn to the question of the 'release of the Gweedore prisoners. I can assure your Lordships, whether you accept my assurance or not, that in the advice which I gave my right hon. Friend in that matter I was not influenced in the slightest degree by any political idea, or sentiment, or motive. I assure your Lordships it never occurred to me—perhaps, being a question affecting Ireland, it ought to have occurred to me—that it was a matter with which politics could be in the slightest degree regarded as mixed up. It has been suggested it was done to gain some political support, and I confess that even now I fail to see what political support was to be gained by this exercise of the

prerogative of mercy. But, whether that be so or not, I assert, with the utmost frankness and truth, that any political idea was as far from my thoughts as it ever was from the thoughts of any man. The exercise of the prerogative of mercy is always a serious matter and ought to be governed by certain principles; and I will tell your Lordships the principles which it seems to me ought to regulate the exercise of that prerogative, and which guided me in the advice which I gave in this case. What is the object of inflicting punishment? The object of inflicting punishment is not to wreak the vengeance of society upon the offender, it is, I apprehend, to deter the offender from repeating his offence and to deter others from imitating it. That, I apprehend, is the object with which punishment is now inflicted. No doubt this was not always the view that was adopted, but I shall doubt whether any noble and learned Lord in the present day would maintain the absolute fulfilment and the crueler phase of punishment which obtained in former days. It was with that view, and guided by those ideas, that I approached the subject. The question that had to be determined was whether the time had come at which, with regard to all the circumstances, these prisoners might safely be set at liberty. My Lords, that is a question—whatever it may be in Ireland—which is not at all new, rare, or exceptional in this country. Nothing is more common or usual than that sentences passed upon offenders should be re-considered from time to time, and that those who have been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment should be set at liberty before those sentences come to a conclusion. If that is not the practice in Ireland, in my opinion the sooner it is made so the better. In considering this question, it is absolutely essential to look at the circumstances of the crime and the condition of the country. As regards the circumstances of the crime, one most important question is whether the prisoner whom you are asked to release is likely to repeat the offence. There are some men of the criminal class whom one would be loth to let loose on society, while there are other men, sentenced for crimes of sudden passion, who would not be likely to repeat the crime again. The

present appeared to me to be just one of those cases. The noble and learned Lord has treated these men who have been set at liberty as having brutally done to death Police-Inspector Martin, but he has not alluded to the circumstances which no doubt for the time drove these men into a passion. ["Oh, oh!"] I think if noble Lords will listen for a moment or two I am not going to say anything which is not perfectly true. He did not allude to the circumstances which drove these men into a passion, and which for the time set them beyond themselves. Is it to be doubted that decent and honourable men have at times lost themselves in the violence of passion? I do not suppose that anybody can dispute that. Now, what happened on this occasion? I am not going into the question of making the arrest, when and where it was, nor am I going to say that their crime was not a serious one. They have suffered a serious punishment. Noble Lords have talked as if the prisoners had been let loose without any serious punishment at all, but that was a misrepresentation. What happened was the priest had come from mass, which these Donegal peasants had been attending; the Inspector went to arrest him; and suddenly—I do not know how it came about—the Inspector drew his sword. I am stating this from the evidence given by the police themselves. As it flashed in the light a woman cried out, "He has struck the priest!" Those in the crowd did not know what had happened, there was a rush forward, and stone-throwing began, and unhappily the police-constable was slain. Unquestionably none of those men who have been released struck the fatal blow, although they were no doubt in the crowd and throwing stones. The whole thing was the transaction of a moment. These men, thinking their priest had been struck with the sword, rushed forward and began to fling stones, and so the tragedy took place. I venture to say that under circumstances such as these you may well consider that those who have suffered three years' penal servitude for taking part in a transaction such as that are as little likely to repeat it as if they were released after seven years. They are not men of the criminal class, who are likely to repeat their crime. Then there is another matter for

consideration. The remission of part of the sentences of these men by no means impeaches the sentences which were passed at the time. That is the extraordinary fallacy which underlies the whole of the noble and learned Lord's speech. There are constant remissions made by the Home Office in this country. Time after time when a sentence has been passed which may be far beyond that which is called for by the offence that happens, it may often be necessary and wise to pass at the moment a severer sentence than, if happier circumstances arise, it may be necessary to carry out. But, my Lords, supposing that the condition of the country changes, supposing the part of the country where the disturbances took place has calmed down, that the country is absolutely peaceable and free from crime, surely that is a most potent element in determining whether you may justly and wisely give to these men their liberty again. Would anybody in these circumstances desire to keep these men longer in prison? Everybody would feel it was right to set them at liberty as soon as it was possible to do so with safety. That was my view; it may be right or it may be wrong. I am quite content to be judged by my fellow-countrymen for having taken that view. I quite agree that it would be base, indeed, to use the prerogative of mercy for a political end. Nobody would express that opinion in stronger or more vigorous terms than I should; but there is one thing which I think would be baser still, and that is—for fear of political attack to keep in prison a day or one hour longer those whom you would otherwise set at liberty. The noble and learned Lord has asked, "Why were those men who were sentenced to shorter terms of imprisonment not let out before?"

LORD ASHBOURNE: I beg the noble and learned Lord's pardon. I asked why men who were sentenced to different terms of imprisonment were all let out together without consulting the Judge.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: If the time had arrived when the man sentenced to the longer term might be let out, why should the others not be let out at the same time? I came to the conclusion that Coll had suffered severely for his offence. I altogether dispute the

assumption that a sentence of three years' penal servitude is one to be spoken of as if it were trifling or insignificant. Now, the noble and learned Lord has asked why it was the learned Judge was not consulted. There were similar Petitions presented to the late Government from the wives of these men praying for the exercise of the prerogative. I do not know whether each of them had a wife, but I know the wives of some of them petitioned, and I think I am right in saying that the year before, a Petition having been presented for the exercise of the prerogative of mercy, the matter was referred to the learned Judge who tried the case, and he made his Report to the then Executive. That Report was before the present Executive and was before me. I do not know what they do in Ireland, and whether they do refer to the Judge every year.

LORD ASHBOURNE: Certainly not. The noble and learned Lord has entirely missed the point given by his own colleague in the other House. I quoted Mr. Morley's statement that the Government had consulted the Judge as to Coll. There were no wives in the case at all.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: This shows how little my noble and learned Friend really knows about the case.

LORD ASHBOURNE: I only know what has been stated—that the Government consulted the Judge as to Coll.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: The noble and learned Lord is a very clever advocate. When I am dealing with one point he immediately slips away to another. It is a very old device when you see you are getting into a hot corner to slip away from it and take up quite another point. I am quite accustomed to that. The noble and learned Lord spent a quarter of an hour in asking why the learned Judge was not consulted, and my answer is that the learned Judge had been consulted a year before on that very question of the exercise of the prerogative of mercy, and he had made a Report to the Executive. Who could suppose that the learned Judge could say more than he had already stated if he had been appealed to in the year following?

LORD ASHBOURNE: Again I must remind the noble and learned Lord that

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that only refers to Coll, but I am asking as to the others.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR : I can only deal with one thing at a time. We have the Report as to Coll, and I know of nothing which makes it necessary to ask a Judge the same thing year after year. When the Executive have got the opinion of the Judge it is always a question for them how long afterwards it may be before they deal with the matter. They do so as seems to them fit and right. What the learned Judge said in his Report was certainly one of the elements that I took into account before giving the advice I did. As to the other cases in which the prisoners pleaded guilty, all the facts were upon the depositions, as in Coll's case, and nothing could be added by the Judge. Those who read the depositions had exactly the same opportunity of judging in the matter as the learned Judge who tried the case. In fact, those cases were not tried at all, because those prisoners pleaded guilty, and all the information the Judge had when he sentenced them was upon the depositions. Now, my Lords, there is the case with regard to the remission of these sentences; and I venture to say that if these had not been Irish cases, and if attempts had not been made to get political capital out of them, nobody in this country would have dreamed of uttering a word of complaint. I cannot attempt an explanation of an answer given in the other House to a question I did not hear. If I am right in the description I have given of those cases, they were not cases in which it was necessary to release the prisoners upon tickets-of-leave, which are used only when there is reason to apprehend the prisoners may offend again, and not when the remainder of the penalty is remitted on grounds wholly different from those on which tickets-of-leave are granted. I think I have answered fully the questions put to me with regard to the Gweedore cases. I am sorry to have detained your Lordships so long upon them, but I have been so bombarded with questions that it was impossible for me within a shorter time to answer them all. I turn now to the question of the Evicted Tenants Commission, with whose proceedings I am not so fully acquainted as my noble and learned Friend. He has said that it is a partisan Commission

appointed for a political purpose; but that I absolutely deny. It was never intended to be a partisan Commission or to serve a political purpose. It was appointed to inquire into a state of things which had arisen out of disputes between landlords and tenants. The noble and learned Lord has said the landlords were not sufficiently represented. No landlords were upon it; but let me ask him what tenants were there? My noble Friend does not reply; and I assume there were none. Does the noble and learned Lord mean to say that a Commission to inquire into the condition of tenants is a partisan Commission unless you pack it with landlords? How could it be a partisan Commission unless one party or the other were over-represented? The matter depends really and truly upon the purpose for which the Commission was set on foot. As to that purpose the reference to the Act has been a little misunderstood. It was not instituted for the purpose of parading before the world the wrongdoings of the landlords any more than it was for the purpose of parading the wrongdoings of the tenants. If the Commission can work out or suggest solutions of difficult questions, those who are not Home Rulers, those who expect to maintain the present condition of things, who expect to govern the country in the old fashion, are interested in it quite as much as, or more so than, those who advocate Home Rule. Can anyone doubt that the existence of evicted tenants and of districts without tenants is a condition like that of smouldering embers which may at any time break out into flame, and that those who have in view the good government of Ireland were justified in appointing this Commission? Therefore, I deny that it had a political or Party object in the sense which has been imputed to it, though I admit it had that object in the wider and nobler sense, for it is always a political object that outrage and disturbance should be put an end to; and surely even landlords who have not these evicted tenants at their doors would desire to see an end put to such a state of things. What good end is to be gained, however wrong the tenants may have been in continuing a state of things which, if it goes on, will breed further disorder and outrage? Surely everyone has an interest in putting an end to it.

That is a good motive which might animate any Government; and where is there any extraordinary wrong motive, any mean reason to be appealed to? The one motive was one of reason, to alay better feelings and to find a fair and just solution of difficulties. Considering that the late Government considered it right that public money should be spent in better equipping tenants, in the owners of land, to assist in relieving evicted tenants and converting them into owners must wish to see the whole question properly treated. Certainly the member of the Commission who refused was not a political ally of those who appointed him. When I recall well-known Commissions that were appointed with much more political object, I must say that the charge of partiality comes with a bad grace from those who now make it. Now, my Lords, with regard to the conduct of the learned Judge, I will point out, in the first place, that it is not a matter without precedent, quite apart from Statute, to appoint a learned Judge a member of a Royal Commission. I admit there is not, so far as I know, any case in which a learned Judge in this country has been appointed on an Irish Commission who has not, at all events, been referred to in some Statute; but I do not know that there is any point of principle in that, although there may be a matter of policy. When my noble Friend alludes to the action which was taken by the learned Judge on the first day of the sittings and complains of what he calls an attack on a certain noble Lord, whose name has often come before the public in connection with his estates, he overlooks the material fact that that noble Lord had written a letter to the Commission of a most insulting character, in which, before he knew anything of the proposed action of the Commission, he intimated that he was not going to come before them or give them any assistance at all.

LORD ASHBOURNE: If I may interrupt the noble and learned Lord, he is not accurate as to the contents of that letter, and Lord C¹ has since explained it.

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THE LORD CHANCELLOR: I do not know what was all published. That letter was written by Lord Clanricarde before the Commission could have displayed any partialities at all, and that is a very material fact which ought to have been brought before your Lordships when it is said the learned Judge spoke without anything having gone before.

LORD ASHBOURNE: Without a particle of evidence.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: That is another point. There were certain matters in regard to Lord Clanricarde which were in evidence for the purposes of the Royal Commission in every sense in which there is ever evidence before such a Commission. Certain transactions had been investigated by the Courts of Law and certain observations by a learned Judge had been made in reference to those transactions, and the Commission were perfectly entitled to make use of them. It seems to me an unbecoming thing that I should undertake on the present occasion a defence of the Commission or their proceedings until, at all events, I have them regularly and completely before me. I can only deal with them on such imperfect knowledge as I possess. My learned Friend says there is a right of cross-examination in the case of Viceregal Commissions. Well, everything seems to be different in Ireland to what it is in England, but certainly it is an unheard-of thing in the case of any English Commission. I really do not know what those Viceregal Commissions are to which the noble and learned Lord refers. Was Lord Bessborough's a Viceregal Commission?

LORD ASHBOURNE: No; Royal.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: Was Lord Cowper's?

LORD ASHBOURNE: No; Royal.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: What the peculiar efficacy or differentia between a Viceregal Commission and a Royal Commission may be, which gives a right to appear and cross-examine before the former when there is no such right in the case of the latter, I fail to understand. In my profound ignorance of the subject of Viceregal Commissions, I can say nothing further on that matter. I should like, however, to say a word or two with reference to the great question shadowed in Her Majesty's Most

Gracious Speech. My Lords, to hear some noble Lords talk one would think there was no Irish Question at all, that everything was as nearly satisfactory as could be, and that by pursuing the old path, a happy end would be arrived at. Is not the reverse notoriously the case? Our policy may be right or wrong, but surely there is an evil to be encountered, and, if possible, to be remedied. A mistake may be made as to the policy to be pursued, but surely we must all admit the existence of the problem to be solved. A noble Lord shakes his head. He thinks, apparently, there is positively no problem to be solved. Out of this House and the ranks of noble Lords coming from Ireland, I do not believe you will find one human being in any part of the civilised globe who is of that opinion. Attempts have been made time after time to deal with this question, and failure has followed upon every one of them. It is only in connection with Ireland, of all the Queen's dominions, that it is possible to talk of the great bulk, or, at all events, the majority, of the people as disloyal. When we speak of other nations unduly oppressing some nationality connected with them Ireland is thrown in our teeth. We are told to look at home, and we have with shame to confess that a portion of our people are governed by exceptional laws and kept down by force. Surely these are serious facts. The great cry has been "Law and order," as though there was nothing further to be aimed at, as though the happiness of a people was not an object to be attained if it does not exist. That is the problem to be solved: to bring into contentment, peace, and plenty a large portion of the people of whom it cannot be said that those conditions at present exist. Noble Lords have spoken of the danger of the new policy. Is there no danger in pursuing the old? Have we not sent from these shores multitudes of men who now form important sections of great nations; and in some of our own Colonies, who have carried with them their hostility to England, and who feel that their fellow-countrymen in Ireland are still suffering wrong? I have heard it said that in any time of difficulty—God forbid it should ever arise!—between ourselves and the great nation on the other side of the Atlantic, those men would be a most

potent force in increasing our difficulties and our dangers. This, I repeat, is surely a serious state of things. It is not in mere wantonness that we have taken up this question. It is the policy of the past 90 years which has made ours the only policy which is now possible. It is said ours is the policy of despair; but it seems to me that is the true description of the old policy. I am not going to argue the question to-night; it is far too large to attempt an argument of it now. All I will attempt to do is to bespeak for the measure, when it sees the light, fair, candid, and dispassionate consideration. I am quite aware it is one which excites strong feeling. It necessarily must do so. We shall, at all events, endeavour as far as we can to form our opinion calmly and without passion or prejudice, and at least to allow to those who are our political opponents that, however mistaken they may be, they have the same object as ourselves—the contentment and prosperity of every part of the country.

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN said, as there were still many Members on the Opposition side of the House who were anxious to have an opportunity of speaking upon this important question, and doubtless there were noble Lords on the other side who also desired to do so, he would move the Adjournment of the Debate.

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*The Earl of Dunraven.*)

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: Of course, we are in the hands of my noble Friends on both sides, but it is now rather early to adjourn. Though I will not oppose the Motion, I should like to know whether we are to go on sitting as long as the House of Commons? It would be rather unusual to adjourn the Debate from day to day.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I do not know that we have any business so urgently pressing that the prospect of an adjournment should be so alarming to the noble Earl. I do not think, myself, it would be necessary to go on with the Debate beyond to-morrow, but I am bound to say that I think the new plan has been rather a success. We have listened to an interesting Debate this evening; and if that Debate had gone on at the end of Tuesday night, we should

have listened in a state of either agonising hunger or of disorganised digestion. It seems to me, especially after listening to the eloquent exhortation to calmness from the noble and learned Lord, that we should take all physical means of ensuring that calmness.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY : I simply wished to enter my protest against the possibility of having too much of a good thing.

Motion agreed to; Debate further adjourned till To-morrow.

House adjourned at twenty minutes past
Eight o'clock, till To-morrow, a
quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 2nd February 1893.

PRIVATE BILLS.

Ordered, That Mr. Stansfeld have leave to seek a Conference with the Chairmen of Committees of the House of Lords, for the purpose of determining (under Standing Order 79) in which House of Parliament the respective Private Bills should be first considered, and to report the same to the House.—
(*Sir John Mowbray.*)

CONTROVERTED ELECTIONS.

Copy ordered—

"Of the Shorthand Writers' Notes of the Evidence which has been or may be taken at the Trial of Election Petitions under the Acts relating thereto since the last General Election, and during the present Session of Parliament, together with a Copy of the Shorthand Writers' Notes of the Judgments delivered by the Judges selected for the Trial of Election Petitions, in pursuance of the said Acts, and Copies of Special Cases Reserved, and of all Election Petitions."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

COLONEL SAUNDERSON (Armagh, N.): May I ask the right hon. Gentleman when the shorthand notes will be circulated? (Cries of "Order!")

SIR W. V. HARCOURT : I do not know. I will try and find out, and let the hon. Member know.

MR. T. M. HEALY (I—): This is not Question time.

Question put, and agreed

The Marquess of Salisbury

NEW MEMBER SWORN.

Sir Charles Russell, knight, Q.C., for the Borough of Hackney (South Division.)

QUESTIONS.

THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

SIR GEORGE BADEN-POWELL (Liverpool, Kirkdale): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether he will state on what days in January, 1893, any of Her Majesty's ships were in the port of Honolulu, what were the names of the ships, and what precautions were taken by Her Majesty's Government in conjunction with other friendly Powers for the due protection of British subjects and British interests in the Sandwich Islands in view of recent political events?

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Sir U. KAY-SHUTTLEWORTH, Lancashire, Clitheroe): By the last advices from the Admiral, the *Garnet* was about to proceed, in ordinary course of station visiting, from Acapulco to Honolulu. She probably sailed on January 7th, and her passage would occupy from 15 to 21 days. In answer to the latter part of the hon. Member's question, I may add that Her Majesty's Government consider that British subjects in the Sandwich Islands are not exposed to any danger. The question of other British interests in those islands appears to be one for the Foreign Office rather than the Admiralty.

SCOTCH REGIMENTS.

MR. ALEXANDER CROSS (Glasgow, Camlachie): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether it be still the intention of the War Office to merge the 79th Highlanders in the Scots Guards; and whether he is aware that recently a number of recruits, raised in London, have been added to the 79th, thereby altering the proportions of Englishmen and Scotchmen in the regiment, whereas two years ago there was a considerable majority of Scotchmen in the 79th, notwithstanding the difficulties in the way of recruiting Scotchmen?

MR. PARKER SMITH (Lanark, Partick): I wish to ask the Secretary of State for War if he can say whether he proposes to convert the Cameron Highlanders into a third battalion of the Scots Guards, or to make any other change in their position; and, if so, whether he will undertake that the House of Commons shall have the opportunity of discussing the question before a decision is finally arrived at; and whether it is his intention to make any other proposals with a view to equalising the number of battalions on Home and Foreign service?

MR. CAMERON CORBETT (Glasgow, Tradeston): I desire to ask the Secretary of State for War if his attention has been called to the very general feeling in Scotland against the proposal to make the 79th Cameron Highlanders a battalion of the Guards; and if he can give any assurance that the change will not be made.

***THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR** (Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, Stirling, &c.): I shall shortly have an opportunity, when introducing the Army Estimates, to explain my views, not only on the question of the Cameron Highlanders, but on the larger subject of Infantry organisation, of which that question is only a small part. It will be more convenient to defer to that occasion any statement of my intentions; but I may at once say that, as it is not now intended to add to the strength of the Brigade of Guards, the particular proposal referred to by the hon. Members, of converting this regiment into a battalion of Scots Guards, is not in contemplation. I would add that I have not been able to see any indication of the "very general feeling" in Scotland on this subject, to which the hon. Member for Tradeston refers. What I have observed is a natural and, let me say, most characteristic desire on the part of my countrymen to know something of the facts of the case before forming any judgment upon it.

MR. MACFARLANE (Argyll): May I ask when the proposals referred to in these questions were first made?

***MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN:** I do not know when this particular proposal for converting the 79th High-

landers into Scots Guards was first made. It has long been suggested as a mode of dealing with a very difficult case.

MR. DARLING (Deptford): I would ask the right hon. Gentleman if he will consider the expediency of slightly augmenting the Cameron Highlanders by adding a second battalion to that regiment?

***MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN:** Yes, at once, if the hon. Member will raise me recruits in the district for the purpose.

WEST COAST RAILWAYS IN SCOTLAND.

DR. MACGREGOR (Inverness-shire): I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland, considering that the Government has agreed to subsidise an extension of railway from Strone Ferry to Kyleakin, in Ross-shire, and remembering that two different Commissions have reported in favour of Mallaig, in Inverness-shire, as being the most suitable point for a terminus on the west coast (shortening the route to Glasgow by four hours at about half the cost), whether the Government is now prepared to subsidise also the extension between Banavie and Mallaig?

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (Sir G. TREVELYAN, Glasgow, Bridgeton): The late Government was in communication with a syndicate which was formed to undertake a railway extension between Banavie and Mallaig, but the negotiations fell through. The present Government has not been approached by any company or syndicate with a proposal to construct the railway.

GOVERNORS OF THE LONDONDERRY LUNATIC ASYLUM.

MR. ROSS (Londonderry): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland on what grounds were the names of the Very Rev. the Dean of Derry and the Rev. J. M. Rodgers, D.D., removed from the list of Governors of the Londonderry Lunatic Asylum?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. J. MORLEY, Newcastle-upon-Tyne): The gentlemen referred to were appointed under Order in Council, dated December 31, 1891, for one year. Their appointments under that Order absolutely lapsed on December 31, 1892. In making the new appointments for London-

derry Asylum for 1893 to the 11 Governorships, to which the Lord Lieutenant directly nominates, his Excellency with regret felt himself unable to include these gentlemen in his selections. This was due, not to any personal grounds whatever, but solely to the necessity for establishing a fairer and more general representation on the Board. I had thought of asking the hon. Gentleman to postpone the question; but if he is satisfied with what I have now said, perhaps he will be good enough to wait for a statement of general policy on these matters, which I hope to be able to make shortly.

RELEASE OF IRISH PRISONERS.

Mr. ROSS: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Judge who presided at the trial of William Coll, Patrick Roarty, Dominic Rodgers, and Connell Magee was consulted before their release?

Mr. JOHN MORLEY: In January, 1890, a Memorial was addressed to Lord Zetland, the then Lord Lieutenant for Ireland, praying for the release of Coll, and the Judge, in his Report to the Lord Lieutenant, stated his views as to the proceedings at the trial and the result. The Irish Government did not think it necessary to trouble the learned Judge in the same matter on the present occasion.

THE INDIAN OPIUM REVENUE.

Mr. HOZIER (Lanarkshire, S.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India how soon the Government propose to give effect to the Resolution of the House of the 10th April, 1891, calling for the immediate abolition of the Indian Opium Revenue? I would add that the Resolution was supported by 14 Members of the present Administration, and was opposed by none of them?

***THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA** (Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL, North Beds.): The hon. Member has referred to an occurrence not within my personal knowledge, but I am credibly informed that the House of Commons did not, on the 10th of April, 1891, pass a Resolution calling for the immediate abolition of the Opium Revenue. A Motion for the adjournment of the House was defeated, but upon the question of opium, as a whole, the House was

pointed out a few days later by the First Lord of the Treasury) had no opportunity of expressing an opinion. But the importance of the division of the 10th of April has not been underrated either by the Secretary of State or by the Government of India; and steps have been taken, and further steps are now under consideration, for restricting the consumption of opium in India.

RAILWAY RATES.

Mr. THOMAS ROBINSON (Gloucester): I desire to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether, having regard to the many and serious complaints made of the excessive charges now made by the railway companies, under the authority of a recent Act of Parliament, he has considered the desirability of getting the jurisdiction of the Board of Trade extended, so as to authorise the Board to deal with such complaints when called upon to do so; and whether he is prepared to introduce a short Bill with that object?

Mr. CHARLES M'LAREN (Leicester, Bosworth): I wish to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he can, in response to the representations officially made to him by meetings of farmers and others at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Hinckley, Market Bosworth, and other places in Leicestershire, and also by the various agricultural and trade societies in that county, hold out the hope that the railway companies will without further delay reduce the augmented rates for milk, farm produce, timber, and coal, published on 1st January, 1893, to the level at which they stood before that date; and, if not, whether he will introduce a measure to compel the carrying companies to make such reduction?

Mr. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): I wish to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he intends to take any measures calculated to prevent the railway companies of Great Britain and Ireland from levying rates prejudicial to the commerce of the three Kingdoms?

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. MUNDRELL, Sheffield, Brightside): The very numerous complaints of traders which are daily brought before the Board of Trade are at once brought under the notice of the companies and the Railway Association, with whom we are in constant com-

Mr. John Morley

munication. I am assured that these complaints are being dealt with as rapidly as the pressure of business on the Committee appointed for the purpose will permit, and that concessions are daily being made which they hope will be satisfactory. Already two important companies have returned to the old milk rates, and I trust that the others will speedily follow their example, not only with reference to milk, but other articles of home produce. I think it is desirable to see the full effect of these negotiations before considering whether any further legislation on the subject is necessary.

MR. FIELD: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether it is the intention of the railway companies to return to their old rates and charges, and if an opportunity—(*Cries of "Order!"*)—well, can the right hon. Gentleman inform the House if any arrangements have been made between the Government and the Board he represents and the railway companies in order to prevent an injurious rise in rates all over the three Kingdoms?

MR. MUNDELLA: My answer practically dealt with that question. We shall object to the railways returning to the old rates, because some of those old rates have been reduced by the Statute, and those reductions should be adhered to. With respect to other rates, we are bringing them under the notice of the railway companies daily, almost hourly, and I hope they will very speedily return to the old rates.

MR. T. J. HEALY (Wexford, N.): Will the right hon. Gentleman say whether, in any communications which have passed between him and the Government, he has raised the question of rebates being granted on the rates which have been charged in the event of some shrinkage being arranged for?

MR. MUNDELLA: Yes; in the case of milk rates and some other rates which have been re-arranged a rebate will be allowed from the 1st of January, when the new rates came into operation.

SIR J. WHITEHEAD (Leicester): I wish to ask my right hon. Friend a question of which I have given him private notice. It is, whether he has seen the reports of the large and representative meeting respecting railway rates which was held in the London Mansion House

on the 30th ult., and whether, in view of the vast interests involved, he can assure the House that the resolutions passed at that meeting will receive his early attention, or, failing that, whether he will afford me facilities for the Second Reading of my Bill on the subject?

MR. MUNDELLA: I read with great interest a report of the Mansion House meeting, and I was not at all disinclined to receive the protest made by the traders as to the increase of the rates. The answer I gave to a former question, that I did not think it desirable to consider further legislation until we saw the result of further negotiations, will apply, however, to my hon. Friend's question. It is not in my power to promise to devote any portion of the Government time to the subject.

OFFICIAL LIQUIDATOR'S CHARGES.

MR. THOMAS HENRY BOLTON (St. Pancras, N.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether it is a fact, as stated in a Law Report in *The Times* newspaper of 8th November last, that the costs of an accountant for acting as provisional liquidator in the winding-up of the London Provident Building Society amounted to only £40, whereas if the Official Receiver in Bankruptcy had been appointed the expense would have amounted to £426; and, if so, whether he will consider the propriety of cutting down the Official Receiver's charges in such matters?

MR. MUNDELLA: I am unable to state, without further information than is supplied in *The Times* report, what would have been the fees payable in respect of the Official Receiver's services had the London Provident Building Society been wound up by the Court under the provisions of the Companies (Winding-up) Act, 1890. But the statement in question appears to be entirely misleading, as there is no analogy between the duties of the Official Receiver as provisional liquidator on the making of a compulsory winding-up order, and those of the accountant referred to, who was allowed a sum of £40 19s. in respect of services of an interim character extending over five days from the 10th to the 15th of October last. The duties of the Official Receiver extend over the whole liquidation. It rests with him not only to protect the assets, to obtain the statement

of affairs, to summon the meetings of creditors and contributories, and to obtain the directions of the Court thereon, but also to investigate the manner in which the company was formed and carried on, to conduct the public examination of directors and officers who may be ordered to be examined by the Court, and to take further proceedings thereon, if it should appear that any fraud or criminal offence has been committed.

A FLOGGING.

MR. EVERETT (Suffolk, Wood-bridge) : I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to an article in *The East Anglian Daily Times* of 15th December last, describing the flogging at Woolverstone, near Ipswich, by a gentleman who is the owner of the district round, and a magistrate for Suffolk, of certain youths for scaring rabbits in his park ; and whether he proposes to take any action in the matter ?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. ASQUITH, Fife, E.) : The gentleman in question, I am informed, applied for and obtained the previous consent of the parents to chastise the boys. I do not propose to take any action in the question.

DOCKYARD CLASSIFICATION.

MR. KNATCHBULL-HUGESSEN (Kent, Faversham) : I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether, having regard to the great dissatisfaction with which the system of classification is regarded in Her Majesty's dockyards, and to the fact that that system is not adopted in private shipbuilding yards, the Board of Admiralty are prepared to recommend its discontinuance ?

THE CIVIL LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. ROBERTSON, Dundee) : In conjunction with my right hon. Friend the Secretary to the Admiralty, I have visited the dockyards and taken the evidence of the workmen on the system of classification and other points. The subject is one of great importance, and is receiving the most careful consideration of the Admiralty.

RAILWAY ACCIDENTS.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty) : I beg to ask the President of the Board of

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Trade whether provision has been made by the Highland Railway Company to obviate similar accidents to that which occurred on their line at Auchnashellach Station, on 14th October last year ; and whether this company have complied with the requirements of "The Regulation of Railways Act, 1889," regarding the use of automatic continuous brakes ?

MR. MUNDELLA : In the Report made after the official inquiry held with regard to the accident at Auchnashellach Station on October 14th, the inspecting officer states that when an automatic continuous brake is in operation upon all passenger vehicles of mixed trains a recurrence of a similar accident will be well-nigh impossible. Under the order made by the Board of Trade in pursuance of the Regulation of Railways Act, 1889, the Highland Railway Company are required to complete fitting their passenger vehicles with an automatic continuous brake by August 16th next. The company, I regret to say, have raised some difficulties, and the correspondence which has arisen in consequence will be presented to Parliament with the Report of the inquiry into the accident.

THE ISLAND OF LEWIS.

MR. WEIR : I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland whether Sheriff Johnstone, a member of the Board of Supervision, visited the Ness district of the Island of Lewis last autumn for the purpose of inquiring into the sanitary conditions of that part of the island ; and whether the Board of Supervision will in future, when instituting inquiries into the sanitary state of remote districts in Ross and Cromarty, instruct a medical gentleman to visit the districts instead of a lawyer ?

SIR G. TREVELYAN : Sheriff Johnstone, in the course of his duty and for judicial work, visited the Lewis last September. He had been previously asked by Lord Lothian to take advantage of his visit to the island to report on various matters connected with the crofters. Being also a member of the Board of Supervision and interested in sanitary matters, he made inquiries about them for his own information, but under no request from the Board. No doubt the Board of Supervision, when conduct-

ing inquiries into sanitary matters, will continue to employ medical men as they have done hitherto.

MEATH ELECTION PETITIONS.

*MR. WEBSTER (St. Pancras, E.) : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary for Ireland whether his attention has been drawn to the following statement appearing in *The Globe* newspaper of the 1st January, 1893 :—

"That when the Elections Petitions Office at the Four Courts, Dublin, was opened yesterday, it was discovered that several important documents connected with the Meath Election Petitions had disappeared";

and whether the same is correct; and, if so, can he inform the House what were the documents which were lost; and also if any, and what, steps have been taken to recover them?

MR. J. MORLEY : I am informed that there is no truth whatever in this report.

STRANDING OF THE *HOWE*.

*MR. WEBSTER : I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether, in view of the serious expense to the country occasioned by the stranding of the battleship *Howe*, he is prepared to consider the advisability of adopting for Her Majesty's ships the "Submarine Sentry," an invention for warning ships of the proximity of shallow waters?

SIR U. KAY-SHUTTLEWORTH : The Admiralty have fully considered the invention called the "Submarine Sentry," and are not of opinion that its issue to Her Majesty's ships is desirable. This opinion is in no way affected by the case of the *Howe*, as, in the opinion of competent authorities at the Admiralty, the possession by that ship of this invention would not have prevented her from stranding.

*MR. WEBSTER : I beg to ask what was the original cost, exclusive of armament, of H.M.S. *Howe*, what sum has been guaranteed to be paid on account of salvage services, and, in the event of the vessel being salvaged, what is estimated to be the probable cost of again placing the vessel in a condition as an effective part of the Navy?

SIR U. KAY-SHUTTLEWORTH : The original cost of the *Howe*, exclusive of armament and incidental charges, was £638,678. The amount to be paid under certain conditions on account of salvage

services will not exceed £35,000. No estimate can be given of the probable cost of restoring the ship to an effective state until she has been placed in dock at Ferrol.

ILLITERATE VOTES.

*MR. WEBSTER : I beg to ask the Home Secretary when he will be in a position to lay on the Table of the House the Return of Illiterate Voters at the late General Election, ordered by the House last Autumn?

MR. ASQUITH : I hope to be able to lay this Return on the Table very shortly.

*MR. WEBSTER : Can the right hon. Gentleman inform the House as to the number of illiterates who voted in the North and South Meath elections. As a debate is to occur to-morrow on this subject, I think it would be of use to the House to have that information.

MR. ASQUITH : I have no information on the subject.

CENSUS RETURNS.

MR. HENRY HOBHOUSE (Somerset, E.) : I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board when the 1891 Census Returns of the population of the several parishes in England and Wales are likely to be published, and why their publication has been so long delayed?

*THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. H. H. FOWLER, Wolverhampton, E.) : I am informed by the Registrar General that he hopes to be able to present to Parliament the volumes of the detailed Census Reports which relate to area, houses, and population of parishes in April next. This will be some weeks earlier than was the case with the corresponding volumes of the Report of the Census in 1881, though several fresh items of information will be included in the Report relating to the Census of 1891.

MADAGASCAR.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE : I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether a declaration having been signed by Lord Salisbury, August 5th 1890, recognising a French Protectorate over Madagascar "with its consequences," Her Majesty's Government will lay before Parliament the Treaty of Peace between France and

Madagascar, as published by the Malagasy Government at Antananarivo in 1886, with the letter signed by the French Plenipotentiaries, and dated the day previous to the date borne by the Treaty, which was also contained in the Madagascar Red Book.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR (Manchester, E.): May I ask whether it is not a fact that the Treaty to which reference is made in the question was concluded in 1886 with the French Government, and brought under the notice of Her Majesty's Government of that day, and that no objection whatever was taken to its terms?

* THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir EDWARD GREY, Northumberland, Berwick): In March, 1886, the Treaty which was communicated to the French Chambers was laid before Parliament. A circular dispatch relating to it addressed to the French representatives at the principal Courts was laid at the same time. Her Majesty's Government subsequently learned that the Treaty had been published in Madagascar with a letter annexed to it signed by the French Plenipotentiaries, but it is understood that the French Government have never admitted that they were bound by the letter. Under these circumstances, Her Majesty's Government is unwilling to lay before Parliament a letter of officers of a foreign Government which is not acknowledged by that Government. In answer to the question put by the Leader of the Opposition, I have to say that the facts are as stated by the right hon. Gentleman.

TUBERCULOSIS.

VISCOUNT WOLMER (Edinburgh, W.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Agriculture whether he is aware that much inconvenience has been caused by the delay in the publication of the Report of the Departmental Committee which was appointed more than two years ago to inquire into the question of tuberculosis; and whether he can inform the House when that Report may be expected?

DR. FARQUHARSON (Aberdeenshire, W.): May I ask whether the evidence taken before that Committee will be printed and circulated, and whether the

House will have an opportunity of discussing it?

* MR. H. H. FOWLER: The Report of the Departmental Committee on Tuberculosis was issued in 1888. The Royal Commission which was appointed in 1890 has not yet reported. I have communicated with the Commission, and the reply which I have received is that the Commission have not yet completed their inquiries, and that at present they are unable to state when their Report will be made.

MR. FIELD: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether it is intended, pending the Report of the Tuberculosis Commission, to provide such compensation for animals suffering from tuberculosis and destroyed as already allowed under similar circumstances under the provisions of "The Cattle Diseases (Animals) Act, 1878"?

MR. H. GARDNER: As the hon. Member is aware, tuberculosis is not one of the diseases to which the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts apply. If, therefore, an animal suffering from tuberculosis is destroyed, it is, I presume, in pursuance of the provisions of the Public Health Acts, and on the ground that the animal is unwholesome or unfit for the food of man. There is no provision of the law which would enable me to provide for the payment of compensation under such circumstances, nor could I undertake to extend any of the provisions of the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts to the disease in question pending the Report of the Royal Commission.

THE VALUE OF THE RUPEE.

SIR SEYMOUR KING (Hull, Central): I beg to ask the Under Secretary for India whether the Indian Government and the Secretary of State have considered the case of civil and military servants of the Crown in India who have suffered by the diminution in the value of the rupee; whether the official rate of exchange for the years 1893-4 between England and India has yet been fixed, and what it is; and whether the Secretary of State intends to make any compensation by fixing a special rate for family remittances and absentee allowances, or in any other way, to the European civil and military servants of the Indian Government for the loss of 40 per cent. of their salaries, owing to the fall in the exchange?

Sir Charles W. Dilke

***MR. G. RUSSELL** : The Indian Government and the Secretary of State are considering the case of the officers referred to. The official rate of exchange has been fixed at 1s. 2½d., but it is possible that this may be recalculated. The whole question as to the effect on salaries of the fall in the gold value of the rupee has been brought by the Government of India before the Secretary of State in Council, and is now under his consideration.

THE BODYKE SEIZURES.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.) : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the proceedings at Bodyke, County Clare, where a force of 70 armed police were recently engaged in seizing the cattle of some tenants who alleged that they were unable to pay their rents in full; and whether, as the tenants in the neighbourhood of Bodyke are unable to pay the judicial rents, the Government will take some steps to have those rents revised, so as to prevent evictions and disturbance in the district?

MR. J. MORLEY : The constabulary report that it is a fact that a force of 75 police was engaged on the 11th ult. not in seizing cattle, but in protecting the Sheriff on his requisition when doing so, on the estate of Colonel O'Callaghan at Bodyke. The proceedings were taken on writs of *fi. fa.* and County Court decrees for rent, and it is true that the tenants on the estate allege that they are unable to pay their rents in full. The Government are not prepared, as at present advised, to take steps to have the judicial rents in the district revised.

MR. W. REDMOND : I wish to ask whether the right hon. Gentleman's answer means that the Government will do nothing with regard to judicial rents during this Session?

MR. J. MORLEY : No, Sir; I do not mean more than I have said. I mean that a question of such gravity and importance will receive my attention.

CARDIFF SAVINGS BANK.

MR. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.) : I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he can state to the House what has been done in connection with the liquidation of the Cardiff

Savings Bank, the amount that has been recovered from the trustees and managers, and the amount of dividend paid to the poor depositors; whether he can state to the House the total cost of the liquidation up to date, inclusive of legal charges, costs, and expenses; and whether he can give any indication as to when the final dividend will be paid, and the affairs be finally wound up?

***THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EX-CHEQUER** (Sir W. HARCOURT, Derby) : The Treasury have been informed by the Official Liquidator that he hopes shortly to be in a position to ask the Court to authorise the payment of some dividend, but he is not at present in a position to state the amount of that dividend. He will be asked if he will furnish an account of the cost of the winding-up to the present time. The hon. Member can obtain such information as he may require from the Official Liquidator, who acts under the direction of the Court and not of the Government.

TRUSTEE SAVINGS BANK ACT, 1891.

MR. HOWELL : I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he can inform the House as to the names of the persons appointed by the Committee under "The Trustee Savings Bank Act, 1891," the amount of remuneration in each case, and by whom the nominations were made; whether he can state to the House the nature of the work that has been, and is being, performed by the persons appointed; and whether a Report will be laid upon the Table of the House as to the visitations made and the work performed?

***THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EX-CHEQUER** : A complete Report of the proceedings of the Savings Banks Inspection Committee has just been rendered to the National Debt Commissioners, and is about to be laid upon the Table of the House. The Report deals fully with the various points referred to by the hon. Member, and he may probably be willing, therefore, to await its production in order to obtain the information he desires.

REPORT ON TRADE UNIONS.

MR. HOWELL : I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware that the Report on Trade Unions for 1891, by the Labour Corre-

spoudent to the Board of Trade, is not yet published; whether he can give to the House any information as to the date when that Report will be issued; and whether it is the intention of the Department to delay the issue until the Reports for 1892 are complete, so as to issue a double volume as on the last occasion?

MR. MUNDELLA: The Report on Trade Unions for 1891 by the Labour Correspondent to the Board of Trade is now in the press, and will be circulated as a separate volume. The hon. Member may not be aware that the Return cannot be ready until long after the year to which it relates, as only a limited number of Trade Unions make Returns direct to the Board of Trade, in consequence of which some Returns did not in the present instance reach the Department until November, 1892.

STATISTICAL ABSTRACT FOR THE COLONIES.

MR. HOWELL: I beg to ask the Parliamentary Secretary to the Colonial Office whether he is aware that the Statistical Abstract for the several Colonial and other Possessions for 1891 was not issued until 5th January of the present year; and whether it is not possible to present the Returns in that Abstract at an earlier date in each year to the House?

MR. MUNDELLA: I will answer the question. The Statistical Abstract for the Colonies was issued on December 19 and was on sale on December 21. The Abstract was later last year than usual because of the late arrivals of the Returns from a few of the Colonies. The particulars for Tobago had to be printed as an Appendix to the Return.

POOR LAW RELIEF.

MR. HOWELL: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he will introduce a Bill to consolidate the law relating to Poor Law relief and cognate subjects; and, if not, whether the Local Government Board will present to this House a digest of the laws relating to the relief of the poor?

* **MR. H. H. FOWLER:** Looking to the present engagements of the Government, I cannot hold out any expectations

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that I can bring in a Bill for the consolidation of the law relating to Poor Law relief, and I fear that I cannot undertake to present to the House a digest of the laws as suggested.

THE CONVEYANCE OF LIVE STOCK BY RAIL.

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether the Railway Department of the Board of Trade has the power, and, if so, will it exercise the power, to require railway companies to convey live stock at a reasonable minimum speed per hour, so as to obviate unnecessary and frequently cruel detention of animals in transit and delivery?

MR. MUNDELLA: There is no power vested in the Board of Trade to compel railway companies to adopt a minimum speed for any species of traffic; but if any case of cruelty to animals arising from detention is brought to my notice I will inquire into it.

MR. FIELD: Will the right hon. Gentleman interfere officially if it is proved to him that, as a matter of fact, cattle had been detained 30 hours over a journey that could have been performed in half the time.

MR. MUNDELLA: If the hon. Gentleman will give me specific cases I will inquire into them.

FALSE TRADE MARKS IN GERMANY.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY (Sheffield, Hallam): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether any new law for repressing the false marking of merchandise, or applying of false trade descriptions to goods, has come into existence in the German Empire, or in the Kingdom of Prussia, since last Session; and, if not, whether any proposal for the enactment of such a law is now under discussion in the German Legislature; and whether he will lay upon the Table a Copy of such proposal or new law?

MR. MUNDELLA: Yes, Sir; such a Bill is before the German Legislature, and a copy of Sir Edward Malet's despatch, and of a translation of the Bill, will be laid on the Table by my hon. Friend the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

HAULBOWLINE DOCKYARD.

CAPTAIN DONELAN (Cork, E.) : I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if the repairs required by *H.M.S. Banterer*, now docked at Haulbowline, will be executed there ; and whether the necessary fittings will be locally obtained ?

SIR U. KAY-SHUTTLEWORTH : Yes, Sir ; the hon. and gallant Gentleman has correctly stated the intentions of the Board of Admiralty.

CAPTAIN DONELAN : May I ask whether any appliances exist at present at Haulbowline for the execution of ordinary repairs to Her Majesty's ships ?

SIR U. KAY-SHUTTLEWORTH : The appliances are limited to ordinary repairs, and are not suitable for extensive repairs.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.) : Is it the intention of the Admiralty to add to the arrangements at Haulbowline.

SIR U. KAY-SHUTTLEWORTH : No, Sir.

THE SCOTCH SUSPENSORY BILL.

MR. HOZIER (Lanarkshire, S.) : I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland whether the Government propose to pass a Suspensory Bill for the Church of Scotland without any further reference to the wishes of the people of Scotland ?

SIR G. TREVELYAN : On the question of the Church of Scotland, as on all other matters which concern Scotland, the Government expect to ascertain the wishes of the Scottish people from the representatives of Scotland in Parliament.

TOOTING COMMON.

MR. KIMBER (Wandsworth) : I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he is aware that Tooting Common, in the borough of Wandsworth, the dedication of which to purposes of public health and recreation of the metropolis has been effected by the liberal use of public and other moneys has been selected by the Asylums Board as the locality for a fever hospital, and that considerable excitement in the district has been thereby created ; if so, whether such selection has his approval ; and whether

he is willing to receive and consider reasons on the part of the inhabitants ?

*MR. H. H. FOWLER : The managers of the Metropolitan Asylum District have within the last few days submitted to the Local Government Board a proposal to acquire about 22 acres of land at Tooting for the purpose of an asylum for fever patients. I am aware that in the locality there is great opposition to this proposal. The representations which have been submitted to me on the subject will receive most careful consideration, and, before arriving at a decision in the matter, I will direct a public local inquiry, when those interested will have full opportunity of being heard on the subject.

FERROL HARBOUR.

MR. GOURLEY (Sunderland) : I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether all the charts of Ferrol Harbour in use on board the vessels comprising the Channel Squadron, at the time of the stranding of *H.M.S. Howe*, were British or Spanish ; if British, were they those of the re-survey by the Hydrographical Department of 1873, if so, will he state the means adopted for the re-survey of the Harbour, together with the name of the ship employed, and by whom commanded ; and will he also inform the House whether the Spanish authorities were communicated with at the time of the re-survey, and say if soundings were made of the entire Harbour and its various channels from the sea inwards ?

SIR U. KAY-SHUTTLEWORTH : All the charts of Ferrol in use on board *H.M.'s* ships are British reproductions of Spanish charts. No re-survey of Ferrol, or of any part of it, was made in 1873 by officers of the Hydrographical Department, or by any other British officers. What was done in 1873 was to make certain corrections to the chart of Ferrol, founded on information furnished by the Spanish Government.

THE STRANDING OF *H.M.S. "HOWE."*

MR. GOURLEY : I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if he can inform the House the nature and extent of the damage sustained by *H.M.S. Howe*, stranded in Ferrol Harbour, and the measures adopted by the Admiralty for the purpose of saving the vessel, guns,

and stores; and whether there is any probability of the vessel being floated in a repairable condition; and, if so, when?

SIR U. KAY-SHUTTLEWORTH: Although it is too early to make any statement to the House of the nature and extent of the damage to the *Howe*, I may inform my hon. Friend that the more serious injuries appear to be limited to the spaces under the engine and boiler-rooms. The damage on the port side is more extensive than on the starboard. Measures were promptly and successfully taken for removing all the six-inch and lighter guns and the accessible stores and coal. For the salvage of the ship an agreement was entered into with the Neptune Salvage Company. They have recently made some preliminary trials of the arrangements for pumping out the ship. These trials seem to show that it will be possible to free her from water when the sheathing of certain portions of the bottom is completed. There is much reason to hope that the *Howe* will be floated during the present month in a condition which will make it possible to effect repairs in the dock at Ferrol, courteously placed at our service by the Spanish Government. Perhaps my hon. Friend will put a further question a little later in the month, when I hope to be able to give him more information.

SOUTH MEATH ELECTION PETITION.

MR. MACARTNEY (Antrim, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will lay on the Table of the House a copy of the shorthand writer's report of the judgment, together with the evidence of evidence taken on the trial of the Election Petition for the Division of the County of Meath.

MR. J. MORLEY: I beg to inform the hon. Member that, according to custom, a general report has been prepared for the presentation to the House of the shorthand writer's report of the judgment and the judgment of the Judge out of the trial of the Election Petition which have occurred in the last Election.

Mr. Gourley

THE RELEASE OF EGAN.

SIR H. K. HOWORTH (Salford, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant has James Egan been released on licence; if so, was the licence granted on any and what special conditions; and have such conditions been presented, in conformity with the requirements of the Statutes, to this House?

MR. ASQUITH: Egan was released under the ordinary order of licence in the form prescribed in Schedule A of the Penal Servitude Act, 1864. There being no special conditions attached to the licence, there is no necessity to lay it before the House.

THE BRUSSELS CONFERENCE.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR (Manchester, E.): I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer when the *procès-verbal* of the Brussels Conference will be laid upon the Table of the House, and whether he will at the same time lay the instructions given to the British Delegates? I will also ask when the Commission appointed to examine the question of Indian currency is likely to report?

* **SIR W. HARCOURT:** I am afraid I must ask for notice of the latter question. As to the former, a translation of the *procès-verbal* has been prepared, and is now in the hands of the printers. I hope to be able to lay it, together with the Report of the delegates, on the Table of the House next week. The instructions given to the British Delegates will be laid at the same time.

FOOT-AND-

DISEASE ON THE CONTINENT.

MR. DAVID (Deptford): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Agriculture in regard to the districts of the Continent where foot-and-mouth disease has been reported, and whether any measures are being prepared for its prevention in force in the United Kingdom.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE: I beg to inform the hon. Member that the Board of Agriculture has been instructed to send a representative to the Brussels Conference, and that the Board is now preparing a report on the subject of the disease, and that the Board is now preparing a report on the subject of the disease, and that the Board is now preparing a report on the subject of the disease.

case, the law leaves me no alternative but to maintain in force the orders to which the hon. Member refers.

MR. DARLING : I beg also to ask the President of the Board of Agriculture whether he will propose, or support, a Bill giving the Board of Agriculture power to allow foreign animals to be landed in England and slaughtered at the place of landing, in cases where by the existing law that Board now holds itself bound absolutely to prohibit the import of foreign animals?

MR. GARDNER : The law as it now stands is based on the well-established fact that the slaughter of animals at the place of landing affords no adequate security against the introduction of a disease of so highly infectious a character as foot-and-mouth disease. This being the case, I could not undertake to propose or support a Bill to the effect suggested in the question.

LIVE STOCK ON RAILWAYS.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.) : I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade if the charges for the conveyance by rail of cattle, sheep, and pigs from railway stations other than those situated at towns of import, have been on the whole cheapened or increased by late regulations?

MR. MUNDELLA : I must remind the hon. Member that what was done by the Acts confirming the Provisional Orders was to fix maximum charges and not actual charges. At present, the actual rates to be charged by the railway companies are under the consideration of the general managers, and it is not possible for me to say generally whether the inland rates for the conveyance of live stock are or are not less than they were. In the interests of the railway companies, as well as the traders, I sincerely trust that there will be an ultimate reduction.

SEIZURES BY RUSSIAN VESSELS IN BEHRING SEA.

GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn)
to ask the Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs whether information respecting the seizure by the Russian and the Russian steam-ship and August last, of vessels on the high seas

in the Behring Sea, and the alleged captivity, robbery, and ill-treatment of their crews?

*** SIR E. GREY :** Information has reached Her Majesty's Government of the seizures referred to in the hon. Member's question, and of the treatment to which the crews of the vessels affirm that they have been subjected. Her Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburg was at once instructed to bring the matter to the notice of the Russian Government, and to ask for investigation and redress, if the complaints should prove to be well-founded. The Russian Government have promised that the cases shall be inquired into. They state that the proper authorities have been called upon for detailed information, but that some time must elapse before an answer can be received.

THE LOSS OF THE "THRACIAN."

MR. GIBSON BOWLES : I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade why no Board of Trade inquiry has been held into the circumstances attending the loss, last summer, of the sailing vessel *Thracian*, which, while being towed in ballast, capsized near the Isle of Man, and was totally lost with all hands, in consequence of being underloaded; and whether, in view of the frequent loss of vessels which blow ashore or blow over when lightly laden, he proposes to introduce any measure to prohibit or deal with the dangerous underloading of ships?

MR. MUNDELLA : An official inquiry was ordered in the case of the *Thracian*, but it was subsequently abandoned, because, in the absence of the vessel and of all hands, it was impossible to obtain complete and satisfactory evidence. The particulars furnished by the builders tended to show that the vessel had sufficient stability as laden. The information in the possession of the Board does not warrant them in believing that vessels are frequently lost from being underladen.

THE "HOWE" COURT-MARTIAL.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES : I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether he has any objection to lay upon the Table a copy of the minutes of the proceedings of the two *Howe* Courts-martial, accompanied by a copy

of the Chart of Ferrol, No. 80; and whether he has any reason to believe that the blowing out of rocks inside the *Howe* by dynamite, which has been proceeding for three months, is attended by any danger of blowing the ship to pieces?

SIR U. KAY-SHUTTLEWORTH: There will be no objection to laying upon the Table a copy of the minutes of the two Courts-martial upon the stranding of the *Howe*, and certain other papers, if the hon. Member will move for them. Perhaps he will kindly confer with me as to the words of the Motion. The information received by the Admiralty satisfies them that the experts in charge of the salvage operations are exposing the ship to no danger, such as the hon. Member's question suggests, of blowing the ship to pieces. The charges of dynamite used are very small.

THE PAMIRS.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he has any information respecting the armed occupation on 24th July last, by Russian troops of Somatash, on the Alichur Pamir, and of the attack then made by these troops upon the Afghan post occupying that place, in which fifteen Afghans were killed, and the rest taken prisoners by the Russians; and whether any Convention exists between Great Britain and Russia to settle the sovereignty over those parts of the Pamirs claimed by Afghanistan or by China?

SIR E. GREY: Her Majesty's Government have information that a collision took place between Afghan and Russian troops in the vicinity of Somatash, but they have no reliable details as to which party provoked the conflict or as to the number of killed and wounded on either side. The arrangements made with Russia in 1872-73 with regard to Afghanistan were laid before Parliament in 1873. No subsequent agreement has yet been arrived at with Russia in regard to the districts in question. But the subject is at the present moment under discussion between the two Governments.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: Does not a Convention exist settling the sovereignty?

SIR E. GREY: No Convention exists except that laid before Parliament in

Mr. Gibson Bowles

1873, and the exact limits and scope of that Convention constitute one of the points under discussion between the two Governments.

STRANORLAR AND GLENTIES RAILWAY.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he has any objection to lay upon the Table a copy of the contract between the Irish Board of Works and the Contractors for the Stranorlar and Glenties Railway?

MR. J. MORLEY: That is a question for the Treasury, and I will ask the hon. Member to put it down for Monday.

JUDICIAL RENTS IN IRELAND.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he proposes to introduce a Bill for the temporary adjustment of judicial rents in Ireland; and, if not, whether he will endeavour to facilitate the passing of such a Bill if introduced by a Private Member?

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): At the same time I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that a large body of opinion in Ireland, including that of the Conservative classes in Ulster, is favourable to the re-enactment of a clause similar in principal to that passed by the late Government in 1887, providing for the revision of judicial rents in consequence of the great fall in prices; and whether, if he found that a Bill to make provision for such revision would have the general assent of all parties from Ireland, the Government would give the matter favourable consideration?

MR. J. MORLEY: With regard to the questions the Irish Government, as I have said, are not prepared to introduce a Bill with this object, and I cannot undertake to say that the Government would support such a Bill.

MR. W. REDMOND (Clare, E.): Is the matter under the consideration of the Government?

MR. J. MORLEY: I am considering all the circumstances which might influence the Government in this matter, but I am not prepared to bring in a Bill or to support a Bill on the subject.

MR. W. REDMOND : Am I to understand that nothing is to be done in the present Session to interfere with judicial rents in Ireland ?

MR. T. M. HEALY : May I ask whether, if such a Bill is backed by Members of all parties from Ireland, by Ulster Conservative Members as well as by National Members showing a general consensus of opinion in favour of such a clause as was introduced by the late Government, and if there are indications that such a Bill will not meet with serious opposition, the Government will be prepared to support it.

MR. J. MORLEY : Undoubtedly if a Bill were presented under such circumstances it would receive our most careful attention.

MR. W. REDMOND : Might I ask whether the right hon. Gentleman is aware that in many parts of Ireland, and more particularly in portions of Clare county, there is a widespread apprehension that, if something is not done to relieve the tenants from the full judicial rents which were fixed years ago when the prices were higher, there may arise disturbances of a serious character following upon evictions.

MR. J. MORLEY : I am well aware that there exists in Ireland a considerable movement of opinion in that direction. The matter is receiving my attention.

MR. A. O'CONNOR : If a Bill of the description referred to in the last part of the question of the hon. and learned Member for North Louth (Mr. T. M. Healy) is brought in, will the Government feel themselves constrained to oppose it.

MR. J. MORLEY : I cannot say that I should be constrained to oppose a Bill until I have seen it and have acquainted myself with its provisions.

SILK IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.

MR. BROMLEY - DAVENPORT (Cheshire, Macclesfield) : I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether in the Monthly Returns and other publications of the Board of Trade, thrown silk is, when imported, classified as raw material, and, when exported, as a manufactured article ; and whether there is any reason for such classification ?

MR. MUNDELLA : Thrown silk is not classed as a manufactured article in the exports given in the monthly accounts, nor so far as I know in any other publication of the Board of Trade. In the Import Account, page 37, of the December Accounts it is shown under "Raw Materials for Textile Industries," and in the Export Account at page 73 under "Yarns and Textile Fabrics," and in the Summary under "Articles Manufactured and partly Manufactured."

BUILDING SOCIETY LEGISLATION.

MR. J. E. ELLIS (Nottingham, Rushcliffe) : I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether, in view of recent occurrences, the Government are prepared to introduce a Bill dealing with Building Societies ?

MR. ASQUITH : I hope shortly to be able to introduce a Bill on the subject referred to by my hon. Friend.

THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

SIR ELLIS ASHMEAD-BARTLETT (Sheffield, Eccleshall) : I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he can give the House any information regarding the recent revolution in the Sandwich Islands ; and whether any of Her Majesty's men-of-war have been sent there to protect British interests ?

***SIR E. GREY :** The information received by Her Majesty's Government corresponds with that which has appeared in the newspapers as regards events in Honolulu. As at present advised, Her Majesty's Government have no intention of sending ships of war to Honolulu, as they consider that the lives and property of British subjects are safe under American protection. But it is possible that a vessel on its way from Acapulco to Esquimaux may touch there in the usual course. I may add that there was no foundation whatever for the statement that Her Majesty's Government had made a protest of any kind at Washington.

PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS.

MR. HENRY HOBHOUSE (Somerset, E.) : I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he will consider whether some better arrangements can be made for balloting for private Members' Bills, whereby the time of this House may be

saved, and the Debate on Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech may be commenced at an earlier and more suitable hour.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: Before the question is answered I will ask whether he is aware that in the Marquess of Hartington's Committee of 1886 a Resolution was carried recommending a change in the direction indicated by the hon. Member's question?

*Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE: Any inconvenience which has been felt in connection with this subject undoubtedly reached a very high point indeed when we met on Tuesday. I have been in communication with the Authorities of the House in regard to the matter, and I have every hope from the information they have given me that it will be found possible to devise a plan by which, as far as regards balloting for Bills, the House may be relieved from that inconvenience.

THE POET LAUREATESHIP.

Mr. JOHNSTON (Belfast, S.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether it is intended to appoint a Poet Laureate, in succession to the late Lord Tennyson; and whether he has made any recommendation to Her Majesty as to this appointment?

*Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE: In answer to this question I may say that no recommendation has been submitted to Her Majesty upon the subject of the succession to the office of Poet Laureate, and that there is no immediate intention of submitting such a recommendation.

PARLIAMENTARY REPORTING.

Mr. MORTON (Peterborough): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he intends to move for the re-appointment of the Committee on Parliamentary Reporting?

*Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE: The matter is one for the consideration of my right hon. Friend the Financial Secretary to the Treasury rather than myself. I can, however, say that there is no urgent necessity to come to any decision with regard to the subject, inasmuch as a temporary arrangement has been made by the Treasury, which will endure during the present Session, for the purpose, if possible, of maintaining the regular series of reports of the proceedings of Parliament.

Mr. Henry Hobhouse

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

MOTION FOR ADDRESS. ADJOURNED DEBATE.

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [31st January], "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, as followeth:—

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled, beg leave to thank Your Majesty for the Most Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Mr. Lambert.*)

Question again proposed.

Debate resumed.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON (Armagh, N.): In common, I am sure, with the majority of both sides of the House, I listened with pleasure to the speeches of the Mover and the Seconder of the Address. I thought that they were discreet speeches, and that the speakers had discharged their difficult duties in a very able manner. Both hon. Gentlemen had showed their discretion in avoiding any comparison between the policy pursued by Her Majesty's Government and that which was followed by the Government that preceded it, and for this reason, that they must have remembered that the attack which terminated the life of the late Government in August last was an attack upon their posts, and not upon their policy. No attempt was made, in the very able speech of the present Home Secretary in the last Session, to show that the policy of the late Government had been wrong; all he did was to point out that the time had arrived when the Government should disappear and he and his friends should occupy the posts of the Ministers then in power. Since that time six months has elapsed and I am sure that I, in common with the House at large, am satisfied to hear that on the whole the policy of the present Government has been successful both at home and abroad. But I venture to maintain that if that policy has been successful it is only because the present Government has been putting in force

the legislation of their predecessors and has been walking in their footsteps, especially as regarded foreign affairs. In order to illustrate this I may cite the case of Egypt. During the last few years the supporters of the present Government constantly denounced the Unionist party for what they were pleased to call their "Jingo" policy, but directly the present Government find themselves in the responsible position of holding office, instead of abandoning Egypt they are absolutely re-inforcing the troops of the Crown in that country, and they had especially announced that no change of policy with regard to that country is contemplated, in that they intend to follow exactly the policy pursued by their predecessors. As long as Her Majesty's Government pursue a policy which conduces to prosperity and peace, whether in Great Britain or Ireland, they would receive the support of both sides of that House. The only occasion on which, as far as I know, Her Majesty's Government has shown any weakness, or has met with any want of success, has been exactly when they have deviated from the policy of their predecessors. And that has occurred with regard to the country from which I come—a country which has always been peculiar in its power of leading Englishmen and Scotchman astray. When the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle came over to Ireland as Chief Secretary I can assure him that I looked with great interest for some indication of the course of policy he intended to pursue. I made every allowance for him, and I believe that every fair-minded man ought to make allowance for the unfortunate position in which he is placed, because I cannot conceive any situation more unpleasant than for a gentleman of the right hon. Gentleman's peculiar cast of mind, who has expressed his opinions so clearly, to find himself placed under the tutelage, the government, and the guidance of the Roman Catholic hierarchy. On the whole the right hon. Gentleman deserves a considerable amount of credit for not doing more harm than he has done. Of course I know, and we all know, in Ireland that my right hon. Friend was bound from his peculiar position to adopt a policy different from that which had obtained under the late Government. He was bound, as far as he could, to do away with the Crimes Act, or with

that part of the Crimes Act which was in force when he came into Office, and, so far as I can make out, the only part of the population of Ireland which could have been relieved by doing away with these provisions of the Crimes Act was the criminal population. The change of venue and the power of taking evidence in secret could not hurt any law-abiding man. That was the first indication we got of how the wind was about to blow. The second indication occurred when instructions were issued to the County Inspectors giving the conditions under which police protection would be allowed to Sheriffs, and stating that in no case could such protection be granted except during daylight. Well, Sir, that letter was addressed to the Sheriff of the County of Clare, which we describe in Ireland as an extremely lively county. Crime has existed in Clare for, I am sorry to say, a good many years, and since October very serious outrages have been committed there. Therefore, as I pointed out in a letter to the Press at the time, to tell the people of Clare—and particularly that part of the population which looks upon the shooting of a Sheriff as the natural sport of the county—that no protection was to be granted to a Sheriff except during daylight was undoubtedly, to my mind, an encouragement to the evil-disposed to resist the law. I entirely acquit my right hon. Friend of any sinister intention. I have not the slightest doubt that the shooting of a Sheriff is just as objectionable to him as it is to me; but what I ask the public to consider is the effect that circular would have upon the evil-disposed people of the county. My right hon. Friend, after he had read my letter and the leading article on the subject in *The Times*, appeared to be stirred—I will not say to wrath—but certainly to an amount of perturbation of spirit, and he wrote a letter, in which he used the following expressions:—

"Colonel Saunderson is shocked by the action of the County Inspector in saying that he would be unable to afford protection except in daylight. If this rule were as wrong and foolish, as it is assuredly right and true, in neither case am I responsible. The regulation as it stands, and as it long stood, on the Code prohibits the constabulary from leaving their quarters to give protection or assistance to civil officers before 6 p.m. in summer or 8 a.m. in winter, or to be present at executions of any

writ, decree, or order after sunset in any season of the year."

The Chief Secretary then adds—

"If the rule against such folly did not exist, it would have been my duty to invent it ;"

and he goes on to say—

"Colonel Saunderson's discovery is a mare's nest."

The Radical papers were delighted, and they said my right hon. Friend had flattered me out, and that *The Times* might hide its diminished head. Well, I do not accept the view of the law expressed by my right hon. Friend. I am happy to inform my right hon. Friend that the mare's nest in which I have been sitting for these six months is occupied at the present moment by the Judges of the Queen's Bench in Ireland. A most remarkable thing has happened to test the legality of the refusal to afford protection to the Sheriff. The Attorney General for Ireland issued a writ of *fieri facias* to recover from a man in Clare, or in Kerry, I think, a drainage charge. The man refused to pay, as is a habit in that part of the country ; and the Sheriff, in order to have some chance of recovering value for the debt, asked for police protection, which was refused ; and the Sheriff, to test the legality of the refusal, issued a writ of attachment against the Inspector. The case has now been tried by the Court of Queen's Bench in Dublin, and this is the decision which the Court has arrived at—

"The Queen's Bench gives unanimous judgment in favour of granting attachment against the County Inspector, but under the circumstances directed it not to issue ; Inspector to pay Sheriff's costs of application. The Court declared that for the first time in our history has anticipated resistance to the law been offered as a reason for suspension of the law, and that the Court could not permit the Executive to substitute their own will for the law."

The curious part of the matter is this : that whereas the writ upon which this action took place was issued by the Attorney General, the Attorney General for Ireland appeared before the Court to oppose the writ of attachment which was asked to be issued against the County Inspector. I think, Sir, Ireland is the only country on the face of this earth where such curious circumstances could happen. In the letter I wrote to *The Times* I warned the right hon. Gentleman of the danger of dealing in a shilly-

Colonel Saunderson

shally manner with the people of Clare. What is the result ? I hold in my hand a report of a meeting summoned by the Lord Lieutenant of the County of Clare, and attended by the magistrates, the result of which has been furnished to the right hon. Gentleman. The meeting pointed out that in October Michael Hogan's house was fired into, that a short time after the tails of his cattle were cut off, that soon after Mr. Thomas Crowe was fired at and his coachman seriously injured, that then Miss Browne's residence was entered by masked men, who fired shots, causing her great terror ; then parties were fired at near Bodyke, and a carter was fired at ; and what was the crime he committed ? Because he was carrying goods to the police engaged in protection duty. And so a resolution was passed by the meeting appealing to the Government in the following terms :—

"That we view with regret the recent return of lawlessness which has shown itself during the last few months in this county ; that we call on the Government to take such steps as may be needed, either by the revival of the several powers conferred on them by Parliament, or by future legislation if necessary, to put down what is a disgrace to any civilised country."

I can only say, in concluding this part of my speech, that I would recommend my right hon. Friend to take care that he is very sure about his law before he permits announcements of this kind to be made again to County Inspectors, otherwise he will himself be open to a writ of attachment, and perhaps he may find himself for a time incarcerated in one of those retreats to which his colleague, the Prime Minister, used to put hon. Members from Ireland below the Gangway. I look at these circumstances in Clare as an interesting indication of the general line of policy we may expect in Ireland. The next indication was the Evicted Tenants' Commission, of which I wish to say a word. Now, Sir, I am speaking in the name of the Irish landlords when I say that when we heard that a Commission was issued to examine the whole question of evictions it gave us unbounded satisfaction. It all depended on the character of the Commission, and on the procedure of the Commission. If it was a fairly-constituted Commission, if it consented to take evidence in a fair and straightforward manner, I say it would receive the absolute approval and

support of the Irish landlords. My right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland, in a speech he made at Newcastle, said that for the hundredth—for the thousandth time—the Irish landlords had allowed themselves to be made a cat's paw of an English Political Party, and had refused a settlement of this question bristling with difficulties. Well, Sir, were the Irish landlords right, or were they wrong, in refusing to lay their case before this Commission? First of all, what is the meaning of the Commission? It was a Commission to investigate the question of the evicted tenants. What is an evicted tenant? That appears to be a childish question. What we mean by an evicted tenant under the ordinary acceptance of the word, is a man turned out of his holding for non-payment of rent, but that definition is one that did not satisfy this Commission. The ordinary tenant in Ireland, who is evicted for non-payment of rent, is not a man who has much interest to hon. Gentlemen opposite. But the evicted tenants who were to be examined by this Commission were the tenants evicted under the Plan of Campaign, and, therefore, for an evicted tenant to excite the interest of this Commission, he should be able to prove that it was under the authority and at the dictation of the hon. Member for Mayo and the hon. Member for Cork that he found himself evicted on the roadside. The first thing was—who was to be the President of the Commission? I suppose the object was to get a President in thorough harmony with the National League, under whose auspices these evictions took place. Now, Sir, we in Ireland know something about Mr. Justice Mathew. We had nothing to say against Mr. Justice Mathew as an English Judge; I have no doubt that he exercised his functions in this country fairly and honestly. But he is a gentleman with very strong opinions, and if he is not a Land Leaguer himself—at least, I do not know that he is—but I know he is the very next thing to it. Mr. Justice Mathew was living in Ireland in the year 1887. At this time the Land League was proclaimed, and it was a criminal offence to belong to it. But I find in the *Freeman's Journal* of August 31st, 1887—I forget on which side the *Freeman* was at this time—a report of the proceedings at the usual fortnightly meeting of the

National League held in Dublin on the previous day by way of defying the Government. The hon. Member for Cork (Mr. William O'Brien) opened his speech by saying that the meeting was held under the ban of the law—a position which the hon. Member for Cork has always been foremost in taking up, but I suppose it is an honorable position from his point of view. But the remarkable thing about this meeting is that Mr. Justice Mathew's son, and Mr. Justice Mathew's son's tutor, joined the Land League. [*Cries of "Oh!"*] Yes, Sir, it is necessary that this should be mentioned. They left the house of the Judge, who was living at the time in Dublin, and joined the Land League in defiance of the law. Well, that did not exactly predispose us to look at Mr. Justice Mathew as a favourable Judge in a case of fair play with the Irish landlords. However, he was chosen as the President of the Commission, and we read in the *Freeman's Journal* from day to day that Mr. Justice Mathew had been over an hour or more in conference with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle. Whether that was a course which was wise policy or not, it is not for me to say; but I conclude that at this conference it was arranged what the procedure should be when the Commission assembled, who were to be examined, and how the examination was to be carried out. The Commission assembled, and I think the House will admit that the course they pursued at its opening was most remarkable. I should say it was important for the Commission to make a good start, to begin well at its initial meeting, in order to give confidence to the public of fair play. Well, we had the Judge's speech; it was a very eloquent and able speech for the President of the Commission—it was the most wonderful and remarkable speech ever delivered. Then the first witness was chosen. By whom was he chosen? I maintain he was chosen by the hon. Member for Mayo or the hon. Member for Cork. The name of this witness—the first witness mind you—was John Roche. Now, John Roche is a man whose public career has been of an interesting and exciting character. The first we know about John Roche was when he appeared before the Special Commission to inquire into the Parnellite

movement, and he admitted that he attended meetings at Woodford—the notorious place in Galway where so many murders took place. There was a man there who was nicknamed “Balaclava,” for he was one of the soldiers who took part in the charge. He happened to be a bailiff, and he came under the bann of the Land League, and this John Roche made a speech in which he said, “The landlords have their Balaclava, but in a day or two we will have our Fontenoy.” A day or two afterwards “Balaclava” was brutally murdered. This was the first start of Roche, as far as I know, of a public character. The next thing we find of this John Roche is that he stole a deer; he was fined and had to pay costs.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): Shakespeare.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON: After this John Roche was fined for trespass—I suppose in pursuit of game—for he appears to be a sporting character. Next, after this, he assaulted a policeman, to which he pleaded guilty, and got three weeks’ imprisonment. And to show you how unchanged he was as a sporting character, on August 16, 1890, he was fined again for trespass in pursuit of game. Now, if this Commission had been established to inquire into the Game Laws, I should say that this Mr. John Roche might have given very good evidence, but I cannot see how he could have been any use as a witness before a Commission supposed to be established to learn the truth in a great agrarian subject. And this is the Commission which my right hon. Friend the Member for Newcastle wonders the landlords for Ireland have not consented to accept and abide by its decision. Sir, there was a mistake in the name of the Commission. Instead of being called the “Evicted Tenants Commission,” it should have been called “the Members for Mayo and Cork Relief Commission.” Why was this Commission appointed? Because these hon. Members had got themselves into a terrible fix, and something had to be done to relieve them, they being the chief supporters of the right hon. Gentleman, the Member for Midlothian. Talk of evictors! The Irish landlords are called evictors. Will any hon. Gentleman below the Gangway point to an instance in the whole history of Ireland

where any landlord has made himself guilty of the thousands of evictions which lie at the doors of the hon. Members for Mayo and the hon. Member for Cork? These tenants had to leave their farms, not because they could not pay the rent, or because they did not want to pay the rent, but because, as the hon. Member for Mayo said in his speech—they were told not to pay the rent. And why were they told not to pay the rent? Because by being evicted, it would make it difficult for the Government to maintain law and order in Ireland. Moreover, they were to act the part of “call ducks” in a pond. Those miserable tenants were turned out of their houses on to the roadside, or placed in miserable huts, in order that their cries of distress might appeal to the Radical Party in England and get votes on that side. But now when the demand made by these tenants for help and food find no echo in the depleted or empty chests of the Plan of Campaign, the Member for Mayo and the Member for Cork find themselves in a very difficult and tight position, and something had to be done, so instead of giving the evicted tenants money they gave them a Commission. The evicted tenants are now told that the men on whose advice they left the homes in which they and their forefathers had lived for years were now doing all they could to reinstate them again, but it is difficult for starving men to live on the Commission. I venture to say that the course the Commission pursued amply justified the view we, the Irish landlords, took of it when we refused to have anything more to say to it. The next case in which the policy of the Government varied, and varied most fatally, from the policy of the previous Government gone before was the case of the release of prisoners. I say nothing about the release of dynamiters, because I know nothing of the facts, for I have not read the evidence, and the men may be innocent or they may be guilty; but it is astonishing that, while the dynamiters were allowed to go free on ticket-of-leave, the Gweedore prisoners who pleaded guilty were sent out scot-free without a ticket-of-leave. What right had the Government to turn adrift in Ireland the atrocious ruffians who brutally murdered (and savagely) Inspector Martin? No crime struck me with more horror than that murder. This officer

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was, in the performance of his duty, trying to effect the arrest of a priest, who, after telling his flock that he could not be arrested without bloodshed, led an excited crowd down to his chapel, and then slammed the door in the face of the officer. This ruffian, McFadden—[cries of "Oh!" and "Withdraw!"] I will amend what I said, and say this murderous ruffian, McFadden—[cries of "Oh!" "Order!" and "Withdraw!"]

MR. DIAMOND (Monaghan, S.): I say, Sir, the expression of the hon. Gentleman is a ruffianly expression.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Gentleman has no right to make that interruption. The hon. Gentleman is out of order in doing so.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): Is the hon. and gallant Gentleman entitled to describe as a murderer a gentleman who has never been convicted or even tried for murder?

MR. SPEAKER: It is not a question of Order. The expression is one resting on the responsibility of the hon. and gallant Gentleman, and on the question of Order I cannot interfere. [Cries of "Withdraw!"]

COLONEL SAUNDERSON: I will not withdraw a single word. [Cries of "Withdraw!" and repeated cries of "Divide!"] I beg to say—"Divide, divide!"]

MR. SPEAKER: Order! order!

COLONEL SAUNDERSON: I beg to say I did not call him a murderer; I called him a murderous ruffian. I ask, why were those men set at liberty without a ticket-of-leave? [Loud cries of "Divide!"]

MR. SPEAKER: I must ask that the hon. and gallant Member be not interrupted in that way. It is not in my power to interfere with the expressions which have been used by the hon. and gallant Member in regard to a person outside the House; but I will say that those expressions are not, in my opinion, compatible with the orderly discussion of affairs in this House.

MR. DILLON: I beg to move that the hon. and gallant Gentleman be no longer heard, and I would call your attention, Sir, to the expression that he used as a correction of his previous expression when he accused a respected priest of our Church of being a murderous ruffian. These are words the hon.

Gentleman does not dare to repeat outside this House.

MR. SPEAKER: I cannot put the Motion; it is not a proper Motion. It is not in my power to put a Motion of that kind. I am sorry that the hon. and gallant Gentleman should seem to unnecessarily irritate the feelings of any Member of this House; and if he can in any way soften the expression which he used without impairing his argument or the charge he makes, I have no doubt the hon. and gallant Gentleman will consent to do so. I hope he will now say something of a conciliatory kind which will allay the storm which has arisen.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON: I have no desire to excite hostility in the hon. Gentleman behind me, but I cannot help taking my own view of circumstances that occurred at that time. I think the House will see, at any rate, one reason why Irish loyalists objects to Home Rule. I beg to move that the Debate be now adjourned.

*THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE, Edinburgh, Midlothian): I think we must all feel that, in the first place, we are indebted to you for the efforts you have made from the Chair; and, in the second place, that it is highly desirable for the honour of the House of Commons that this scene should as soon as possible change its character. I appeal to those with whom upon Irish matters I usually act to exercise all the patience they can. It is not the first time, probably, that in this House they and others have been called upon to exercise it. But having presumed to say that, I think I cannot but make a most earnest appeal to the hon. and gallant Gentleman himself. Surely I will not say in calmer moments, because that might imply that the hon. and gallant Member is not now calm—but surely, appealing to his judgment, he must feel that the use of the expression "murderous ruffian" with regard to a gentleman against whom, in the first place, nothing in the slightest degree of the character imputed has been proved, and with respect to whom it is well-known that he is held in warm and peculiar respect by his own parishioners and by other large bodies of men in Ireland—I think he must feel that the application of such a phrase against a gentleman who is entitled on the claim of previous life and

What we have said all along is the lesson which has been taught the British people by the elections which have taken place in Ireland. If the Roman Catholic priests in Ireland had chosen they could have powerfully added to the argument that ascendancy would not take place in Ireland after the granting of Home Rule. Had they abstained at the last elections from interference with the return of Members, then they might have said, "We have proved that we confine our efforts to those spiritual vocations which it is our duty to perform." But, on the contrary, in every election in Ireland, the foremost place was taken by the Roman Catholic priests; and what has been the result? Seventy-one Members of the House had been directly returned by the priests and under their influence. Who could doubt, who knew anything about Ireland, that had the priests abstained from interfering in the elections the party which follows the hon. Member for Waterford would have been at least three times as strong as it is at present? It might be said that the Roman Catholic priests will take warning by the result of the Meath petition. Nothing of the kind. The Roman Catholic priests have made a grab at power in Ireland which they never intend to relax. When Mr. Parnell fell after the divorce trial the priests in Ireland never raised a voice against him until the action of the right hon. Member for Midlothian was quickened by the action of the Nonconformists in this country; and the moment the priests saw that Mr. Parnell could no longer remain a great political power they sought to seize the reins which fell from his crime-stained hand. Did they rail against the immorality of their former Leader? On the contrary, after all that had taken place—after the scandal had been made public—Mr. Parnell was accepted by many of the priests, and he was especially accepted by the hon. Member for Louth (Mr. T. M. Healy) as his chosen leader and friend, as "the man at the wheel." But it was found by the Irish priests that it was impossible Mr. Parnell could go on and successfully lead his Party; and so they turned round and opposed him, and have ever since held him up to universal hatred and obloquy. The priests, however, have involuntarily taught a lesson to the House of Commons and to the

British people, which all our voices combined could never have taught. The priests have taught conclusively the lesson that they held a grip of the Irish people, and when the Government creates a Parliament and an Executive in Dublin they will create a Parliament and an Executive which will be the slaves of the Roman Catholic priesthood. I will take the hon. Member for Louth as an instance. It might have been thought that the lesson of the Meath Petition would have been that the priests would have thought twice before taking an active share again in political affairs. Not at all. Last Sunday the hon. Member for Louth, accompanied by 18 priests, stood on a platform to praise the gentlemen whom he hoped to see returned, and to say very uncivil things about his former friends. I always read with interest the speeches of those gentlemen, because they are those of hon. Members who aspired to conduct the affairs of Ireland. They have known each other for many years, and when they give vent to their views as to their varied qualifications and disqualifications they ought to know something about the matter. The hon. Member for Louth, speaking about a gentleman who, I imagine, aspires to a distinguished position in the Irish House of Commons, said—

"Jackasses of the Billy Redmond type, who hardly have as much sense as a hen, and who are about as fit to be trusted to argue the great constitutional cause of Ireland as a baby squalling in the arms of its nurse."

These are the men who aspire to govern Ireland. These are the men who a few years ago stood side by side in a solid phalanx. Why, then, did the hon. Member for Louth describe his Colleague in those uncomplimentary terms? The hon. Member must have known him all along. Personally, I express no opinion on the subject. I leave the hon. Member for Clare to settle it satisfactorily with the hon. Member for Louth; but those gentlemen pose before the country and the House of Commons as fit men to govern Ireland, and it is important to hear one of the many leaders of one Party thus describe one of the several leaders of the other Party. What, then, is the Loyalist position at the present moment? I maintain that the position of the Irish Loyalist Party

is a very satisfactory one. We are in a minority in the House; there is a majority against us of 39, but, if I may use the expression in a Parliamentary sense, it is a very shady majority. It is a majority composed of atoms which at any moment may be driven apart; it is a majority which, even at a word from the other side of St. George's Channel, may altogether fade away. What is the Loyalist position in front of this majority? We are, according to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Midlothian, a miserable minority which might be treated with contempt.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: That is not my expression.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON: Although the words may not be absolutely correct, they convey the view the right hon. Gentleman meant when he said we could be treated with indifference. We may be in the eyes of the right hon. Gentleman a miserable minority when we are taken simply as a number of Irishmen standing up for the law and the Crown; but the right hon. Gentleman cannot look upon the Loyalists as a miserable minority when he remembers that on our side stand the majority of the British people. As time goes on, and as the British people realise, as they must, that all the fears the Loyalists have expressed have been amply realised, and the results we prophesied in the past have become facts in the present, they will rally in the vast majority to the Loyalist side. The House has been told that this Home Rule Bill, which is to be placed on the Table, and which, I believe, many hon. Members opposite would like to place under the Table, is to contain a provision which will still keep Irish Members at Westminster. The right hon. Gentleman said that the wit of man could not devise a Bill which would satisfactorily satisfy those conditions. If, however, they are found in the Bill it will be a proof that wit has vanished, that it has followed political economy to Saturn. But I can not persuade myself of the fact that, viewing the condition of Ireland at the present moment, with all the contending factions who aspire to govern her kept from tearing each other to pieces by the police, it can be a satisfactory solution. Nobody of sane reason could conceive the idea of handing over Ireland to the supreme authority and domination of such

factions, for it can lead to nothing but hopeless social confusion and the destruction of my native country.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare East) said, he had not proposed to go at any length into the speech of the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh, but he rose in order to reply specifically to some of the allegations which the hon. and gallant Gentleman to the constituency which he (Mr. Redmond) had the honour to represent. He might first say that the reference of the hon. and gallant Member to a speech of the hon. Member for Louth (Mr. T. M. Healy) was palpably an attempt to create an unpleasant scene amongst Irish Members in the House, and while he (Mr. Redmond) was perfectly prepared to defend himself, either from the hon. Member for Louth, or from anybody else who attacked him, he knew the place in which to defend himself, and so far as he was concerned, he would do everything in his power to induce Irish Members to settle in Ireland any difficulties they may have in Ireland, and not on the floor of the House of Commons. The hon. and gallant Gentleman commenced his attack on the Government by drawing an extremely ghastly picture of the state of Clare. He (Mr. Redmond) thought that the completest proof that could be given of the satisfactory condition of Ireland on the whole at the present time was to be found in the fact that the hon. and gallant Gentleman, with all his desire to build up an accusation of crime in Ireland, and to make out that the country is as black as possible, was that he was only able to refer to the single county of Clare. If the condition of the country had been bad during the past six months, the hon. and gallant Gentleman would have referred to various parts of the country instead of confining himself to Clare, and that fact was the very best proof that could be advanced of the generally satisfactory state of Ireland during the past six months. The hon. and gallant Gentleman had found fault with the County Inspector of Clare in refusing to allow the police forces of the Crown to accompany bailiffs at night to make seizures of tenants' cattle. He would point out what exactly did take place. Some seizure had to be made in Clare for rent due which the people were not able to pay, and instead of going in

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the light of day and making the seizures, the bailiff preferred to go at the middle of the night, but the police inspector pointed out that a large armed force could not go on an expedition of a strictly warlike character in the middle of the night. He (Mr. Redmond) need not point out that an undertaking of that kind at night was much more dangerous to both parties than if it occurred in the day. As a matter of fact, it would be a dangerous thing to attempt to seize the cattle of these people in the dead of night, and when seizures did take place at night-time it created a great sensation. He had ventured to point out, upon representations he had received from both parties in Ireland, that if these cattle had to be seized, and the Government were obliged to send out police to seize them, it had better be done in the light of day, and not alarm the people by midnight expeditions. He thought the right hon. Member for Newcastle acted in a way that would commend itself to everyone in that House when he directed that such seizures should take place in the daytime. That was the plain and unvarnished explanation of the action of the Member for Newcastle in regard to the seizures in East Clare; and was it not a great deal better to have these armed expeditions in daylight instead of in the darkness of the night? The hon. and gallant Gentleman (Colonel Saunderson) had referred to certain crimes which had taken place in East Clare, where some shooting cases had occurred. But the hon. and gallant Gentleman should have pointed out that these cases were of a character more or less innocent. When he said that, he meant to convey that nobody was seriously injured, and beyond the report of the firearms nothing really serious took place. If there had been some disturbance of the general peace in County Clare during the last six months there had also been in that county a very serious movement on the part of the landlords. There was a district in Clare called Bodyke where the landlord had suddenly asked the people to pay a rent he had not expected or called upon them to pay for several years gone by. He had hitherto given them a large reduction on their judicial rents, but now the extraordinary demand was made that they should pay their rents in full. The people were not able to pay, their cattle

were seized, large forces of police were sent against them, and whilst he did not suppose in that House eviction expeditions would be looked upon as a justification for excitement and violence on the part of the people, still it should be pointed out that if there had been violence on the part of the people there had also unquestionably been a great deal of provocation given to them by the landlords. None of the cases to which the hon. and gallant Gentleman had referred had resulted in loss of life, whilst he believed they were all directly the result of the landlords proceeding against the people for rents which they could not pay, and he only hoped the Member for Newcastle would see his way in respect of this county to devise some mode of revising the judicial rents. The people would pay what it was possible for them to pay, but they could not pay the full judicial rents, and the Chief Secretary ought to consider whether the Government could not take some steps to revise the judicial rents which were fixed years ago, when the prices were much higher. If there were no such revision, and if the forces of the Crown were given at evictions of people for the non-payment of impossible rents, there would undoubtedly be disturbances, not only in Clare, but in various other parts of Ireland as well. With regard to what the previous speaker had said as to the Government desiring to hand over the people of Ireland from one ascendancy to another, he had to say he did not know particularly what the intention of the Government was; but if they intended to hand over the Nationalists of Ireland to the ascendancy of the Catholic clergy or any other ascendancy, he declared on behalf of his constituency that they would not allow the Government to do it, for they were quite resolved they would not live under the ascendancy of any denomination in Ireland. When the hon. and gallant Gentleman spoke of the Members from Ireland being merely the representatives and the nominees of the Catholic hierarchy, he ought to remember that 70,000 votes were cast in Ireland directly against the influence of the Roman Catholic clergy; and although they only returned nine Members to Parliament, and these Members were Catholics, each of the nine Members was returned against the influence of all the bishops and priests in

Ireland. How could it, therefore, be said that the Members from Ireland were under the ascendancy of the Church, or that in giving self-government to Ireland they were handing over the people to the ascendancy of the Church? It was quite absurd for anyone to mention the Meath Petition without drawing the obvious conclusion to be drawn from that Petition, which was that the people when they were interfered with unduly by ecclesiastical influence, resented it, although they were Roman Catholics, and they went into the witness-box one after another to give proof that when they got control over their own affairs they would not stand any undue influence from any ecclesiastical, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic. As far as he was concerned, he did not care how soon the evidence in the Meath Petition was put upon the Table, because it would show that the Roman Catholics of Ireland were not priest-ridden, but were quite determined there should be religious and civil liberty in Ireland. Had he had notice that an attack was to have been made on his constituency, he could have refuted it in the most distinct manner; but as he had not received notice of it, he must content himself with pointing out that the crimes committed there were not of a serious character, and were the result of very gross provocation put upon the people by the landlords of the country. It was a matter of extreme importance to the people that some steps should be taken to protect them from the exaction of rents they could not possibly pay; and he urged the Government to respond to the appeal made by all sections of the Nationalist Party in that House, and not to allow the Session to pass by without doing something to revise these judicial rents which it was impossible for the people to pay. He recognised as much as anyone the undesirability of violence being committed by the people of Ireland, and he recognised the extreme undesirability of anything of that kind taking place at the present time more especially; but he said frankly that, as a matter of Ireland always being loved in the favour of the most exactions of the landlords, but for now would not be surprised, and would not at any other time attempt to excuse or condone the people for a crime they might be guilty of in the future, was not

responded to now, because the people in Clare had asked him several times what would be done for them, and he had promised to make this appeal for them in the House. He earnestly hoped something would be done to protect these people from the landlords. They could not pay the judicial rents; and if these rents were not revised in some districts of County Clare, they would have outrage and violence.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN (Birmingham, W.): Mr. Speaker, before the Debate on the general question closes, I desire very much to put one or two questions to Her Majesty's Government. I confess I looked forward with considerable interest, and some curiosity, to the opening of the present Session. I think my right hon. Friend the Member for Midlothian, with his great unrivalled experience, would agree with me that the situation in which we find ourselves is altogether unprecedented. In August, 1892, a combination of sections put the present Government in Office, but at that time it was notorious that these sections held different opinions upon certain matters of great importance. Well, Sir, we knew then that they were agreed in putting the Government out, but we did not know then whether they were agreed in supporting the Government which was to come in. Parliament was immediately prorogued, and certainly the Government have not shown any excessive anxiety to meet their supporters since, and, as we have had no declaration upon the general policy of the Government from any Member of the Government, and especially no statement upon these points which were especially in question in the different sections, this is the first opportunity upon which we can hope to have the information that we require. Now, Sir, I should be very sorry to have it supposed for a moment that I mean to insinuate that the Ministerial Party is not a united Party. I think we have only to look at the faces of the gentlemen on that Bench to see that they are, indeed, a happy family, and I would add that the way in which the Members of that Party have spread themselves in all quarters of this House is in itself a happy augury for their harmonious co-operation in the future. But, Sir, in order that this matter may have been brought

about it is perfectly evident, from what I have already stated, that there must have been concession on one side or the other, perhaps upon both. We have some right, I think, to ask what arrangements have been made, which Party has conceded, and what they have conceded? We are no longer entitled to take a previous expression of opinion and policy of any section of the supporters of the Government, or even the opinions expressed by leading Members of the Government before the Government was formed, as being at the present time the opinions of the Government as a whole. I imagine that the policy of the Government is something which may be called a resultant of forces; or, perhaps, it would be still more accurate to say, and a better illustration to use, if I compared it to a composite photograph in which the faces of Lord Rosebery and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and of the hon. Member for Waterford and the Chief Secretary for Ireland, were all blended into one harmonious whole. Again, I ask, by what means have these results been secured? Now, just take an illustration: Let us take, for instance, the question of the policy of the Government with regard to Egypt. When the Government was formed it was perfectly well-known that there was a difference of opinion between gentlemen who now form a part of the Government as to the time at which the evacuation of that country should take place. We want to know how far these differences have been made up. I remember saying, on the occasion of the Debate on the Address, that I hoped Lord Rosebery would be Foreign Secretary, and that if he were not we might wake up one morning to find that Egypt had been evacuated. Fortunately, Lord Rosebery is Foreign Secretary, and we have no fear of any such catastrophe. But, Sir, I say that the explanations given by the Prime Minister on the first day of the Session with regard to this matter still lack something of clearness and perspicuity; and I think that the Government might very well supplement them by a little more information. The right hon. Gentleman expressed himself as quite unable to give any account of the origin of the troubles which have recently arisen in that country, and he repudiated with considerable warmth the suggestion of the Leader of the

Opposition that they might have been due to some indiscreet observations made by himself and the Chief Secretary for Ireland before the present Government was formed. Well, Sir, I must say, for my part, that those observations of the two right hon. Gentlemen and the troubles in Egypt are, in my judgment, cause and effect. The Prime Minister said that a statement of that kind should not be made without detailed reference to the observations themselves. What was it, then, that the Prime Minister, before he was Prime Minister, said upon the subject of Egypt? Speaking in Midlothian, he said—

“I shall, indeed, rejoice if, before the day comes for the present Administration to give up the ghost, it be possible for Lord Salisbury to make an effort to relieve us from that burdensome and embarrassing occupation of Egypt, which, so long as it lasts, rely upon it, must be a cause of weakness and a source of embarrassment.”

The language used by the Chief Secretary was similar in character; and I beg the House to bear in mind that, in dealing with language of this kind, spoken at such a time, and by such persons—by men who were even then confidently anticipating the call almost immediately to the counsels of the Queen—you have to look not only to the words, but to the interpretation which may naturally be placed upon them. I should be prepared to admit that the language which I have just quoted is open to several explanations; but what was the explanation put upon it by French statesmen and by the French Press? There was a universal expression of opinion that this indicated the intention of the right hon. Gentleman, and the desire of the right hon. Gentleman, that an immediate, or an early evacuation, should take place. Very well. Now, the right hon. Gentleman explained this statement of his as being an offer of support to Lord Salisbury to carry out the policy of the Wolff Convention. The argument of the Prime Minister was this—

“In 1887 Lord Salisbury thought it possible that we might be able to evacuate Egypt in 1890, and, therefore, in 1892,”—

ignoring altogether everything which has taken place in the interval.—

“I say that I prefer to take the original estimate of Lord Salisbury, made five years ago, rather than rely upon my own judgment of the merits of the question at the present time.”

Well, Sir, that is a great compliment to Lord Salisbury. But I say that from the answer of the right hon. Gentleman, which was in the nature of a *tu quoque*, the inference that he was only supporting the policy of Lord Salisbury is entirely erroneous. In the first place, my right hon. Friend gave an inadequate account, unless I am much mistaken, of the Wolff Convention. The Wolff Convention was rejected; but why? Because it contained clauses for contingent re-entry, and for the continuation of the occupation under certain circumstances. It is impossible under those circumstances to argue about the Wolff Convention as though it would have necessarily led to evacuation in 1890. But the second answer is this: that since 1889 we have had sufficient experience to convince, I am certain, the majority of men that the estimate which Lord Salisbury made then—like the estimates which have been made by previous Governments; by the Government of which I was a Member and also by a subsequent Government—were altogether too sanguine. But the question is really not what Lord Salisbury intended to do, although I think the *tu quoque* argument of the right hon. Gentleman was not a very satisfactory one, but the question is, What is the present Government going to do? We want to know whether they still think, as they were supposed to think at the time of the speech to which I have referred, that immediate or even very early evacuation is possible. My right hon. Friend spoke of the friendly overture received from the French Government, and said the French Government had been informed that the Government of this country would treat the matter in a calm spirit. Of course, a statement whatever can be made in any language used by the Government, and I am sure that we are all in favour of the French Government's recommendation. But I am sure the Government will not be so sanguine as to think that the evacuation of this country would treat the matter in a calm spirit.

Those repeated declarations are no doubt pledges which cannot be ignored by any Government. The second governing consideration is that we have also said we will not leave Egypt till our work is accomplished; and what I complain of with regard to the statements made by my right hon. Friend on Tuesday night is that while he laid the greatest stress on the first of these considerations he said nothing about the second. The work we have undertaken in Egypt is to make the country secure against foreign invasion and against domestic anarchy and disorder. That work has made great progress, but nobody can say it has been fully accomplished. That work, in my opinion, is one of the most creditable incidents in British history—at all events in recent times. I have seen something of it on the spot, and those who know more about it than I do agree that a mere handful of Englishmen—some four score of English officers and perhaps three score more of English officials—have revolutionised the condition of the country. Under the able guidance of Lord Cromer they have made it secure, so long as they remain there, against any invasion from outside, they have rescued it from the state of ruin into which it was rapidly falling, they have established equal justice throughout the land, they have secured the material prosperity of the country by great public works of irrigation, they have done a great deal for the education of the people, and at the same time they have equalised and lessened the burden of taxation. Well, Sir, we are sometimes too fond of belittling ourselves, but I say that is a record of which any country might be proud. But these results of British occupation have been with a few exceptions seriously threatened. There has been a further attack by the Dervishes, showing that it would not be safe to leave the Egyptians without European supervision and control, and that if we did so they would most certainly be liable to more serious attacks by the Mahdi's party. What I regard as of more importance than these threats has been the discovery of the secret action of the Khedive, which is a very serious matter. It is a matter which has been going on for some time, and it is a matter which has been going on for some time, and it is a matter which has been going on for some time.

which we may have some suspicion. What is the object of the Khedive in this matter? It is undoubtedly to re-establish the uncontrolled power of the Turkish Pashas, whose misgovernment brought about Arabi's rebellion. Be sure of this, if we allow the tyranny, the extortion, the corruption, and the injustice which prevailed before the time of Arabi's rebellion once more to displace the reformed administration we have secured there will be once more anarchy and rebellion, and they will be followed once more by foreign intervention, when, perhaps, some other Power will do the work we have neglected. I say, that under these circumstances, it is unwise to raise the hopes either of the Khedive or of the French by expressing opinions in favour of an immediate or a very early evacuation. It appears to me that we should say to them that, however great may have been the reluctance with which, in the first instance, we entered upon this responsibility, we should not, now we have put our hands to the plough, draw back until the reforms we have established are permanently secured. I think my right hon. Friend has entirely misapprehended the question which has been addressed to him with regard to Uganda. We of the Unionist Party are of opinion that we already know enough about the situation and circumstances of the country, and about our obligations to it, to come to an immediate decision. In our opinion the mission of Sir Gerald Portal is unnecessary, and, therefore, inexpedient. At the same time, as the Government hold a different opinion, I do not imagine any serious objection will be taken to the course they have pursued. What is Sir Gerald Portal's mission to effect? Sir Gerald Portal, as everybody who knows him will admit, is an extremely able, courageous, and intelligent man; but there is no doubt that the task set him to do is an extremely difficult one. In Uganda at the present time there are at least four great parties, namely, the Mahommedan party, the Catholic party, the Protestant party, and the King's party. I suppose it will be Sir Gerald Portal's duty to make himself acquainted with the views and respective importance of these four parties, and to endeavour to find some means of conciliating their different opinions. It will be also neces-

sary for him to consider the possibility of an invasion or an attack on the country from outside. Some people have told us this is possible on the part of the Selucci on the one hand, and on the part of the Mahdi on the other. He will have to consider the boundaries of the new kingdom in the event of our retaining possession, for there are countries round it which are within our sphere of influence, and there is also a great country between Uganda and the coast. He will have to consider the financial prospects of the railway, if one should be made, and also under what circumstances administration of the country should be carried out, and at what cost. How long does the Government think he is going to take about all this?

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): Till the end of the Session.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: The hon. Member suggests he will take to the end of the Session. I am afraid the inference from that would be that the Government are not sincere in adopting this mission. However, this is not the inference I wish to draw. But I must point out that Captain Lugard was two years in the country, and that in the course of his residence in it he found cause to change his opinion very seriously. I notice that the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) and others delight in quoting a Report intended to be for the private information of the Directors of the East Africa Company [*Cries of "Oh!"*] It was no doubt intended for their private information, although they handed it to my right hon. Friend the Member for Derby (Sir W. Harcourt) and other Members of the Government and Opposition. It was written by Captain Lugard as a private Memorandum after three weeks' residence in that country. Although the hon. Member for Northampton constantly quotes that Report, he says nothing of the speeches and statements of Captain Lugard as the result of two years' experience. But if it be a fact, as I think it stands to reason it must be, that a very lengthened acquaintance with such a complicated situation as I have described is necessary in order to form a sound and satisfactory judgment, surely the Government will not tell us that they intend Sir Gerald Portal to confirm or upset Captain Lugard in the course of a week.

But even if Sir Gerald Portal were only to stay in Uganda for a fortnight, his Report could not be in the hands of the Government till the month of August. On the 31st of March the evacuation by the Company must take place, unless some change is made by the Government. The question asked of my right hon. Friend was, what is to happen in the interregnum, as I may call it, between the time of the evacuation and the time when a Report will be received and the Government can act upon it? What was the answer of my right hon. Friend? It was again a *tu quoque*. He said, in effect, "How curious it is that you are so excited about knowing what is going to happen to Uganda during the period of a few months, when you yourselves were going to leave it without protection for five years while you were making the railway." But where on earth does my right hon. Friend get the information that the late Government intended to leave Uganda without protection while they were making a railway? The idea is perfectly preposterous. Lord Salisbury has stated that it was the intention of the Government to retain Uganda, and ask Parliament to make the railway if the survey showed that there were no insuperable difficulties in the way. Does not my right hon. Friend see that the greater contains the less, and that if that was their intention they would of course preserve the peace during the time they were engaged in the work? My right hon. Friend went on to admit himself that the *tu quoque* argument was a very poor answer. I believe it was entirely through inadvertence, but he forgot to give any other answer. [*Laughter.*] I am perfectly serious. Although he said he was going to give another answer he did not give it. Now, I will ask that somebody on behalf of the Government should give the answer my right hon. Friend did not give. I am not asking him questions in any unfriendly spirit. [*Ministerial laughter.*] Well, let us see whether the question I am asking would not be asked by a friend of the Government. There are only two policies in this matter of Uganda. There is the policy indicated by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), that you should absolutely repudiate the creation of any new responsibility in the centre of Africa, and get out of your present re-

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sponsibilities as quickly as you can. That is a perfectly intelligible policy, and one for which a great deal can be said. The other policy is that we cannot imperil our position as a great nation by refusing to face any responsibilities which come to us in our character as a great nation. We say that we have undertaken responsibilities in Uganda, and ought to carry them out. I am sure of this, that none of you agree to the only middle course—I will not call it a policy—which would be to drift, and that is what the Government will be doing if they have not made the provision about which I am asking. Let me put a very probable case. Suppose Sir Gerald Portal reports in favour of the continuous occupation of Uganda. Suppose the Government, on the face of his Report, are inclined to retain that occupation, but suppose also, in the meantime, they have allowed Sir Gerald Portal to believe that they have made no provision for the peace of the country, and that in the course of the six or twelve months' interval there has been—what all who know the country seriously fear there will be—a massacre of Protestants by Catholics, or Catholics by Protestants, in the first place, and a massacre of both by the Mohammedan population in the next place. You laughed at me when I said I was putting a friendly question; but what would the position of your Government be if such an event occurred? Their hands would be forced. We have seen something of that sort before, and I say they would be obliged to send a great expedition at enormous cost to recover the position which they might have kept by a very small expenditure. Therefore, I ask the Government to say whether Sir Gerald Portal is instructed to remain with his force in Uganda until such time as the Government can communicate to him their decision. If he is not to remain himself, I ask whether they have instructed him to make the necessary provision after he goes for preserving the peace until the decision of the Government is known? I hope I have made my question perfectly clear, and I will only add that I should like to know whether it is the intention of the Government to place on the Table the instructions given to Sir Gerald Portal? If they cannot do so, I hope that, at all events, they will let us have that portion

of the instructions which concerns the conditions of things to which I have referred. I go on to consider two questions of some domestic interest. In the first place, I desire to refer to two acts of administration—the release of the dynamiters in England and the Gweedore prisoners in Ireland. I say at once that under ordinary circumstances it would never have entered into my head to criticise or question the action of the Executive in the exercise of the prerogative of clemency. I should assume that under ordinary circumstances that prerogative was exercised under the ordinary conditions and precedents, and after an exact and careful examination by the high officials concerned into the special merits of each particular case. Indeed, I should have been perfectly satisfied to rest the matter on the responsibility of the Ministers of the Crown. The only reason for the hard things which I myself have said about the conduct of the Government in respect of this matter is the belief I entertained previously to Tuesday last that these releases were part of a general policy. For that belief the man who is entirely responsible is the Chief Secretary for Ireland. Let me call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman to his own language. Speaking on the 2nd of February, 1888, in the Leinster Hall—speaking, that is to say, in Ireland, and to Irishmen—the right hon. Gentleman said—

“I want to ask a question. The French amnestied the Communards, who were guilty of the most atrocious crime against their country; the Americans amnestied the Secessionist rebels, who were guilty of an atrocious crime against their Government. Are the only people in the world for whom there is to be no amnesty to be Irishmen, whose only offence has been that they have used their talents for the benefit of their countrymen, and done their best to raise up the miserable, oppressed, and downtrodden people of this country? Gentlemen, that is not so. In spite of what eminent men may say, that is no longer the mind or intention of the people of Great Britain. We are here to night—Lord Ripon and I are here—to assure you that at least one great Party is anxious for an amnesty, for an act of oblivion on your side and ours both.”

MR. J. MORLEY: Mr. Speaker, if the right hon. Gentleman had done me the justice to read the whole of that passage he would have found it had no reference whatever to the dynamiters.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: The observation of the right hon. Gentleman has nothing to do with any statement I have hitherto made. I did not say this had anything to do with dynamiters. I will show directly what it has to do with. This was a speech made by the right hon. Gentleman in favour of an amnesty, and undoubtedly there is no reference in it to dynamiters in particular. But let me, in the first place, call attention to the impression those words appear to have created. Here is a speech by the hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. J. E. Redmond). He quoted the words I have read, and said—

“I appeal to Mr. Morley in the spirit of his own words, and I think when he reads those words as spoken by me he will have something like a sense of shame and regret that he has been four months in office in Dublin Castle, and has done nothing—not the smallest act—to carry out the particulars of the pledge which he then gave to the Irish people.”

The right hon. Gentleman says he did not refer to dynamiters. To whom did he refer? [An hon. MEMBER: The Irish nation.] Do they all want to be amnestied? I must call the attention of the House to the words of this extract. The right hon. Gentleman is pleading for an amnesty, and he quotes precedents for the amnesty he is going to give. What are the precedents? The Communards, who were guilty of the most atrocious crime against their country! Well, Sir, I do not entirely agree with his view of the situation. There were a good number of Communards who were not amnestied, but were shot with their backs to the wall in thousands when the troops entered Paris, and I suppose that those who were subsequently pardoned were not pardoned wholesale, but in consideration of the circumstances of each case. But it is a pardon given for an atrocious crime which the right hon. Gentleman suggests as a precedent for the action of his Government. I do not know whether the right hon. Gentleman wishes me to quote the extract again in its entirety. The right hon. Gentleman did mention the American Secessionists, and I thought it was in very bad taste to place them in close juxtaposition to the French Communards. The American Secessionists were mistaken men, but, at any rate, they fought bravely and honourably, and I have never heard that they advocated the assassination of their

political opponents. It is true there were some Americans who adopted that doctrine, and who murdered President Lincoln, but there was no amnesty for them. I do not care whether the right hon. Gentleman says he referred or did not refer to dynamiters in that passage. Anybody would suppose he did, because undoubtedly their crimes were not worse than the crimes of many of the French Communards. Perhaps, however, he referred to the Gweedore outrages. All I have quoted the passage for is to show that we had reason to believe when Egan and Callan and the Gweedore prisoners were released that that was the beginning of a general policy which was to amount to a complete and total act of amnesty. I admit that I was entirely satisfied by the declaration made by the Prime Minister on Tuesday. I do not think it was possible to make a declaration more complete and definite on the subject—that is, as far as refers to the action of the Home Office, to which it will be observed the right hon. Gentleman exclusively referred. I am perfectly ready to take it on his assurance that the cases with which the Home Secretary has dealt have been considered on their merits, and not with regard to any general policy of amnesty. The only remark I would make is that both Mr. Egan and Mr. Callan have since their release been going through a course of triumphant processions. I am not sure whether Mr. Egan was not entertained at the National Liberal Club. But what I want to point out is that both these gentlemen, in the speeches which they have been making in England and in America, have been very careful to disclaim any distinction whatever between their guilt and the guilt of those who are still in prison. Mr. Egan says, "If I am innocent so is Daly," and he and Mr. Callan have openly associated themselves in the fullest sense with the principles and the policy of the proceedings of Daly and Gallagher. Perhaps that shows that these two gentlemen did not deserve the mercy which was extended to them. But the case of the Gweedore prisoners, and of the action of the Irish Office, stands, I think, upon a rather different footing. All I can say is that I await the reply of the Chief Secretary in regard to this.

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What he has to answer is this. He has to answer the question, first, Why, when the sentences upon these men were discriminated, was not clemency discriminated also? There may be a good reason for it, but it would appear at first sight that, if there was a real difference in the heinousness of these offences, the concession of clemency might itself have been graduated. The second question which I think he should answer is, Why did he ignore the very extraordinary evidence given by the present Attorney General for Ireland, and by the hon. and learned Member for Louth, in the libel trial against the *Freeman's Journal*? Undoubtedly, both the Attorney General and the hon. and learned Member for Louth did express the opinion that, in securing the sentences ultimately inflicted, they had made an arrangement which was extremely to the advantage of their clients.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I beg the right hon. Gentleman's pardon. At no time did I make any such statement. I do not wish to interrupt, but this is what occurred. A man with regard to whom we were most anxious, Jack Callagher, got off altogether with the connivance of the Crown.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I had no intention whatever of going into the details of the arrangement between the hon. and learned Gentleman and the Crown, but I think that the hon. and learned Gentleman's memory has failed him a little.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Not a bit.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: Yes, in regard to the breadth and the extent of the statements which he made upon the libel trial. I certainly find it difficult to interpret his observations as applying only to a single man, because here is what he is reported to have said—

"When he"—that is, the hon. and learned Gentleman—"was speaking as a witness, as regarded the rest of the prisoners, he told them, they would be getting off fairly well with that offer."

Then, he goes on to say—

"There were one or two men we were very anxious about; a man named Ferry got off against the evidence in the possession of the defence."

MR. T. M. HEALY: No Crown evidence. We were supplied with the Crown briefs.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I think the hon. and learned Member had better wait. It would appear from that it was in evidence of the defence. He said—

"There were one or two men, one named Ferry, against whom the evidence was that he had practically danced on Martin's head. If the Crown knew the defence that man would have been hanged."

Then the hon. and learned Gentleman said they were also anxious about Jack Gallagher, who was in a very bad way from the point of view of the defendants' counsel, and he further said (and this is broader than what he said just now)—

"They believed originally that some of these men" (not one man) "would have been hanged, and, to use a popular phrase, they had got off in a coach."

MR. T. M. HEALY: As far as my recollection goes, Ferris or Ferry got off with six months, imprisonment, and served his time, and that Jack Gallagher was turned out of the dock on the spot.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: The defendants made an arrangement which, in their opinion, saved the lives of some of them who would have been hanged, including Ferry and Gallagher (who got off altogether), and as regards the others, they thought they had made a very good bargain. I am not quoting this against the hon. and learned Gentleman. I have no doubt he did do the best for his clients, but it is evident from what he said, and from what The Macdermott said, and the counsel acting on behalf of the defendants; generally, that those defendants got off very easily, and that, if the Crown had known all there was to be known, they would not have got off so well. [An hon. MEMBER: "These are not the same men."] It is inconvenient to have these interruptions. I know that Ferry and Gallagher are not the men my right hon. Friend has let off, but Ferry and Gallagher were tried or indicted with the men who have been let off. It is all part of the same case. ["Oh, oh!"] Yes; two or three were indicted for murder, some were convicted of manslaughter, some pleaded guilty, and some got off altogether. Those who pleaded guilty and who were subsequently sentenced have, I believe, all been liberated. I think the Chief Secretary will have to explain how, when he came to consider the opinion of the counsel for the defence that these men got

off very lightly, he reconciled it to himself to let them off altogether. The right hon. Gentleman the other day made a statement which, I must say, took me rather by surprise. I think his residence in Ireland must have given him a certain flavour racy of the soil. For what did he say? He said that he had not consulted any of the legal officers of the Irish Government, and he had not, he has told us to-day, consulted the Judge who tried the case because he had made a report about one of the prisoners—Coll, I think—but he had consulted the Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain. I have often heard a proposal to establish a Criminal Court of Appeal, and if we have Home Rule we shall have to have separate Criminal Courts of Appeal in England, Scotland, and Ireland; but it does appear to me an incongruous suggestion that in the meanwhile the Criminal Court of Appeal in Ireland should be the Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain. I should like to ask, however, what bearing the statement of the Prime Minister on Tuesday last has upon what I have been willing to assume as the homogeneity of the Government majority. I would quote the words of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister. He said—

"It has been charged upon us by some that the release of Egan was part of a policy of release—that is to say, a policy of release other than a policy of release which has been traditional in the Home Office, and which depends upon the careful examination of case by case, and upon the dealing with each case on its real merits."

And then he goes on to say that even in August last—

"I entirely disclaimed any such policy of release, or any such intention to seek for political advantage through this medium, and I pledged those who were then in Opposition under no circumstances to follow a contrary plan to that which has been in operation at the Home Office in respect to the remission or mitigation of sentences on prisoners."

That appears to me to be perfectly conclusive; but this I observe, that only a few days ago there was a torchlight procession in Dublin, and a great meeting to welcome the patriot Egan, and at that meeting a resolution was proposed demanding that all the "prisoners of war" who were now, I think the phrase was, "rotting in British dungeons," should be immediately released. Speaking to that resolution the hon. Member for Waterford declared,

in the name of the meeting and of the Irish people, that—

"there ought not to be, and there should not be, peace, or ease, or comfort for any Government, Liberal or Conservative, in this country so long as there remains a single Irish political prisoner in the hands of England."

He said—

"We know some of them who may have been guilty of some of those charges were entrapped by Government spies and agents, but, above all, we say that, whether innocent or guilty, we demand their release."

I do not know whether the other branch of the Nationalist party—the Anti-Parnellites—will follow in this matter the lead of the hon. Member for Waterford; but, at all events, it does not promise very well, if, as appears likely, there is to be a very serious diminution in the majority of 39, which is already rather precarious. Now I come to the last point with which I am going to trouble the House. I want to ask a question in reference to the general Irish policy of the Government. In the Queen's Speech a Bill is announced to amend the provisions of the Government of Ireland, and up to the present time the secret of the last six years with regard to the provisions of this Bill has been scrupulously kept, so that, with one exception, nobody outside the Government knows anything even of the main provisions of that measure. I say with one exception, because we have learned from the newspapers that the confidence which has been denied the people of this country, which has been denied to friends and foes alike, in England and in Scotland, has been readily tendered to the representatives of one section of the Irish Party, and we learn, what is more extraordinary still, that the Members of that Party, or the Committee who have the consideration of the Bill, or some of the clauses of the Bill, are satisfied with the measure. Now, Sir, I cannot help thinking that even English Home Rulers must regard the satisfaction expressed by those hon. Members as a little ominous. When we were debating the subject in August last, I proved to the House from quotations from the speeches of every one of the leading Members of the present Government, except the Home Secretary, that they were all agreed in demanding and insisting upon the supremacy of the Imperial Par-

liament, which should be "complete, continuous, effective over all matters local and Imperial." I think I ought to complete the quotations. At that time I could not foresee, although I hoped, that my right hon. Friend would be in his present high office, and I think I ought now to complete the quotations by giving one from a speech of my right hon. Friend, the Home Secretary, not a speech but a letter he wrote to his constituents. In that letter he said—

"It is one of the best definitions of the supremacy of Parliament I have ever seen—that what he demanded was a Parliament which should maintain intact and unimpaired the unquestioned and unquestionable supremacy of the Imperial Parliament over all persons and in all matters both local and Imperial."

In the same Debate to which I have referred, and in which I made these quotations, the hon. Member for Waterford declared that for his part, and speaking for himself and his friends, they would absolutely refuse to accept any arrangement which did not make the Irish Parliament supreme in regard to matters committed to its charge, and he challenged his colleagues from Ireland—those who belonged to the other section of the Irish Party—to say that they would take one fraction less. If it be necessary—I do not think it can be necessary—to trouble the House with quotations I can show that all the Leaders of that Party have both before and since accepted that as the *minimum* of their demands. Now, I asked in August, 1892, before the Government was formed, how the gentlemen who were going to form that Government proposed to bridge over this apparently irreconcilable divergence. The Government remained silent and would give no information at all. If the Irish Members are satisfied with the Bill that difficulty must have been bridged over. It must have been bridged over in one way or another. Either the Irish Members must have given up their extreme demands or the Government must have given up the principle which one and all—every Leader on that Bench—has declared to be an essential feature to a Home Rule Bill. Well, I ask whether the Government, even at this stage, will be a little more communicative than they have been hitherto. I know what I shall be told—or, at least, I know

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what I have been told in advance—that my curiosity is altogether inopportune. I shall be told that I ought to wait and see the Bill. (*Cheers.*) I thought so. Mr. Speaker, I declare that on this point, at any rate, I am a better Gladstonian than the gentlemen who cheer me. Why, Sir, I am basing myself on the language of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian; I am following his advice—his instructions. In 1882, when the question of Home Rule was before the House of Commons, what did the right hon. Gentleman say? He said—

“I believe”—this is not a question of the merits of Home Rule, but as to the Parliamentary method of treatment—“I believe that when a demand is made from Ireland for bringing Irish affairs more specially or more largely under Irish control outside the walls of Parliament the best way of meeting that demand in my opinion is this—to require that before any such plan can be dealt with or can be”—this is very strong—“examined with the view of being dealt with on its merits we must ask those who propose it (and this is the question I have invariably put) what are the provisions which you propose to make for the supremacy of Parliament as the central authority?”

The question which the Prime Minister invariably puts on such occasions as these—the question which he invites his friends and supporters on similar occasions to put—I put to-night to the Government. I ask them to say—it is a simple thing, and if they liked they could answer the question with a “Yes” or “No”—whether they maintain the view of the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament which was set forth in the language which I have quoted from the letter of the Home Secretary. I confess I do not want to anticipate in any way the discussion on the Home Rule Bill. This is a general principle of policy; when the Home Rule Bill is brought before us it will then be our duty to consider how far you have been able to carry out your intentions, but at present we only ask what is your object and intention. I must confess that to my mind the matter is one of such cardinal importance that I had thought of bringing it to the test of proposing an Amendment to the Address. [An hon. MEMBER: “Out of Order.”] Such an Amendment would not have been out of order, as an hon. Member says, who does not appear to be acquainted with the procedure of the House; because an Amendment

of a similar character which might be assumed to have some connection with a proposal in the Queen's Speech, was moved in 1881 by Mr. Parnell, and another Amendment was moved in the same way by another Irish Member. Therefore, there was a precedent for the course I proposed to take; but you, Sir, were kind enough to give me your opinion that an extension of such a precedent as that would be attended with inconvenience in the future, and, of course, I bow most readily to your opinion. Therefore I do not ask the House to go to a Division. I content myself with putting a simple question. Well, I believe to answer that question would to some extent shorten and simplify the Debate on the Home Rule Bill, and for those who think as the right hon. Gentleman does, that it is a point of crucial and cardinal importance, I say it is unfair to ask us to discuss it on the Bill when it must of necessity be mixed up with a thousand or more petty details, and when it will be almost impossible to get a decision on the principle. The question which I ask the Government to answer is whether, in the words of the Home Secretary, they are prepared still to

“maintain intact and unimpaired the unquestioned and unquestionable supremacy of the Imperial Parliament over all persons and all matters, both local and Imperial,”

or whether in this matter also they are about to make another surrender to the forces of disloyalty and disorder.

MR. E. J. C. MORTON (Devonport) said, that questions of Foreign and Imperial policy were at the present moment of very little interest to the people of Great Britain and Ireland, and were simply introduced into the Debate to draw attention from those questions upon which the mind of the electorate ought at the present moment to be concentrated. There was only one remark he desired to make with regard to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman—to that portion of the speech which dealt with foreign policy. It was this—from the description which he gave of the personal character of the Khedive, it seemed to him (Mr. Morton) that the Khedive was likely to be chosen or selected as one of the Liberal Unionist candidates for the city of Birmingham. No one would have suspected from the speech

of the right hon. Gentleman that only a few months had elapsed since he declared that Home Rule was as dead as Queen Anne. The vehemence which the right hon. Gentleman put into his speech, and the assiduity with which he sought to sow tares among the wheat alike proved that the right hon. Gentleman was now convinced that Home Rule would take a deal of killing yet before it was quite as dead as Queen Anne. The tone which the right hon. Gentleman adopted, and which spread itself, as it were, throughout the whole of his speech, and which also was to be noted among the speeches of Members of the Unionist party during the Debate, was that the Government majority was a majority composed of sections. The right hon. Gentleman had used the expression that some particular decision taken by Her Majesty's Government was the resultant of a number of distinct and somewhat opposing forces; and he implied that the Cabinet itself was a Cabinet of sections more or less hostile to one another, and that he adduced as a reason why the Cabinet was not likely to last long. He (Mr. Morton) would ask the right hon. Gentleman had there never been Cabinets in the past which had been composed of sections more or less antagonistic, and yet had managed to last? How about the Cabinet to which the right hon. Gentleman himself belonged? Was that not a Cabinet composed of sections? As he (Mr. Morton) had listened it had occurred to him that that Cabinet was composed of at least five different, and more or less antagonistic, sections. There was, first of all, the section composed of the right hon. Gentlemen and noble Lords, whose main motive in political life seemed to be personal devotion to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Midlothian. The right hon. Member for West Birmingham did not belong to that section. Then there was the section of the Manchester school, to which he did not belong. Then there was the section of the Rip Van Winkles made up during the lifetime of the Cabinet of which he was a member. He did not belong to that section. And then there was the section composed entirely of the right hon. Gentleman himself. They knew there was a party of the right hon. Gentleman himself, for his action

towards the foreign policy of the Cabinet of 1886, after the period of his leaving it, was not endorsed by the Duke of Devonshire or the Duke of Norfolk. The fact that he discussed that policy in that respect—the fact that he had denounced it—showed that he was in a minority of one in that Cabinet. He (the hon. Gentleman) would like to look at some of the arguments that had been adduced in the course of the Debate in regard to the most important question before them—the question of Ireland. He noticed that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Manchester, in the course of his speech, referred to the state of quietude that had prevailed in Ireland as a consequence of the policy of coercion which he had pursued for four years. ["No, no!"] Certainly it was said on his behalf that that policy—

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I said nothing of the kind, Sir. I was not referring in any way to my administration in Ireland. I was dealing only with the Queen's Speech.

MR. E. J. C. MORTON said perhaps he was under a misapprehension, and, if so, he apologised to the right hon. Gentleman. But if the right hon. Gentleman had not used the argument that had been used before from that side of the House—that the quietude in Ireland, that the improvement in the condition of things in that country was due to the policy pursued during four years by the right hon. Member for East Manchester. If that were so, how, he asked, were they to account for the extraordinary quiet that had prevailed for six years past among the Irish in America? They had not been cowed by the Coercion Act. Yet no party in Ireland or in connection with it had been more quiet, or more remarkable for being quiet, than those in America. The Member for East Manchester and some of his supporters had referred with some degree of censure to the action taken by the priests of Ireland during the recent election, and had pointed to certain facts as proof of the danger which was to be expected under Home Rule. He (the Member for Devonport) claimed that he knew something of the priests of Ireland and their attitude towards their people, and although he had not a drop of Irish blood in his veins,

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and although he never was, and never intended to become, a Roman Catholic, he would like to say that he had watched the devotion of these men to the poor people entrusted to their charge, that he had seen acts of heroism performed by these men, and that he had watched the genuineness and earnestness of others with which they held their religion; and he would prefer the superstition of the Irish Roman Catholic to the Agnostic orthodoxy of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Manchester. Criticism had been passed in the House in relation to the action of the priests, especially in connection with the *status* and position of the late Mr. Parnell. It seemed to him that they were bound to consider the conduct of the Coercionist party throughout the country, as the right hon. Gentleman could not be relieved from some responsibility for acts of his followers in the country which had been a source of profit to him which he would not have enjoyed had they abstained from those acts. They had a right to consider these matters in connection with the policy of the other side; and he said that in the history, the political history, of this country, no more disgraceful conduct had been witnessed than that which was meted out to Mr. Parnell by the Coercionist party. While he was a man who was believed to be leading a blameless life, they suborned perjury against him, they purchased forgery against him, and they vilified him in the Press and on the platform. When they discovered he was a man of aristocratic vices they began to beslave him with their admiration. Now, there had been reference made in the speeches to the amnesty extended by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne to those poor men who were known as the Gweedore prisoners. He desired to say a few words on those speeches and references. In the first place he desired to say, for the information of the right hon. Gentleman, and the hon. Members who had referred to him in this House, that he happened to be personally acquainted with Father McFadden, and he desired to say in reference to certain phrases used about him in that place, that he knew nothing—no words of his, perhaps—could be strong enough to use in censure. Although he was not an Irish-

man, and neither was he a Roman Catholic, he could scarcely name one whose warm personal friendship he was more proud of than Father McFadden's. He felt proud to be able to say he enjoyed Father McFadden's friendship. Gentlemen on those benches might not know what manner of man Father McFadden was, and what his life's work had been. When he went to Gweedore as a young priest in 1876, he found the people in poverty, under tyranny, and actually degraded. The illicit still—illicit manufacture of spirits—prevailed to a larger extent in that parish than in any other parish in Ireland. Petty litigation, that curse of Ireland, prevailed there to a larger extent, perhaps, than anywhere else in the country. The people were not only in poverty and suffering, they were degraded. Father McFadden came amongst them, and he was their lawyer, he was their doctor, he was their engineer of works, he was their agent to the landlords—he was all this as well as their priest. He found them slaves; he made them men—that was his crime. This was the protector against whom the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Manchester determined to strike. He was arrested for a speech made for the purpose of showing those people the value of combination. He was sentenced to six months' imprisonment, and the moment he was released from jail a warrant was issued for his re-arrest. The moment chosen to execute the warrant was at the door of his own church, after he had celebrated Mass, and at a time when he was necessarily surrounded by his congregation. Inspector Martin, about whom he wished to say nothing—because, whatever his misdeeds were he had paid the utmost penalty—he was stationed at the door of the church, waving his sword over his head, and in his attempt to make the arrest he was struck down. After that occurred one of the worst iniquities contained in the annals of English Government. The district of Gweedore was dragooned. The poor people, many of whom could not speak English, were terrorised, and their houses searched. They had to secure a special order from the Government to enable them to walk along the Queen's highway. They fled to the caves in the mountains and to the islands.

He would quote for them the instance of Charles Diver. This was the kind of thing that took place. Diver was arrested on Innismean Island. A policeman told him to keep down his head, and threatened him to knock him down if he did not. He was handcuffed and marched down to one of the small boats belonging to the gunboats, and the lieutenant in charge protested that it was against the rules to have a prisoner in irons on the boat. The officer did not seem to reply, but directed the policemen in the boat to load their guns, and if any man in the boat attempted to lift his head to blow his brains out. It turned out that the handcuffs were too small and were cutting the man's flesh, and another pair was procured, but they were smaller than the others, and the effect was worse. The men in the boat were tied down like negroes. In this condition, Diver and his wretched companions were taken to Letterkenny jail, and then taken to Londonderry jail, and in the jail, because he was not quite snug, a warder struck him down with a bunch of keys on the shoulder—as he said himself he thought the blow would have broken his heart. And there he lay until his release just in time to die after ten days illness. When he considered this case the marvel to him was that the Irish people had been so wonderfully quiet as they had been. He had selected this opportunity for the purpose of bringing to the recollection of the House the circumstances prevailing in Ireland at the time these trials took place. The men who were arrested in connection with the death of Inspector Martin were brought before a packed jury. He knew that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Manchester alluded to that jury as one "falsely alleged to have been packed." He (Mr. Morton) would briefly state the circumstances. Maryborough, where the trials took place, was in Queen's County, one of the most Catholic counties in Ireland, and some of these poor Donegal prisoners were brought to Maryborough to be tried there. The jury panel was made up in the usual way. The Crown exercised its right to unlimited challenge, and ordered 42 men to stand aside before getting a jury of 12, and in the end, they got a jury every member of which was a Protestant, and every one of which was opposed to the Nationalist cause. He

called that a packed jury, and he said that the whole theory of trial by jury, as laid down anciently, was that a man should be tried by a jury of his peers, upon which theory it was that down to 1870 a foreigner in England was entitled to have six out of twelve—six of his own countrymen, men of his own nationality, on any jury that tried him. What he wished to say in this case was that Father McFadden came out of the chapel—as one person put it; he did not adopt the words, but he used them, "after taking his God in his hands"—at a moment when he was invested by a peculiar sanctity in the eyes of his people. Now, how were 12 Protestants—how was it possible for them to be the peers of these poor people. In going further into the policy disclosed in the speeches of the right hon. Gentleman on the other side, it seemed to him that any coercionist entering the battle had little reason to complain, because the right hon. Member for Newcastle had reversed one item of a policy which he was returned to prove to reverse as a whole. One of the observations of the right hon. Member for Birmingham was that the Government majority was not large. The great Lord Palmerston in the last days of his life made a declaration as to how he had governed Ireland for five years with a majority of 15, and he (Mr. Morton) reminded the right hon. Gentleman that the Government majority was large enough and united enough to improve, if not to destroy for ever every bulwark of the Conservative Party—even that which they most refer to in that House under the euphemistic name of "another place," and to secure very full and perfect recognition of the nationhood of the Irish people.

MR. A. S. T. GRIFFITH BOSCAWEN (Kent, Tunbridge) said he had to claim the indulgence of the House, being a new Member, whilst he directed attention to the question of the Suspensory Bill in relation to the position of the church in Wales. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Midlothian had stated that no resolution was necessary such as was necessary in the case of Ireland. Speaking on the Irish Suspensory Bill in 1868, he said there was no connection between the two. According to *Hansard*, the words he used on the 7th May in that year were as follows:—

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"I do not deny the inconvenience (*i.e.*, the inconvenience of re-opening the whole question), and I say that the rational course for us, having advanced to the point we have now reached, is, as far as we can, to make good and fortify our ground, and we shall thus be giving practical shape to the design and proceedings on which we have entered."

The right hon. Gentleman, therefore, said that there was a distinct connection, and that the object of the Suspensory Bill was to fortify and make good what had been done before. Now he (Mr. Boscawen) submitted that the bringing forward of a Suspensory Bill in connection with the Welsh Church was without precedent, because the reasons which existed for disestablishing and disendowing the Church of Ireland did not exist in the case of the Church in Wales. What were the reasons for disestablishing the Irish Church? The right hon. Gentleman gave three: the first, that the members of the Church did not constitute more than one-ninth of the population; the second, that a sharp antagonism existed between the Church and Roman Catholics; and the third, that the Irish Church was a body separate and distinct from the English Church. Speaking on the proposal of the late Sir Watkin Williams to disestablish the Church in Wales, the right hon. Gentleman in May, 1870, declared that the case of the Welsh Church was certainly quite different from that of the Irish Church. He said that at the lowest computation the number of its members constituted one-fourth of the population of Wales, as against the Irish Church's one-ninth of the Irish population. He pointed out that the sharp antagonism which existed between the Irish Church and Roman Catholics had no parallel in the relations between the Church and Nonconformists in Wales, and finally he asserted that there was really no Church in Wales—the Welsh sees were simply four sees held by the suffragans of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and formed a portion of that province as much as any four English sees. What had occurred since that time to induce the right hon. Gentleman to alter his opinion? If in 1870 the Church of Wales was part of the Church of England, was it not still a portion of that Establishment? He especially appealed to English Churchmen to beware of this Suspensory Bill, and to look upon it as the first step towards the piecemeal

disestablishment and disendowment of their own Church. Next, as to the antagonism which had no existence as between Welsh Churchmen and Nonconformists in 1870, did it now prevail any more than before? His answer was in the negative; it had no existence except in those parishes where Party politics had unfortunately been mixed up with religious matters. Mr. Gladstone resisted Sir Watkin Williams' attack on that Church in Wales on the ground that that Church numbered among its members one-fourth of the population of the Principality. How much more ought he now to resist such a proposal, seeing that since then that Church had improved in power and influence? Now it embraced two-fifths of the population, and it was, in fact, the strongest religious body in Wales. They had that remarkable improvement manifested by the Church, borne testimony to by the right hon. Gentleman himself, for he called it a rising Church, a living Church, a growing Church, a Church progressing from elevation to elevation. And while that improvement was going on they had a corresponding decline in the numbers, character, and influence of the Welsh Nonconformist Bodies. He knew that that was often denied, but facts proved its accuracy, and on the 20th October last Mr. J. R. Davies, who took the chair at the annual meeting of the Welsh Nonconformist Union, said—

"The one great central idea of all sects at the present moment is the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church—a purely political aspiration. It is a low aim for any part of the Church of the living God, and the fact that we are so absorbed in so temporal an object is the explanation of our spiritual poverty."

Was this the time, when the Church was growing and Nonconformity vanishing, for the Government to bring forward a Bill which would render the property of the Church insecure and deal a heavy blow at the efficiency of that Church in the future? The right hon. Gentleman said that this Act would quicken the vitality of the Church! He (Mr. Boscawen) failed to see how an Act which made its property insecure and the ultimate aim of which was the disendowment of the Church, which would, in fact, take from it the means of doing good, could possibly quicken its activity. How had that wonderful improvement in the

Church of Wales been brought about? To what could the improvement in the character of the clergy of the Welsh Establishment be attributed? It was the result of the fact that Church patronage was no longer used for political purposes as it was 150 years ago. If in a poor country like Wales they rendered the property of the Church insecure, they would prevent the best men from going into the Church, and instead of quickening its activity they would deaden its utility for good work. The ultimate object of this Bill was complete disendowment, which to his mind was nothing less than confiscating the property of the Church of England and Wales. The voluntary system might work very well in some places, but Wales was a very poor country, and if they deprived the Church of its property there it would be impossible to maintain a church at all in a great many parishes; a resident clergyman could not then be maintained, and the work of the Church would be entirely withdrawn from many parishes. It was a fact that out of 280 parishes in the diocese of St. Asaph in no less than 90 there was no resident Nonconformist minister; and if, in consequence of the passing of this Bill, the Church should cease to exist in those parishes and the resident clergyman be withdrawn, they would have driven away the only power for religious good which existed there. The Bill, then, he submitted, was uncalled for, and must do positive harm. He appealed to the right hon. Gentleman in this his fourth Administration not to deal a deadly blow at this part of the National Church of which for so many years he was a most distinguished and eloquent champion. Having lived the greater part of his life—and, like the Mover of the Address, he could not speak of a very long life—in Wales, he had dealt with a subject which he was particularly interested in; but before he resumed his seat, he would like to say a word or two on another question dealt with in the Queen's Speech. Sitting for an English constituency and for a division of a county—Kent—which had returned no fewer than 19 Members pledged to support the Union, he wished to draw attention to the fact that the Home Counties, by an almost unanimous vote, had pronounced against the Home Rule policy

of Her Majesty's present advisers. No doubt in most questions it was right the Unionists should not analyse the composition of the majority; but in the matter of Home Rule they were perfectly justified in doing it, because the Union was distinctly in the nature of a Treaty, and until both sides—England and Ireland—had pronounced in favour of the repeal of the Union, this House had no moral right whatever to deal with it. Now, Great Britain had distinctly spoken against the repeal of the Union, both in 1886 and again last year. The right hon. Gentleman told them that the repeal would not mean separation and would not mean the weakening of the Empire, and he instanced the case of Austria as an example of the success of the policy which he was advocating. But there was a day when the right hon. Gentleman was not so enamoured of Austria as he now seemed to be; for in the course of his second Administration, when he had to give a certain explanation to the Emperor of that country, he used language which was not complimentary, for he said that it was impossible to lay one's hand on any place on the map of Europe and say that there Austria had done good. But thanks no doubt to his conversion to Home Rule the true merits of Austria were now apparent, and we were asked to imitate that in the matter of Home Rule. It was a fact that Home Rule had not brought about disastrous circumstances in Austria, but the reason was simple: It was that the enormous power of the Crown held together the various portions of the dual Monarchy. But if Home Rule were granted to Ireland there would be no protection of that sort; there would be nothing but the veto of the Crown, which, as they knew, was only exercised on the advice of Ministers, and which, if the hon. Member for Waterford had his way, would be exercised only on the advice of Irish Ministers. He therefore entered his protest against the Home Rule policy of the Government; he protested against the comparison with Austria, and he suggested that they should look to what had occurred in Italy and in Germany, where the result of repealing Home Rule and carrying through enormous Acts of Union had been the establishment of great independent unified Empires.

Mr. A. S. T. Griffith Boscawen

MR. J. A. RENTOUL (Down, E.) said, he regarded the first paragraph in the Queen's Speech as the most important of all, for it dealt with the agriculture of the country in these words :—

"I have observed with concern a wide prevalence of agricultural distress in many parts of the country. It is to be hoped that, among the causes of the present depression, some may be temporary in their nature. But I do not doubt that you will take this grave matter into your consideration, and make it a subject of careful inquiry."

This was a matter of very grave concern to the whole country, and it affected Ireland to a far greater extent than it did England. English Members well knew what necessity there was to turn their careful attention to agricultural questions; and when one reflected that while in England only from 11 to 14 per cent. of the population was engaged in agricultural pursuits, either as farmers or labourers, 60 per cent. of the Irish population was concerned in the industry, they would realise how vastly important to Members representing Irish agricultural constituencies was this question. They all earnestly echoed the hope that the Government would take this question into careful consideration, and he could assure the right hon. Gentleman that the Irish Unionist Members, so far from hampering or opposing them in their efforts to grapple with this grave subject, would offer most cordial and hearty co-operation in every feasible proposal. The hon. Gentleman who moved the Address evidently felt that the first paragraph of the Queen's Speech was not definite enough, because he discussed the action which he thought should be taken by the Government, and he indicated, as a Member for an agricultural constituency, that in his opinion the Queen's Speech required supplementing. Hundreds and thousands of farmers in this country had come to utter ruin and destitution. He was acquainted with the case of an Essex farmer who, 11 years ago, held the position of a county gentleman, and kept his own carriage. He depended entirely upon farming, and only three weeks ago was an applicant for an appointment as a tram driver or conductor. The man's case was fully inquired into; his conduct had been excellent; he had been sober and hard-working, yet the low prices obtainable for agricultural produce had led to his

complete ruin. If this was so grave a question in England, was it not still more grave in Ireland? The Unionists of Ireland believed that agricultural questions were almost entirely at the root of the discontent in that country. If men were not prosperous they turned a willing ear to all proposals for change on the ground that their condition could not be worse, while it might possibly improve. In his own profession—the Bar—they had a greater number of unemployed than any other profession, and, as in other cases, these unemployed were ready to clutch at any straw. Not so many years ago, they eagerly grasped at a proposal to amalgamate the two branches of the legal profession, simply because they had nothing else to clutch at. If that was the conduct of a body of educated men who had opportunities for forming calm judgments and proper opinions, how much more ready must be the poor farmers of Ireland to fall in with any scheme put before them by other people. Joseph Hume once said that England would be infinitely richer and more prosperous if she did not produce a single blade of grass or a single ear of corn. Of course, he said that from a political economist's point of view. No doubt she would be richer if her population devoted itself entirely to manufactures and commerce. But if agriculture was to be given up, the poor farmer should have some opportunity afforded him of retiring from the business. There were some among them who thought that the giving up of agriculture would be the first great step towards the downfall of England. They were told that the town populations were recruited by the best material from the agricultural districts, and that the sons of farmers succeeded in towns better than the sons of commercial and professional men. No doubt a young man from the country, though he might be rough and less polished, was in no degree inferior in mental powers to the town young man. Therefore, nothing could be of greater importance to the country than that agriculture should be well sustained, and he hailed with the greatest pleasure the promise held forth in the Queen's Speech. He would be extremely delighted if the Government would give that question precedence over all others. But it would be unreasonable and impossible, considering the events of

the past few years, to expect them to place Home Rule second; although he did hope that when their strength had been tested on that question, and when possibly it had been shelved, they would give agriculture the preference over all other measures. The next paragraph in the Queen's Speech ran :—

"The Proclamations recently in force, which placed Ireland under exceptional provisions of law, have been revoked, and I have the satisfaction of informing you that the condition of that country with respect to agrarian crime continues to improve."

He wondered if any Member of the Government considered that the state of agrarian crime had continued to improve by reason of the revocation of the proclamations previously in force. Speaking as one who had visited every county in Ireland during the last 12 months, he attributed it to the fact that a large proportion of the people were unable—or said they were unable—to read; and depending as they did for their education on matters governmental upon what they heard on Sunday, it took a considerable time before they became aware of the full extent of their privileges. When the Ballot was adopted, it took a long time to convince them that by it their vote was secret; and in the same way, in regard to the making and withdrawing the Proclamations, the people had been very slow in understanding the meaning and what it was legal for them to do. The Irish people had been kept quite to a considerable extent by the gifts of the Chief Secretary. But the right hon. Gentleman could not continue to keep up the gifts. He could not continue to release prisoners for ever. When the prisoners were all released there would be no more prisoners to be released, and therefore the right hon. Gentleman would not be able to continue in the future the popular favourite he had been in the few past months. With regard to the measure of Home Rule, to which the Government owed its existence, they were told in the Gracious Speech from the Throne that that measure would afford contentment to the Irish people and to Parliament, and add glory to the strength and unity of the Empire. The measure was intended to confer contentment on a people. The Prime Minister

Mr. J. A. Rentoul

that there was a large minority in Ireland opposed to Home Rule. He knew that until recently that that minority were the warmest supporters he had in the United Kingdom, for unquestionably the Liberals, and especially the Presbyterians of Ulster, were the most wildly enthusiastic followers of the Prime Minister that existed anywhere. In fact they were nearly giving way to a sort of idolatry in their worship of the Prime Minister. The right hon. Gentleman now knew perfectly well that there were no people in the United Kingdom so desperately strong against Home Rule as the Presbyterian Unionists of Ireland, and that being so, when he spoke of conferring contentment on the Irish people, he must know that he would certainly not confer contentment on the Unionist minority of the Irish people. The Prime Minister might dispute with him as to the number of Unionists in Ireland. He would be inclined to say that the Unionists numbered two millions out of the four-and-a-half millions of the population of Ireland, but if the Prime Minister considered that too large an order, he would be content if the right hon. Gentleman gave him a million Unionists in Ireland on whom Home Rule would confer no satisfaction whatever. A million was one-fourth of the population of Ireland, but for the purposes of his argument he would take the Irish Unionists as numbering a fifth of the population.

Mr. JOHNSTON (Belfast, S.) : They are more than that.

Mr. RENTOUL said he took the fifth merely for the purposes of his argument. Then the four-fifths of the people of Ireland who wanted Home Rule was only about a tenth of the entire population of the United Kingdom. The whole population of Ireland was only one-eighth of the population of the United Kingdom. Why, then, should this Parliament be broken up in order to confer a benefit on one-eighth of the population; and if no account was to be taken of the one-fifth in Ireland who were desperately opposed to Home Rule, and one-eighth of the population of the Kingdom were powerful enough to the concession of Home Rule, the four-fifths of the population of Ireland rule the fifth in Ireland

against their will under Home Rule? That was a difficulty which the Prime Minister should reckon with. He could assure the right hon. Gentleman that speaking as an Irishman he was sorry there was any difference of opinion between the representatives of Ireland at all on this great question. He was sorry all Irishmen were not able to see eye to eye in this matter. He was sorry all the Irish representatives did not prefer to be members of this Parliament, ruling the greatest Empire under the sun, rather than be members of a big vestry board in Dublin. The London County Council, of which he had been a member, was infinitely more powerful than any statutory Parliament in Ireland could ever be; it governed one or two millions of people more than the population of Ireland, and it dealt with ten times more money than the Irish Parliament would ever have to deal with. But when a man became a member of the London County Council his ambition was not satisfied. He wanted to enter Parliament, and many members of the Council had been successful in that ambition. However, the Nationalists wanted a Parliament in Dublin, and whilst he expressed his sorrow that they should desire such a Parliament, he hoped it would give them unqualified satisfaction when they got it, for he was one of those men who liked to see other people happy though he might feel unhappy himself. The Gracious Speech from the Throne expressed the hope that this measure would grant relief to Parliament. But if the Irish Members were to be retained at Westminster he did not see where the relief would come in. He believed the Irish Members would make fresh demands; would want their statutory powers in Dublin increased with the result that the work of the Imperial Parliament would be immensely increased. What would happen in Dublin he did not know. He had no aspiration to be a member of the Irish Parliament, and he would never be a member of it.

MR. JOHNSTON : Hear, hear ! None of us will be members of it.

MR. RENTOUL : As my hon. Friend says, none of us will be members of it. We will leave the Dublin Parliament to its own happy devices. Before he sat down he would like to say a few words on the Evicted Tenants Commission.

Lord Clanricarde was supposed to have acted very badly and very rudely in addressing that Commission in a letter as "The Plan of Campaign Commission." But the Prime Minister speaking last year referred to "The Pigott Commission." Now that Commission has never been called by such a name in any official document, and yet the Prime Minister facetiously referred to it as "The Pigott Commission."

*MR. W. E. GLADSTONE : I do not think I ever did so.

MR. RENTOUL said he could assure the right hon. Gentleman that he did. He did not know whether the words were reported, but he heard him use them over and over again in this House. What he wanted to point out, therefore, was that Lord Clanricarde had not committed any great offence in referring to this Commission as "The Plan of Campaign Commission." That Commission, headed by an English Judge, was appointed to elicit the truth with regard to the evicted tenants, and he had hailed it with delight. He was not himself an Irish landlord. He was afraid he was not a popular pet with the Irish landlords. He was afraid that if his seat was in the giving of the Irish landlords he would not hold it for five minutes. Many of the Irish landlords did not care about him, and he returned the feeling with very great interest. That being so he had approached this subject of the evicted tenants with a perfectly free mind. He wanted to see this great difficulty removed and he was therefore very sorry that the Commission had failed. The Commission failed with the opening speech of the President. The morning that speech appeared in the papers he met several leading Gladstonians—three or four of whom were Members of Parliament—and one after another they all expressed their horror at the line the President had taken. One of them said—"It is the best day's work done for your party for a long time," and he replied that he felt that himself; that speaking as a politician he was glad, but that otherwise he was extremely sorry the Commission had failed. The Commission could not have succeeded without cross-examination, because in matters affecting landlord and tenant in Ireland, it was so difficult to get unprejudiced evidence on one side or the other, that he would take with a grain of salt the statement of

any witness who was not subjected to cross-examination. It had been asked in the House when would the Commission report? He wondered how any man could take any interest in that Report, for surely the Commission had entirely failed to gain the respect or confidence of any fair-minded man. He should also condemn the Chief Secretary for Ireland for the changes he had made in the Lunatic Asylum Boards of Ireland. The governors of a lunatic asylum had to deal with the most afflicted portion of the human race, and it was most lamentable that governors who had been in office for 30 years should have been removed in favour of untried men—some of them of the lowest character—in order to please a political party. It made one almost weep for politics. In the County of Donegal, his native county, which he happened to know well, the Chairman of the Asylum Board, Colonel Montgomery, a man who had attended ten meetings out of fourteen was removed. The Rev. Mr. Wallace, the pastor of the largest Presbyterian congregation in the county, who had been on the Board for years, and who attended eight out of fourteen meetings last year, was also removed and his place filled by an unknown man named Call, while the Rev. James McFadden—not Father McFadden of Gweedore, but Father McFadden of Falcarragh—who did not attend one single meeting of the 14 last year, was allowed to remain on the Board. Was it any wonder that the Unionists were distrustful of what would happen under Home Rule when those things could occur under the Imperial Government. He was sorry he did not see the hon. Member for North Louth (Mr. T. M. Healy) in his place, for he wished to call the attention of the hon. Gentleman to a statement he made in a recent speech at Newcastle-on-Tyne. The hon. Gentleman in that speech said, “Coercion was practised in Ulster—not by Roman Catholic priests—not by fiery curates, but by the most staid and starched and prim Presbyterian ministers. Both inside and outside their churches they intimidated the people.” He immediately wrote to the hon. Member for Louth and asked him if that statement were true, and for the name of any Presbyterian minister guilty of such conduct, and he would have him brought before his Presbytery.

Mr. Rentoul

The hon. Member for Louth did not answer the letter, but he (Mr. Rentoul) believed there was no truth in the statement.

MR. PINKERTON (Galway Borough): I am sorry to interrupt my hon. Friend, but is it not a fact that a Presbyterian minister in South Tyrone called for a show of hands in his church?

MR. RENTOUL said he could not answer his hon. Friend. He was dealing only with the statement made by the hon. Member for North Louth. The hon. Member said “the Presbyterian ministers had out-distanced by long odds the priests of Meath.” If the hon. Member could produce the name of any Presbyterian minister guilty of such conduct he (Mr. Rentoul) would most assuredly have him brought before his Presbytery and placed under discipline. He would, however, give the hon. Member for Louth another chance of accepting or declining the challenge he had thrown down.

MR. R. JASPER MORE (Shropshire, Ludlow) said, that his hon. Friend who spoke last having called attention to the condition of agriculture in Ireland, he thought it might now be opportune for him to make a few remarks on the subject as it affected England. He thought the farmers of England would view the reference to agriculture in Her Majesty's Gracious Speech with what they were pleased to call in the country mixed feelings. They would be glad to see that agriculture occupied so leading a position in Her Majesty's Gracious Speech, but he thought they would view with some regret the fact that the Speech asked the House to take the subject into consideration instead of containing any announcement that Her Majesty's Government had taken it into consideration themselves. He had the honour of representing perhaps the largest agricultural area of any constituency. In that there were ten agricultural societies, and as all these societies held meetings, they might be assured that they, and all other county Members similarly situated with himself, had had plenty of opportunity of considering the subject. They had also lately had a meeting at St. James's Hall, called in the first instance by the Lancashire Farmers' Club, whose invitation was responded to by 2,500 delegates from all parts of England as well as Ireland,

where the subject was thoroughly discussed and considered, and where certain motions which were brought forward obtained a unanimous assent. He would therefore be glad to hear that his right hon. Friend the President of the Board of Agriculture, in whom farmers generally had confidence, was prepared to act on some of those representations rather than merely inviting another inquiry. There had been five inquiries on agriculture between the years 1815 and 1845; there had been two celebrated inquiries in the more recent memory of Members of this House; one in the year 1879, at which two members from America were present to make inquiries on the subject, and the other lately, under Lord Iddesleigh. He did not know to what extent Members and those interested in the subject had studied these Reports, but he thought that the House should be looked to to give remedies rather than to dwell unnecessarily on the sufferings of the agricultural world at the present time. On the occasion of Lord Iddesleigh's Commission, Mr. Caird, who was considered the first agricultural authority of the time, said that in his opinion the landowners were losing £20,000,000 yearly, that the farmers were losing about an equal sum, and that the labourers were losing about £1,500,000 a year at this time. These losses have gone on increasing, and little inquiry would be needed to convince the Government how intense was the agricultural depression. The agricultural labourers numbered about 1,500,000. It would be difficult to get an exact return of the tenant farmers and landowners; but he believed, if the families were multiplied by six, they would amount to 16,000,000 of the population, and if, in addition, the inhabitants of the towns dependent on agriculture were added, it would be easy to see that more than half the population of the United Kingdom was interested in agriculture. As one of the outcomes of the Commission to which he had referred, Lord Winchelsea, who had a hereditary interest in the labourers, had tried to promote a combination among all classes interested in agriculture; and if it could be shown, as he hoped it would be, in a year, or probably, in a few months, that half the population was in that combination, he felt they should come before the House in a much stronger position, and that

then the agricultural interests would be attended to. He should like to point out that there was a Board of Agriculture in existence 100 years ago which exercised a far greater influence on agriculture than the present Board. They were deeply grateful for what the present Board had done in staving off contagious diseases. The old Board to which he had referred was a real *bonâ fide* Board. It consisted of 15 Peers and 15 Members of that House, and occasionally selected as many as 300 agriculturists to discuss agricultural questions with the Board, thereby obviating any necessity for a Committee. It disseminated agricultural information throughout all parts of the United Kingdom and made inquiries, in which respect the President of the present Board might usefully copy its example. It also increased the grant to the Board. That Board was the foundation of the Agricultural Department in the United States, and it was also the precedent for Agricultural Departments in many foreign countries. But in this country the farmers never had the amount of information disseminated among them as they had in America, simply because in the latter country the farmers could control the vote, whilst in this country it was not supposed to be possible for them to do so. One point on which the late Agricultural Conference was most firm was on the question of further relief in local taxation, and he ventured to express the hope that the claims of the agriculturists to a larger grant in the present year would receive favourable consideration. Another point on which stress was laid was the question of marking all foreign meat which came to this country, and which was then sold as English meat. He admitted this might be a difficult question to deal with, but if a Committee were appointed, the subject was one which might very properly be brought under their consideration. Another subject which might also be considered was whether the producer got a fair share of the profits. The hon. Member who moved the Address raised the old cry against the landlords. Of all connected with the soil he believed the landlords were the most suffering. In this connection he should like to read a short extract from an essay which appeared in the *Royal Agricultural Society's Journal* in 1871

on the condition of the English agricultural labourer, which was written by Mr. John Dent, M.P. Mr. Dent said—

"Honour is due, not only to the great territorial magnates of England, who have made their estates rich with comfortable homes and pleasant dwellings for the labourers upon them (and there are many of these whom we might name), but still more to many a landlord of only limited means and interest in his property, who is manfully striving to do what is right for his people, and sacrificing his own pleasures for what he conceives to be his duty to those who are to some extent dependent upon him."

If that statement were true he asked whether it was not possible to make advances to landlords at a lower rate of interest than at present? He wished to add that in 1885 he was returned to support the Member for Midlothian, and he remembered the first item in the Programme for that year was a Registration Bill. About 90 Liberal County Members were returned, and they met to consider what steps they should take so as best to support the Member for Midlothian in carrying out his Programme. They begged of the right hon. Gentleman to introduce a Local Government Bill or a Registration Bill before he introduced a Home Rule Bill. The right hon. Gentleman, however, stated that it was necessary to bring forward the Home Rule Bill before proceeding with any other measure, and he replied in a similar strain to a second Memorial signed by 150 Members; the time of the House being completely wasted by the right hon. Gentleman bringing forward his Home Rule Bill. He was convinced that had the right hon. Gentleman taken the advice which was given to him in that year he would have enjoyed a longer term of power and not been in Opposition for the last six years.

Mr. JOHN ROCHE (Galway, E.) said, there was a matter to which he wished to refer. He understood that in his absence the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh (Colonel Saunderson,) without any notice, made an attack upon him, and charged him first with theft and finally with murder. He would ask was it in accordance with the Rules of the House that such charges should be made against any Member, no matter on which side of the House, in his absence and without due notice? He would, therefore, ask permission to reply to

these cowardly and unfounded charges that the Member for North Armagh had thought well to make against him. He understood the Member for North Armagh had said—

"That down at Woodford, that notorious place where so many murders had taken place, there was a bailiff nicknamed 'Balaclava,' and Mr. Roche had made a speech in which he said that the landlords might have their Balaclava, but the tenants would have their Fontenoy. A few days afterwards the man was murdered."

He (Mr. Roche) was born in Woodford; he had resided there up to the present, and within his recollection no murder had ever occurred in the district of Woodford with the exception of the one to which the hon. Gentleman had alluded. No doubt he (Mr. Roche) did make the speech to which reference had been made, but he did not use the language which had been attributed to him. He did say, under strong provocation—the landlords having issued numerous writs of ejectment—that no doubt the landlords might have their Balaclava, but the time would come when the people would have their Fontenoy. That speech was made in the early part of December, and the bailiff was not shot until the 3rd of March following, but the Member for North Armagh had told the House that the bailiff was shot within two days of the day on which the speech was delivered. If the authorities believed for a moment that he was instrumental in the slightest degree in getting this man shot, how was it that they summoned him to attend at the inquest which was held on the body? So much for that charge. The next charge was that he (Mr. Roche) stole a deer, and that he pleaded guilty. He never stole a deer; he never pleaded guilty of stealing a deer; and, finally, he was never fined for such a thing; and he charged the Member for North Armagh to search the files or the records of the Court, and produce anything to show that he was ever fined for stealing a deer. Thirdly, the hon. Member said he was fined for trespass. He was fined for trespass, but the Member for North Armagh took very good care not to tell the House the circumstances under which he was fined. He was fined by Lord Clanricarde 12s. 6d. or fourteen days' imprisonment because he showed Lady Ann Blunt and Mr. Wilfrid Blunt

Mr. R. Jasper More

over an evicted farm, although against Lady Ann Blunt and Mr. Wilfrid Blunt no action was taken. Then the hon. Member for North Armagh said, "he next assaulted a policeman, to which charge he pleaded guilty and got three weeks' imprisonment." He did assault the policeman, and pleaded guilty to it, and he got three weeks' imprisonment. But under similar circumstances—circumstances which he would relate to the House—he would do the same thing to-morrow. What were the circumstances? A political meeting, at which Mr. Blunt and several other English gentlemen were to deliver addresses, and which was to be confined solely and entirely to speeches by English gentlemen, was proclaimed by the right hon. Gentleman who was then Chief Secretary for Ireland. At that meeting there were hundreds of policemen and soldiers, and these swooped down on the meeting when about the platform and batoned and beat them. Mr. Wilfrid Blunt was arrested, and was brought to the police barracks. He (Mr. Roche) was walking beside Lady Ann Blunt and just at his brother-in-law's door, a man who was then in a delicate state of health and was since dead, his relative was standing. A policeman rushed at him, and struck him with his baton along the back of the head. He (Mr. Roche) had a stick in his hand, and he lifted it and struck the policeman. Instead of considering an act of that sort a degradation he considered it one of the proudest acts of his life. Then the Member for North Armagh finally added, "shortly afterwards, on the 16th August, 1890, he was fined £1 for trespass." He was summoned no doubt, and was fined £1 for trespass upon lands that he had permission from the tenants who were paying rent to Lord Clanricarde to walk and shoot upon. But the Member for North Armagh did not tell the House that in the following September his (Mr. Roche's) men caught Clanricarde's bailiffs and his agents shooting upon his bog, accompanied by two of the then Chief Secretary's policemen, who were protecting them. They were caught upon the bog and were summoned. A Removable Magistrate and an evicting landlord were on the Bench; and though he protested against an evicting landlord sitting in judgment upon a case in which he was interested, the landlord insisted upon hearing the case. And what was the result? The

only defence that was attempted to be put in was that there were no cartridges in the guns, and the case was dismissed, and although in his case there was not a shadow of evidence against him he was fined £1. That was all he had to say.

DR. MACGREGOR (Inverness-shire) said, he did not intend to detain the House more than a few moments. He rose to express his great regret and disappointment that Her Majesty's Speech contained no reference whatever to the Highlands of Scotland, considering how the Highland people rallied to the support of the present Government at the last Election, and the confidence they had then reposed in them, he thought they had a right to expect some recognition would be made by the Government of their claims. In consequence of the very bad harvest of last year, the very low prices of stock, and the severe winter in the Highlands, the result was that a very large number of the Highland people were at this moment on the verge of starvation, and it was a great disappointment to them that the Government made no sign of giving any immediate relief. True, a Royal Commission had recently been appointed by the Government to inquire into the land in the Highlands; but at the rate of the present progress made by that Commission, it must be a long time before a Report was submitted to the House, and a long time must elapse before any practical legislation could be effected in their favour. He had no wish whatever to embarrass the Government. On the contrary; he desired to give them a loyal and faithful support in the critical time before them. At the same time, as a Highland Representative, he could not meekly submit to be entirely overlooked in this matter; and if the Government did not intend to introduce Bills of their own to afford relief to the Highlanders, he could only express the hope that they would not place any difficulties in the way of private Members doing so.

MAJOR RASCH (Essex, S.E.) said, he should like, with the permission of the House, to refer to that portion of Her Majesty's Speech in which reference was made to the agricultural industry. He very much regretted that in that Speech they had nothing but platonic sympathy and no practical suggestions with the view to finding a remedy for this depression. He should have thought that the destitution and want of some-

thing like 8,000,000 of English people were as worthy of consideration as One Man One Vote, or tinkering with the registration. He did not want to trouble the House with details of the agricultural ruin which was taking place in the part of the country which he came from. All he could say was this, that in the autumn miles upon miles of land which formerly were in cultivation were now shoulder high in thistles. He knew of a farm of 400 acres in his constituency which was let at 1s. per acre free. That was, the landlord paid 6s. an acre for the pleasure of having somebody else to cultivate it. As for prices, a farm near him sold for under £3 an acre. Another farm of 800 acres of arable land was sold. The purchaser bought it before he had seen the farm. He paid down the first instalment of the purchase-money, but when he came and saw the farm he immediately went away again and nothing had been heard of him since. Another important point was that wages had gone down very much. They only got about 11s. per week in Essex now. That was worthy of the attention of the Government, for it was held and urged in the country that if the Tory Government could only be got out of power wages would go up to 15s. per week. They did not want Her Majesty's Government to effect everything at once. But they wished to suggest to them what they might do with advantage to the country. There was the question of rates and taxes. He saw no reason why a man with £10,000 a year should pay the same rates and taxes as a man who farmed 200 acres; and he was of opinion that something should be done in the direction of modifying the incidence of taxation. The existing system led to the flocking of large numbers of people into the towns and cities, with a consequent increase in the ranks of the unemployed. He had seen one or two very uncomplimentary letters on this subject—one, he thought, addressed to the Prime Minister by one of those gentlemen, the paid agitators, who were now going about. The condition of things which he had described was marked in regard to the Eastern Counties. On the tithe question he hoped the Government would not tinker any longer, but would advance money at, say, 2½ per cent., that the tithe might be sold off

Major Rasch

*MR. R. G. WEBSTER (St. Pancras, E.) said, it was not his intention, in addressing the House on this occasion, to attempt to deal with the nebulous question of Home Rule—a measure which was referred to in Her Majesty's Gracious Speech from the Throne. It was not, therefore, necessary for him at the present moment to consider at what time and under what circumstances the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Midlothian proposed to relieve his supporters from the ludicrous position in which they had for so long been placed, of neither being able to explain or defend their policy or intentions in regard to that matter; nor was it for him to occupy the time of the House in speculating how it might be possible for him to give effect to the electoral addresses of those who composed his majority, and set up in Ireland, according to the promises of a large number of his English supporters—

A subordinate legislative body with powers of self-government under definite safeguards and restrictions,"

and the demands from Ireland of—

"absolute autonomy, and complete independence of all Imperial control,"

except that of the most shadowy description, namely, a veto of the Throne on the advice of the Irish Ministry. It was not for him either to consider upon what bases of reason or justice it would be possible for the right hon. Gentleman to reconcile the granting to Ireland of that complete and absolute control of her own destinies with the retention by her of her right of interference in matters and things affecting Great Britain. But as many opportunities would occur during the present Session of considering the proposals, he would not further refer to them now. But he noticed that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Midlothian did not propose for the moment to place his important Home Rule proposals more conspicuously before the country than he could give help. With that species of help in for which his Parliament was so remarkable, he would draw attention to the diagnosis of the other with one or a in-

stead of occupying their time in endeavouring to pass measures for the benefit of all classes of the community, they were for ever bringing in so-called reforms—measures calculated to excite rather than benefit the people, measures calculated to set the masses against the classes, and to raise that spirit of unrest and dissatisfaction amongst the people which was so fatal to real and substantial progress, and measures which, in reality, had for their object the keeping of themselves in place and in power. They were promised Bills upon many subjects, and amongst them was raised the question of One Man One Vote. Now, he was not going for one moment to say that great improvements might not be made both in our electoral system and in the system of registration. It appeared to him that it might be well, even at this early stage of the proceedings of this Session, whilst their minds were free from the heated controversy which no doubt would ensue, carefully to consider what this One Man One Vote proposal meant. He was by no means certain, even if it were carried into law, that it would benefit their political opponents as much as they imagined. Personally, it was competent for him to look at it from a perfectly *ex parte* point of view, inasmuch as, from careful investigation, he had ascertained that it would not affect in the slightest degree any of the borough seats in North or North-West London. Now, this proposal might have a specious ring about it when addressed to an audience from a platform, but it did not so highly recommend itself when carefully examined and considered. What could be more attractive than to propose to give equality of voting power to every man in the United Kingdom? But this proposal would go but a very short way in that direction, if it made any advance at all. It simply fringes the matter, dealing with a point which in reality was not of pressing importance, and leaving absolutely untouched the very much more important question of the inequality of power exercised by the various constituencies and parts of the United Kingdom in comparison to their strength of polling power. This proposal of One Man One Vote was one of those tinkering matters so dear to the Radical mind, especially where they imagined that its adoption would give them some petty Party advantage. They told them, no

doubt, their action was non-political. He should like to know, if it was, why they were so ardent in pressing it forward, for in itself it was not a pressing question, but stood subordinate to many which were occupying public attention. If the House was to be asked to deal with the matter, he would venture to point out that there was the larger measure of the relative strength of constituencies, which must be considered at one and the same time if true equality of electoral power was to be attained. Were the advocates of One Man One Vote content that Ireland should be over-represented to the number of 20 Members, and Wales to the extent of three? But the inequality did not end there. He found that the average of the electorate returning Unionist Members in the last Parliament from Ireland was 9,000, and Separatists only 6,755; whilst, to refer to individual instances, he saw that in Galway 1,655 electors sent one Representative here; in Kilkenny, 1,639 sent one Member; in Newry, 1,875 electors sent one; or, in all, 5,169 electors sending to this House three Members; whilst Wandsworth, a large and populous suburb of London, which in 1892 had 16,283 electors, sent only a single Member to this House. That was the kind of political inequality which called for redress, and which he ventured to assert could not long be permitted to continue. It was ridiculous and absurd to say that by the so-called One Man One Vote they were giving equal electoral power in the face of the example he had quoted, and which was one out of many that might be given. What was the use of giving a man one vote, and one only, and talking about equal electoral power, when one will have a two-thousandth share in returning Members to Parliament, and the other a sixteen thousandth share? Did not Her Majesty's Ministers see that in the former case the voter had eight times the voting power of the voter in the second case? Then he would further ask to whom did they find the greatest power of the single vote belong? Was it with the most intelligent elector, the most hard-working, and, above all, the most independent? Not a bit of it. By the Reform and Redistribution Bill of 1885 the greatest power was not given to that class of voter, but, in many cases in Ireland, to the less intelligent and

illiterate. As yet the Returns which were ordered last August of the illiterate voters in the last General Election had not been issued by Her Majesty's Government. He regretted this, because the information they contained would materially assist his argument; but in their absence he was driven to those last available. It would be within the recollection of Members who were in the House last Parliament that he carried a Motion last Session in favour of abolishing the illiterate vote by a majority of more than two to one. If the Government were really anxious to do something in the way of electoral reform, why did not they give effect to that deliberately expressed opinion of the House of Commons? Not to trouble the House with many figures, he would simply briefly state that at the Election of 1886 one out of every five electors in Ireland claimed to vote as illiterates, one out of every 64 in England, and one out of every 74 in Scotland. In the County of Donegal, out of 18,000 electors, 7,903 claimed that they were unable to read and write; in Monaghan 3,000 out of 12,000 claimed to vote as illiterates; whilst in Tyrone 9,957 out of a total of 26,787 so claimed to vote. But whilst the statements he then placed before the House were unanswerable, and showed that undue spiritual and other influences were brought to bear at the poll, to which the voters were marched like sheep, and had to vote openly in order to prevent themselves being placed under the bane of those whom they considered their spiritual or political supporters. He did not intend to say any more on the matter at present, except to refer to the fact that the decisions of an impartial legal tribunal in Ireland have clearly shown how grave the evil was, and the gross intimidation practised in certain election contests in that county. Having thus briefly referred to the grave anomalies really existing in the present mode of election to this House, he wished as briefly to refer to the Bill which was brought in last Session by the right hon. Gentleman who was now First Commissioner of Works. It was, if he remembered rightly, brought forward for discussion on a Wednesday, and, as showing the interest felt in this so-called burning question by the last Parliament, he believed it was more than an hour before the subject, and the anticipated burning

Mr. R. G. Webster

eloquence of the right hon. Gentleman, were able to secure a House. This Bill was said to affect 200,000 persons. It is impossible for him to say what proportion of the 200,000 persons so affected voted either for the Tory Party or the Party opposite. He did not imagine that such a Bill would affect the Electoral Returns of the Conservative Party as largely as its supporters either hoped or expected. But in regard to these 2,000 persons, he took it that they had property in various parts of the country, and that they were men of influence, and they might depend upon it that, however they have previously voted, they would certainly alienate them from their side by taking away from them the right to vote in all places where they have the requisite qualifications. They (the Government Party) would no doubt at the same time make them pay rates and taxes—nay, more, they might even make them, as ratepayers, pay their *pro rata* share of the stipends they were proposing to give to Members of Parliament; yet they would debar them from voting for any but one of those Members. They would not, he repeated, gain as much as they thought; but they would, no doubt, succeed in undermining the old principle once dear to the Whigs as well as Tories—namely, that taxation and representation should go together. They would further attack that principle, he supposed, in their Registration Bills, and endeavour to do away with any rating qualification for the register; they would abolish what they describe as the non-residential qualification of the dual voter, and they would establish in lieu of it, by means of continuous occupation, a principle by which a large number of bogus voters could be forced into any constituency a fortnight before an election. They would further, by shortening the term of qualification and by the Continuous Occupation Clause, render personation difficult, if not impossible, of detection. But whilst they might be able to take away the dual vote, they would not be able to destroy the influence which those who hold them might henceforward use against them. What could their object be in this other than to do what they had always aimed at doing—drive the residential gentry from the country, and destroy any influence they may possess? Their driving the landowners from Ireland had not proved

a marked success or benefit to that country; nor did he think it would be so here. They might take away from them the last fragment of interest they might feel in discharging their public duties, by depriving them of their votes, of their duties as County Magistrates, and by lessening their control and management over their own estates; but of one thing they might be assured, that if they were driven from those pursuits they would have but the more leisure to devote their attention and energies to the political life of the country. Let him take a concrete instance of what they proposed to do. He supposed the case of an owner of land in Herefordshire—a man who farmed a certain amount of land, employed a good deal of labour, paid considerably in rates, and was an active member of the Local Bodies, and endeavoured to interest himself in every local work of a beneficial character, and he supposed this man also happened to be a large employer of labour in Birmingham, where he paid largely also to the rates, took an interest in local politics, and where he was obliged to make his home half the yearround. Would not that man feel that he was distinctly and unfairly treated, and rightly so, by being deprived of his right of voting, as he now did in both places in which he took so much interest, and to whose expenditure he so largely contributed? As his hon. Friend the Member for North Hackney said last Session, they should put their constitutional machine to some practical work instead of stopping from time to time to dangle these little bits of constitutional change before the electors. It was idle to put on the smoothing plane before they had used the jack plane; that was to say, so long as there existed the vast inequality in the value of each vote in the constituencies as at present, it seemed trivial to bring forward a matter of this kind. In his opinion, they ought to deal in electoral reform in the same way as they did in Scotland. Before 1832 there was an abuse of the plural vote in that country, but the reform which put an end to it was not that of abolishing plural voting, but by preventing faggot voting and by increasing the number of voters, so as to make the plural voting comparatively unimportant. In conclusion, he wished to say that, in his opinion, the abolition of the plural vote, the redistribution of seats, the

prevention of Illiterate Voting Clauses, and the efficient amendment of the Registration Laws are all matter which cannot be dealt with in fairness, justice, and equity by anything like piecemeal legislation. If the right hon. Gentleman really wished to secure an equal electoral voice to the whole country, they could only do so, in his opinion, by wide and comprehensive Bills dealing with the whole question in all its aspects. The simple proposal to do away with dual voting would not check gerrymandering; it would rather give a stimulus to it. Let the House suppose that he had a vote for Midlothian and also for St. George's, Hanover Square; that he resided a part of the year in each of those constituencies. He supposed that even the most Radical measure would not go so far in the direction of unfairness and injustice as not to leave the elector who paid rates and taxes in two parts of the country the option as to where he exercised the franchise? Both he and all other Conservatives similarly situated would declare their option for Midlothian. The Agents of both Political Parties would take care to pour their voting power into all closely-contested seats. Though, no doubt, the Radical electioneering agents, by importing under the Continuous Occupation Clauses of their Registration Bill large numbers of illiterate voters from Cork and other Irish constituencies just before an election into Midlothian, Glasgow, or Perth, would attempt to return by this monstrous process fictitious Scotch Representatives holding the Gladstonian faith; and he, for his part, should, therefore, oppose these tinkering reforms as useless and vexatious, and as subversive of the best and truest interests of the people.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (MR. JOHN MORLEY, Newcastle-upon-Tyne): Mr. Speaker, I followed the hon. Member who has just sat down with all that attention which has been given to other Members of this House, but I hope he will not think that I am lacking in courtesy if I refrain from following him through the somewhat discursive topics over which he ranged in his speech. Much of it was undoubtedly more suited to the Second Reading of the Bill which will be brought in by the Prime Minister, and the other topics were not sufficiently entered upon to deserve

more elaborate comment. The discussion to-night opened with the speech of the hon. and gallant Member for Armagh (Colonel Saunderson), and he was speedily followed by the right-hon. Member for West Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain). It is no disparagement to the hon. and gallant Gentleman to say that a speech made by the right hon. Member for West Birmingham is one of as great importance almost as can be delivered in this House. But if the speech delivered by the right hon. Gentleman is all that he has to say on the opening of so critical a Session as this—if what he said to-night is the last word he has to say on the character of this Session—if the topics he touched upon are not to be touched upon in any different spirit, he will disappoint those who surround him. I think the right hon. Gentleman began by touching on foreign affairs. And how did he show his fitness for guiding the deliberations of this House in foreign affairs? I do not think I have ever heard more mischievous utterances in this House than those which fell from the right hon. Gentleman upon one of the most delicate questions of foreign affairs. He charges the Prime Minister and myself with using language before the election which has led—[*Opposition cheers*—] I do not suppose Gentlemen who cheer that statement remember a word of it. The right hon. Gentleman taxed us with being the cause of certain embarrassments. [*Renewed Opposition cheers.*] Yes, but do you reflect now what is likely to be the effect of what he said to-night? Everybody knows that the success which has attended our presence in Egypt during the last few years has been due to what?—to co-operation between the Khedive and the English representative. I wonder whether the English representative will thank the right hon. Gentleman for the language he used to-night about the Khedive. He called him young, which is not an abusive epithet. He called him vain, which is. He called him fanatical, which shows how little the right hon. Gentleman knows about the subject. It But how is that co-operation upon which the successful co-operation in Egypt depends if state position of the right hon. G. themselves at liberty to do which must have the Khedive at

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citing him to desert that course of co-operation upon which our success depends? The right hon. Gentleman, in that genial solicitude and friendly spirit with which we know he is animated, asked us sundry questions. He asked us questions about Uganda. I would point out to the House that so long as Gentlemen opposite were in office nothing was done and not a word was spoken to show that they did not contemplate the abandonment of Uganda after the withdrawal of the East Africa Company. [Mr. A. J. BALFOUR dissented.] In spite of the dissenting gesture of the Leader of the Opposition, I say that nothing was done or said to show that they did not contemplate the abandonment of Uganda. For example, in June of last year my noble Friend, Lord Kimberley, put to the then Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary a question. The Prime Minister had said that a railway would have to be made, but that a pretty considerable interval of time would be occupied in the construction of that railway. Lord Kimberley said—

“ Lord Salisbury will forgive my saying that there will be a very considerable time before this railway is completed, and I would like to know ”—

the question the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham put to-night—

“ what our relations with the country will be during this long interval.”

To that most pregnant, pithy, and proper question the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary said not one single word of reply. Uganda bristles with difficult questions, and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham perhaps has not considered all these difficult questions. If he had he would not grudge us the time that has been demanded for an inquiry into the real nature of the problem which you are called on to deal with. But, however that may be, a Motion down on the Paper of the House, the name of my hon. Friend the Member for Northampton, and when that is made, whether I am ready to move the question of the purchase of the Uganda Railway for the Government. Sir,

question in which the House undoubtedly and evidently takes great interest—I mean the release of certain prisoners. I am not going to say that the passage which the right hon. Gentleman quoted from a speech made by me in 1888 in Dublin is anything but a complete misrepresentation of the whole purport of that passage. The amnesty movement for the dynamiters was not then active. I am not sure if it was started. There is no word in that passage or in that speech which can possibly be applied as intended by me to relate to the dynamiters. Whatever I said then, I said not a word on that subject. The right hon. Gentleman forgot that in July last, at the critical moment when Members were brought face to face with their constituents, and I was challenged by a certain section of Irish constituents of mine as to whether I would or would not vote for this release, I told them frankly and fully, in a letter printed in all the newspapers at the moment, that I would not. Therefore, what is the use of going back to old speeches which have no bearing on this topic? I would gladly read that speech to the House—I have it somewhere—but I am not fond of the *crambe repetita* of old speeches. I defy anyone to find a word in that speech which applies to dynamite. A curious argument was used by the right. hon. Gentleman with reference to the release of Egan. The right hon. Gentleman said that my right hon. Friend released Egan to please—and as part of a bargain with—gentlemen opposite. And then he quotes a passage from a speech by my hon. Friend the Member for Waterford to show that this will not satisfy them or please them at all, and will not be considered by them as a bargain.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I beg pardon. Does the right hon. Gentleman assert that in the speech I have just made I said he had released Egan in order to please hon. Members opposite? I said nothing of the kind.

MR. J. MORLEY: Then I fail to understand.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: May I explain what I did say? I said that under ordinary circumstances I should not criticise these releases, or the exercise of the clemency of the Crown in these, but that from the speech of the Secretary for Ireland, I and

others had concluded that they were part of a general policy of release; but that having heard the statement of the Prime Minister on Tuesday last, I accepted it in full, and that so far as the Home Office was concerned I had not a single word of criticism to offer.

MR. J. MORLEY: Of course, I entirely accept what the right hon. Gentleman says, but I fail to see the point of his argument—and I fail to see the point of his quotation from the speech of my hon. Friend the Member for Waterford. However, I do not wish to labour that point. [*Ironical Opposition Laughter.*] Well, you may think that we are bad and sinister men if you please, but do not think that we are so foolish as to commit these acts, which you think are bad acts, in order to fulfil a bargain which is not going to be kept by the other side. The right hon. Gentleman wound up with what I think, with all due respect for his great abilities and powers, was about the most puerile question or set of questions ever put in this House. Now, to-day he wants to know what are the provisions of the Bill for the better government of Ireland. If he really wants to know, all that need happen is that this Debate should come to an end, and the Bill will be brought in the next day. I cannot imagine a more lame and impotent conclusion to a speech than a series of questions of that kind within a possible few hours, and within a certain few days, of the production of a Bill in all its details. I will return later on to the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman on the release of the Gweedore prisoners. The Debate began with a speech by the leader of the Opposition (Mr. A. J. Balfour). With the temper of that speech I can find, so far as the present Government are concerned, little fault, though I should find much fault with its temper so far as the great question of the relations between England and Ireland is concerned. The right hon. Gentleman opened the debate by charging me with dropping precautions for the detection and punishment of crime in Ireland, which, if I had been alive to my duty as one of those responsible for Government in Ireland, I should not have dropped. Well, after all, the test of a policy lies in broad facts—and what are the broad facts? I will come to particular facts in a moment. Let us first look at the broad facts of the condition

of Ireland, in spite of what the right hon. Gentleman considers an almost criminal piece of action on our part. Agrarian outrages, which in 1891 were 472, were in 1892 405. For the first six months of 1892, when Gentlemen opposite were in power, they were 231; for the second six months, when that which the right hon. Gentleman regards as a great instrument of government had dropped from our hands—

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Instrument of conviction.

MR. J. MORLEY: I do not care whether you call it instrument of conviction or of government. The right hon. Gentleman seems to think that government consists in conviction. I do not. Well, in 1891 the whole crime, agrarian plus non-agrarian, was 1,879; in 1892 it was 1,840. The agrarian charges from August 22nd, 1891—I want to take this every way, that the House may see that I am not playing any of those juggling tricks with figures with which—most calumniously—Dublin Castle is sometimes charged—to January 23rd, 1892, were 151; from August 22nd, 1892, to January 23rd, 1893, they were 129. Take other tests. The right hon. Gentleman will, I am sure, see the importance of these tests. Take the rent test, the favourite test of Gentlemen opposite. Rents were never better paid than now, with no Crimes Act in force. More than that, I hear from those who have the best means of knowing, and who, as far as I am aware, have no special bias, that the feeling between the police and the people during the last three or four months has been better than it has ever been since 1879. There are other facts which illustrate the social condition of Ireland. There are the Winter Assizes. Did they bear out the proposition that the revocation of the Proclamation for putting the Crimes Act into operation was a failure and a source of disaster? Take the four Provinces. In Connaught there was a decline both in serious crimes and in minor offences. In Munster there was a decrease of 21 in serious crimes, and there was, I admit, an increase of 165 in minor offences. In Leinster there was an increase, no doubt, in serious crimes in the county of Wick (the right hon. and gallant Friend's county). Of these six counties, the only one in which there was a party character arising

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elections, leaving an increase of six ordinary cases, which I am sure he will admit is of no account in a county of a large and populous character. Lastly, in the Province of Leinster, there was a decrease of 19 in serious and of 165 in minor offences, and save the two counties of Meath and Westmeath, where there was a certain increase, though not a very large one, the Chief Baron said that everything appeared to be as satisfactory, as orderly, and as peaceable as could be expected. Now, I have some more figures, but I think I will spare the House. As to convictions, there is a point attempted to be made upon the Winter Assizes. Under the head of convictions in the Winter Assizes of 1891-92, the convictions were 58. In the Winter Assizes of 1892 the convictions were 60. Then the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition dropped an innuendo—which, I am bound to say, he withdrew when I contradicted him—that I had kept back certain cases from these Winter Assizes in order to improve these figures.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I never suggested that was the motive. I said it was for some motive unknown. I never made the other suggestion.

MR. J. MORLEY: Yes, I understand that; but as the reason was left unknown, gentlemen on his own side of the House thought that he had found me out in some sinister practice. There was no sinister practice. First of all, I ought to say upon this matter, as the right hon. Gentleman well knows, that the Chief Secretary has nothing whatever to do with this part of public administration. I was never consulted directly or indirectly any more than any other Chief Secretary. It was the business entirely of the Attorney General. Secondly, it is untrue to say that bail cases were excluded. There were 216 cases returned at these Winter Assizes, of which 46 were bail cases. Now to measure that 51 cases were the bail cases returned for the Winter Assizes last year, therefore I agree there were 5 fewer cases. I agree further that there was a very large number of bail cases reserved, 129, but of these 81 were cases arising out of election riots, cases which were never meant to be sent at great trouble and expense to Winter Assizes. If I had been disposed to have pursued a Machiavellian policy, it would have been our interest to send as many

cases as we could to the Winter Assizes for reasons which the right hon. Gentleman will well understand. I hope that innuendo, as I think it was, has been disposed of. The right hon. Gentleman said the only part of the Crimes Act which he left in force was those clauses and provisions which allowed a change of venue and secret inquiries. I refer to the first Section of the Act. He resented the hint which was charitably insinuated by some gentlemen below the Gangway that the dropping of the Crimes Act practically, except in those two matters, was in view of the near approach of the General Election. The right hon. Gentleman said, "Oh, no; it was an affair of long standing." Now, if there was one part of Ireland where I should have thought that the right hon. Gentleman and his Government would have regarded the Crimes Act as of importance it was the County of Clare. When was the proclamation revoked in the County of Clare? This affair of long standing! It was revoked on the 22nd of July, 1892,

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: That was after the election.

Mr. J. MORLEY: Yes, but if the right hon. Gentleman had such confidence in this instrument of government, this instrument of conviction, how came he to drop it in the County of Clare, where, if anywhere, I should have thought it was most needed? Let us look at this; for this, after all, is not a small question. It is a general question of what, after all, has been the effect of the operation of that section allowing secret inquiry, which he blames me so much for dropping. The right hon. Gentleman on Tuesday night asked me how many men had been made amenable to the law for offences in Clare and elsewhere during the last few months. I would just like to ask the right hon. Gentleman what his secret inquiry clause did for them. We spent many nights in this House, I well remember, upon that section, and what is the end of it? Thirty-four inquiries were held, thirteen prosecutions followed, and eleven convictions. But in the county of Clare four inquiries only were held, as to which the right hon. Gentleman especially interrogated me—four inquiries were held, there were no prosecutions and no convictions. I do not triumph in that, but I show that in

dropping the power of using Section 1 of the Crimes Act, I have only dropped a weapon which was of little use to those who forged it, which was no use in the county where you would suppose it would be most needful, and which would be of no use at this moment. The hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh said to-night, in a very handsome way, that he was bound to admit that I had done much less mischief than he had apprehended. I was glad to hear that, because there are some hon. Gentlemen sitting near him who have been going about—for example, there was the hon. Member for the St. Stephen's Green Division of Dublin—who said that I represented the embodied spirit of revolution, and desired to carry out the views of Danton and Robespierre. Sir, he says that I am an apologist of the September massacres. I am no more of an apologist of the September massacre than I am of the gunpowder plot. But in what sense can he say that during the time in which I have been in Ireland there has been anything like revolution? On the contrary, the figures I have quoted show that whatever circumstances have followed the change of Government—I will not be so arrogant as to call it an effect—I will leave it to others to say that—there has been an increase of order. My hon. and gallant Friend referred to the County of Clare, and he referred to a meeting of magistrates which was held there the other day, presided over by the Lord Lieutenant of that county. I have not a word to say against that meeting. I have every respect for the motives of those who got the meeting together, and I do not complain of the spirit in which its proceedings were conducted. But when those proceedings are made a charge against the present Irish Administration, let us look at what those charges were. First, that the military force has been taken from Clare. Yes; but the military force was reduced, not in the year 1892, but in 1890, by the military authorities, with the full concurrence of the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. A. J. Balfour). The second complaint was that we did not give the county of Clare its fair share of the free force of constabulary. The hon. Member ought to have known, and the magistrates must have known that we have no power by statute to increase the free forces until

the triennial revision, which takes place in 1894. But, then, you will say, you could increase the extra force. Is it our fault we did not increase the extra force? It can be done, no doubt, if occasion arises. But mark what happened in March last year. The Grand Jury of Clare, composed mainly of those gentlemen who attended this meeting, asked for a reduction, and it was in consequence of their request, I presume, and with the full concurrence of the Government, that 47 men were withdrawn. Then some figures were produced as to crime in Clare. They were not unfairly used, but more unfortunate figures for the theories of the hon. Gentleman I cannot imagine. In the year 1891 there was more crime in Clare than in 1892, and and there was more crime in the first half of 1892 than in the second half. These are the last figures I have to trouble the House with. Much has been said about Clare here and in other places. But I believe this statement cannot be disputed, that serious crimes in 1892 in Clare have been fewer than in any year since 1886. Take the murders, firing at the person, killing or maiming cattle, and firing into dwellings. The figures are thus: 22 in 1887, 18 in 1888, 27 in 1889, 24 in 1890, 25 in 1891, and 12 in 1892. Now I hope I shall not be understood for a moment as saying that the state of this county is satisfactory. Few of those who have ever been responsible for the government of Ireland for many years have ever been able to say that. I think even the right hon. Gentleman himself (Mr. A. J. Balfour) will admit that when he believed he had got the firmest hold upon Ireland, he knew that he had scarcely any hold at all upon county Clare. There is no general organization, no systematic conspiracy; but there has been an increase, no doubt, during the last three years of intimidation by local gangs for trivial private reasons. That is a state of demoralization most difficult for any administration to get at. All I can say is, that no measures are being relaxed, the stopping of the Crimes Act has had no effect of a bad kind, and I do not believe that all the powers the Crimes Act could confer would be worth anything in dealing with such a state of society. My hon. Friend the Member for Clare says that there may be further disorder in this county unless there is a

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revision of rents. I can assure him that the matter is receiving attention, not only in Clare, but all over Ireland, and I can only hope, and indeed feel pretty confident that even if such a measure should not become law the state of Clare will improve. Now, my hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Saunderson) produced a very dramatic effect by reading a telegram from the Court of Queen's Bench in Dublin to-night, on the subject of night seizures. I will tell the House quite plainly how that matter stands, just observing, in passing, that that telegram is not the last word, because there ought to be added to it that that decision is appealed against, and will be heard by another Court. [An hon. MEMBER: Since the speech.] The hon. and gallant Gentleman says that the notice of appeal has been given since the speech. [An hon. MEMBER: Whose speech?] Since the speech of the hon. and gallant Gentleman, I presume. He is quite misinformed. The Crown Solicitor was instructed to appeal if the judgment went against us. This is an important question. It is not a question to be decided without taking a great deal of trouble to find out how the law stands. I submit to this House that the policy of recent legislation has been to restrict the levying of writs and other legal processes by night. The Irish Government doubt the humanity, the policy, and, in spite of this important judgment, the charity of night serving of writs. The rule which the present Administration has laid down is the rule which carried Ireland through from 1837 to 1860; but there was only one way of testing it. We were told by the Sheriffs and others that to return to the old rule was illegal. There was one way of testing it, and that was by putting the rule into operation, and we then invited the Sheriff of Kerry to test the legality of our action, and it is his case that has been heard to-day. We gave him every opportunity for obtaining a legal decision on the subject. Now, I want to make an observation which will startle right hon. Gentlemen opposite. A Statute was passed in, I think, the 14th and 15th year of the Queen, which made it a misdemeanour punishable by fine and imprisonment to execute process under Civil Bill decrees by night. Civil Bill decrees, I may explain to English Members, correspond very much to County

Court Judgments in this country. Will it be believed that under the government of law and order, out of 1,285 cases during the Administration of the right hon. Gentleman and his supporters, in which police protection was afforded by night, 712 were seizures under Civil Bill decrees? That is to say, 712 were statutable misdemeanours aided and abetted by the police of the right hon. Gentleman.

An hon. MEMBER: Put them in the dock—they ought to be impeached.

Another hon. MEMBER: Try them.

MR. J. MORLEY: Possibly he may have some answer to make to that remark. If not, I would call the attention of the House to this—that these acts were just as unlawful as cattle maiming or cattle lifting.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Legal moon-lighting!

MR. J. MORLEY: The hon and learned Member for Mid Armagh charged me with making what he called a clean sweep in the appointment of Governors of County Lunatic Asylums in Ireland. Hon. Gentlemen in England may think that is a little matter, but in Ireland they have so little local self-government that small things seem great. The hon. and learned Member said we had inflicted a deliberate slight—wanton affront—upon those whom he called loyalists. I should like to explain this to the House, because it may prevent our being troubled with a great many questions. Parliament votes one moiety of the cost of pauper lunatics, the other half is charged on the county cess, and that, mind you, is paid by the occupiers. The Lord Lieutenant nominates and appoints, in law, all the Governors, but, in practice, half are nominated by the Grand Jury, and the other half by the Lord Lieutenant. In appointing to Boards in 1892 the local contributory bodies confined their choice of representatives in some cases wholly—and in most cases almost wholly—to particular sections and a particular creed of the community. The hon. Gentleman who raised this point says he is most anxious to see Catholics and Nationalists placed on those Boards. He mentioned Armagh. The Roman Catholic population there is 46 per cent. In 1892 the Grand Jury, out of 18 members, nominated nine Protestants and two Catholics, and the Lord Lieutenant appointed seven Protestants

and two Catholics. Now, our misdemeanour is that in 1893 we appointed five Roman Catholics and four Protestants, and yet we are charged with ostracism. Take Downpatrick; the Roman Catholic population amounts to 30 per cent. In 1892 the Board consisted of 16 Protestants and two Roman Catholics. In 1893 the Grand Jury nominated nine Protestants and no Catholics, and the Lord Lieutenant appointed three Protestants and six Roman Catholics. I will give the House one more instance: In Letterkenny, County Donegal, the Roman Catholic population is 77 per cent. In 1892, the Board consisting of 17 members, there were 15 Protestants and two Roman Catholics. In 1893, under the system described as one of ostracism, the Grand Jury nominated eight Protestants and one Roman Catholic, but the Lord Lieutenant has appointed two Protestants and seven Roman Catholics. I have myself gone through the lists with the utmost care. I quite admit that there may in some cases have been omissions of gentlemen whose names those concerned would be glad to see restored. All I have got to say is, the remedy is not far to seek: If one of the nominees of the Grand Jury will agree to give way, I will undertake to say his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant will substitute for him the person desired. This ought not to be a matter of Party difference. I am amazed at the violence and warmth of the language used by hon. Gentlemen on this subject. Two or three years ago Lord Zetland, then Viceroy, met Archbishop Logue, who complained that the greater part of his co-religionists had been weeded out of the Letterkenny Board. Lord Zetland promised to consider the claims of his co-religionists. What Lord Zetland promised he would do we have done. Hon. Gentlemen opposite cannot complain because the late Government brought in a Bill for better local government in Ireland, though we did not hear much of it. If that Bill had become law Governors of these asylums would have been appointed by popular elective County Councils. Why, then, do any of you quarrel with us for endeavouring to make some approach to the kind of selection you proposed? I have two other topics to allude to, but they are not unimportant. The first is the Evicted

Tenants Commission. In considering the question of appointing this Commission, I did so because I was brought face to face with a problem and a difficulty which will confront any Minister who now becomes responsible for the government of Ireland. It is not only the Nationalists who feel the pressure of this question, and I was very glad to observe the other night that the Leader of the Opposition did not attack or criticise the policy of reinstatement. I presume he was in the same mind as he was on rather a memorable night in June, 1891, when he said, with a vehemence almost amounting to passion, that, if he were an Irish landlord, he would sooner beg his bread than give in to the Plan of Campaign; but I noted farther on what followed. He said on that occasion that when the illegal conspiracy came to an end he would remember that, after all,

"these men were acted upon by those in whose advice they thought they could trust, and that they were compelled"—

I am not responsible for the right hon. Gentleman's history, I am only quoting—

"by intimidation in many cases to follow courses which they regretted, and for my own part, even if it were not wholly to my own personal and pecuniary interest, I should desire to restore peace to that part of the country in which my property was situated, and to see that on fair, equitable, and even generous terms, the tenants were restored to their ancient homes. Those are the principles on which I should act."

Mr. Speaker, the hon. and gallant Gentleman, or some one, has said those are the principles on which I have acted; that the composition of the Commission was unfair on the face of it. [*Cheers.*] Yes, I agree it was unfair if you wanted to have one more pitched battle between the hon. Member for Cork and the hon. Member for South Hunts. If you wanted to fight over again the battle between the Irish landlords and the Irish tenants, with every circumstance for passion, of provocation, for exasperation, I agree my Commission was not fairly appointed. But I cannot conceive anything more mischievous than the appointment of a Commission upon any such principle as that would indicate. The Commission was not wanted to be a Court to try either Irish landlords or the Irish tenants. The hon. Member for Armagh spoke of this being a Commission to try landlords. He said with a real paroxysm of extravagance, it was

a scandal to make such a Commission, Judges disposing of property, &c. How can any Commission of Inquiry dispose of property? It is quite true that the majority of the Commission were gentlemen of Nationalist sympathies. [*Laughter.*] Oh! it is a great pity that in all those Commissions, since the Devon Commission downwards, you have kept gentlemen of Nationalist sympathies off. That has been the root of mischief. But though they were of Nationalist sympathies they were not appointed to try a political question. Who were they? They were men thoroughly conversant with the special difficulties of the case. Two of them were officials of the very highest competency, experience, and responsibility in connection with the land question in Ireland. Mr. Redington, a landlord and county gentleman, has held public employment; he has been bred in the atmosphere of officialism, and, I would say, even of landlordism. I will not go more fully into these small points. I want the House to see that this was a sincere attempt to get at the solution of the difficulty. Mr. Redington's speech was misquoted by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the other evening. What did he say? He did not say that landlords were the worst enemies of that class in the country, but the landlords who supported the policy of Lord Salisbury. Do hon. Gentlemen really believe that the fact of three out of the four Commissioners having Nationalist sympathies impairs their capacity of judging equitably and practically of a practical and existing evil? Then the President. What better guarantee could I have given to Parliament and the country than my invitation to an English Judge of great ability, full of those deep traditions of respect for law, for private rights, and for the foundations of property? I will be quite frank with the House of Commons. I knew all along, and I know now, that it will be very difficult—perhaps it will be impossible—to settle this question against violent opposition from the landlords. It was my plain interest to avoid every word and every step that could provoke or irritate the landlords, and that I was not unsuccessful in this was shown by the fact that, in spite of your discontent and suspicion with the com-

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position of the Commission, the landlords, down to the very hour when its proceedings began, were willing to bring their cases before it. Then you could not have believed it was a packed Commission. For if you believed it was a packed Commission you would have turned your backs upon it. You complain that the Commission was partial. Hon. Members below the Gangway made that complaint. Nothing short of a small Commission of archangels would have satisfied them. Why did the landlords break off? Because the President refused to allow counsel to cross-examine. I was never more amazed in my life than when the Leader of the Opposition took the point that cross-examination should have been allowed because this was a Viceregal Commission. What on earth has that got to do with it? It does not matter whether the Commission sits by the authority of Viceregal or Royal Warrant. The propriety of cross-examination depends upon the nature of the matter under investigation. It was a most irrelevant point.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I laid no stress upon that. I pointed out that, if the right hon. Gentleman relied upon precedent, precedent is against him, but I said I put those matters aside. I distinctly recollect I said that my view was that this Commission could not do anything unless there was in it some machinery to carry out efficient cross-examination, and I endeavoured to show by examples that no such machinery existed.

MR. J. MORLEY: I will not press that too heavily against the right hon. Gentleman. But what does he mean by saying precedent is against me? Does he mean to say that in Viceregal Commissions cross-examination has been universal? There have been 13 such Commissions in 32 years, and of those Commissions seven allowed cross-examination and six did not. Therefore the precedent, it is true, by a majority of one, is against me.

MR. CARSON: Did they disallow it?

MR. J. MORLEY: I cannot say. Reference is made to the language of Mr. Justice Day, and the hon. and learned Member for Armagh, with a recklessness which, if I may so without offence, gives me a very indifferent idea of the accuracy of Conservative Members of the Irish Bar, said Mr. Justice Day had taken this

particular point about Viceregal Commissions. I have read the report of what the Judge said at the Belfast Commission, and there is not one word about Viceregal Commissions in it. Mr. Justice Day used in 1886 at Belfast the same language that Mr. Justice Mathew used recently in Dublin. I need hardly say counsel were importuning him to be heard, but Mr. Justice Day, while expressing his pleasure at seeing so numerous a bar ranged before him, and while commenting on the assistance it would be in their power to afford him, said he wished it to be clearly understood he was not sitting there to administer justice between parties, nor to determine any issues whatever, for none were raised before them; they were sitting simply as a Court of Inquiry, for the purpose of obtaining information which would enable them to report to the Crown on the matters referred to them. Mr. Justice Day also remarked it was perfectly well known that the Commissioners appointed to inquire into corrupt practices did not have counsel before them. Finally, he said—"I deny the right of counsel to interfere. I will not recognise it in any shape or form."

MR. DUNBAR BARTON: I suppose the humblest Member of this House may explain himself when he is accused of inaccuracy. I am not certain whether I said that Justice Day used the word Viceregal, but I repeat—and I do not think the right hon. Gentleman will deny it—that in the case I mentioned Justice Day stated that he had statutory powers to summon witnesses; that distinguished his case from the others I referred to, and that was the ground on which he based his refusal to allow that examination.

MR. J. MORLEY: At any rate, that was the ground on which the landlords based their action. I will not go into the question of the exact degree of amenity of the learned gentlemen who were engaged in the case of the Evicted Tenants Commission; but it is not denied that the proceedings of the Commission were conducted with undisputed impartiality. Gentlemen who break the law from day to day may not think so. We shall in a few days have the Report of the Commission before us, and that will be the time to go fully into the question. I have thought it right to say this much in order to vindicate my

own motives and the motives of the Irish Government in appointing the Commission, and I hope to make hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway aware that they have made a great mistake in taking up this attitude against it. I only wish further to express my sense of the great obligation that those who care for a satisfactory solution of this question owe to the learned President, who at great sacrifice to himself undertook what has proved a thankless task—thankless so far as amenity and urbanity were concerned—but not thankless in good fruits, and I am in good hope, not knowing anything, that when the Commissioners report they will provide material for leading us some further way to the solution of this difficult question. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham laid some stress on the question of the Gweedore prisoners. The right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition the other night said—and I was rather surprised to hear it—that these men had been let out without my taking any steps either to discover the Judge's opinion or to go into the merits of the case. I venture to think that this was a most extraordinary assumption. Why did the right hon. Gentleman say that I never went into the merits of the case? I read all the depositions, and thou, in spite of the mockery of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, I thought there would be no harm in fortifying my lay judgment by obtaining the opinion of the Lord Chancellor, who is, after all, President of the highest Court of Appeal in the country. Now, the first question involved is as to the opinion of the Judge who tried the case. As I said, in answer to a question to-night, we did not apply to Mr. Justice Gibson for a new Report, because in January, 1890, he had written a most careful Report to the Lord Lieutenant upon a memorial of one of the prisoners. Though the memorial concerned only one of the prisoners, nevertheless the learned Judge took the opportunity of surveying the leading features of the case as a whole. I am not going to violate usage by quoting words from the Judge's Report, but, as I have been challenged, I hope it is permitted me to say that Mr. Justice Gibson was in 1890 entirely unfavourable to the release. But I have a right to say, under the circumstances, that,

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though he expressed no dissatisfaction with the verdict, he undoubtedly felt that some other verdict was conceivable. The Lord Chancellor took this point, that the evidence was open to much doubt, and that, even if it were less doubtful, considering the nature of the transaction, three years of penal servitude was really an exemplary sentence. And I would remind the House that of the four men released the other day it was never suggested that one was the actual murderer. There was a law point raised with which I will not trouble the House, but the point was decided by five Judges against four—that is, only by a majority of one—and in that majority was the Judge—I say it without disrespect to him—whose sentence and discharge were concerned. If that Judge had not attended, the man Coll would have been discharged, and there would have been now no question of releasing him. A great point was made by the right hon. Member for Birmingham to-night, and by the Leader of the Opposition the other night, as to the evidence alleged to have been given by the Attorney General for Ireland. Both those right hon. Gentlemen made an absolute mistake as to the point of that evidence. The Leader of the Opposition made one of the most tremendous statements that I can imagine being made in a matter of this kind. He said that there were facts in the brief for the defence which, if known, might have ended in the hanging of these men. But if the right hon. Gentleman had read the evidence with care he would have seen that it would not bear out his statement in one single instance, and the Attorney General for Ireland authorizes me to deny without qualification that the facts stated in their brief touched in any way the point affecting the prisoners who were released. The right hon. Gentleman entirely misconceived the remarks as to these men. They were glad to get out of the clutches of the Crown. They were not the men whom we had released; they were the men who were acquitted and discharged. What was the point of the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition the other night, and the strong contention of the right hon. Member for Birmingham to-night? It was that the Attorney General for Ireland and the hon. Member for Louth (Mr. Timothy Healy) had in

effect stated that there were facts in the briefs which would have condemned these men to be hanged if they had only been known. What are the facts? There were 10 men indicted for murder, 13 for conspiracy—23 in all. Six of those who were indicted for murder, including Gallagher, were discharged; five of those indicted for conspiracy, including Father M'Fadden, were discharged; there were four of the men indicted for murder who received sentences of penal servitude, and eight indicted for conspiracy who received small terms of imprisonment. It is a strange argument that the men whose guilt was doubtful ought to be kept in prison, because the men who, in the opinion of their counsel, might have been proved guilty were let off.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: That was not my argument. I am in the recollection of the House, and I challenge the right hon. Gentleman to prove his assertion if, in the remarks he has made, he intended to refer to me.

MR. J. MORLEY: My impression is that I am correct. Of course, if the right hon. Gentleman says that it was not his argument, I will accept his statement.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I distinctly say it was not my argument.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: Yes, it was. If the right hon. Gentleman wishes I will repeat it.

MR. J. MORLEY: If the right hon. Gentleman was so unsuccessful before in making me understand his argument, I do not see the use of his repeating it. What were the grounds of the release? The release of these men depended on the circumstances, the time, and the mode of the whole transaction. The hon. Member for Devonport (Mr. E. J. Morton), in one of the most remarkable "first speeches" that has ever been made in this House—and I congratulate him upon it—depicted with much eloquence and power the circumstances of this transaction. Well, what were the circumstances? An attempt was made, under conditions of great excitement among the people, to arrest the parish priest, who was passionately revered and admired by his flock, just after he had performed at the altar rites which the people regarded as of the most sacred character. I do not say for a moment that this diminishes the criminality of the offence. I am never prepared to

lighten offences of this kind. Homicide is homicide, and homicide of a police officer in the discharge of his duty is murder. Passion is not, of course, admitted as an excuse for murder; but mark this—of not one of the four men whom we have released is it suggested that he was the actual murderer. I know that technically every one who took part in that fray was guilty of murder. Now the first ground of the release was the circumstances in which the transaction began. The second ground was the extremely difficult character of the evidence as to the identification of the actual participators in the crime, for there were more than a thousand people present in a state of the wildest confusion and excitement, and the whole affair only occupied two minutes; and the third ground was that, having regard to the facts, the degree of punishment already suffered by the men—three years' penal servitude—was amply sufficient to satisfy the ends of justice, whether with regard to Coll or the other three men. I will put an additional ground, as to the value of which lawyers may judge. I can quite imagine that when the country is in a disturbed state a severe sentence might be passed and maintained in order to produce a strong and deterrent effect. But Donegal is now tranquil; indeed, its tranquillity is complete. Not a single case was returned from Donegal to the last Winter Assizes, and therefore, I repeat, that on these grounds—the circumstances of the arrest of Father M'Fadden, the doubts as to the participation of these men in the crime, and the punishment they have already suffered—the men were released. Some question has been raised about these men being released on ticket-of-leave. I have gone into precedents, and I think there must be some difference between Irish and English practice on this point. But it would have been absurd to require from these men, who live in the wild and distant parts of Donegal, whether they were rightly or wrongly released, compliance with all the conditions of tickets-of-leave. I will detain the House no longer. I have nothing to add to the grounds of release that I have stated. I believe that clemency, a wise and just clemency, is one of the arts of government. For my own part, I care not what the decision of even this House might be if a vote was taken upon the matter. I

only know that there is no transaction in which I have taken a part since I entered public life in regard to which I shall always look back upon with more complete satisfaction and gratification than the part I have taken in the release of these four men. All I have to say is that, unlike the right hon. Gentleman opposite, I do not profess to have waved any enchanter's magic wand over Ireland. I make no boast and I ask for no praise. It may be that our policy may fail, but I would say to the House what a great man said to it once before, "Do not commit the crime of wishing it to fail."

MR. DARLING (Deptford): I beg to move the adjournment of the Debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—*(Mr. Charles Darling.)*

*THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: There is half an hour left, and I am sure the House will be glad to hear the hon. and learned Gentleman during that short time.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary has occupied the time of the House so long—an hour and a half—that it would scarcely be fair to ask his hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Carson)—who in the ordinary course would reply—to continue the Debate. I do not complain of the time occupied by the Chief Secretary, because he had a vast number of details to lay before the House and to range over a vast mass of matter; but it would be impossible for my hon. and learned Friend to reply to that speech in the time left at his disposal. I therefore hope the suggestion of the hon. and learned Member for Deptford will be adopted.

MR. T. M. HEALY said he wished to direct the attention of the House to what happened yesterday. The hon. and gallant Member for Down (Colonel Waring) moved the adjournment at 3 o'clock, and, to use an expression of Sir Stafford Northcote, was simply acting as a bonnet for the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh, who to-day continued the debate. That evening the hon. and learned Member for Deptford got up after four or five hours Debate, apparently to go on with the Debate to-morrow, when they all knew the Member for Antrim was to give them a treat on the Meath elections,

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and to occupy the entire day, whilst next week there were 12 Amendments to the Address to be considered. If they allowed half-a-day to each of these Amendments that would take another fortnight. On the whole he would suggest to Her Majesty's Government that they should show a little of the spirit of the late Government when Irish business was under consideration.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes 152; Noes 249.—(Division List, No. 1.)

Original Question again proposed.

Debate resumed.

*MR. EDWARD CARSON (Dublin University): Mr. Speaker, I must ask the indulgence of the House if I am called upon for the first time to address this House before I have succeeded, at all events to my own satisfaction, in mastering the details of its procedure. However, I think the House will probably admit that after the speech of the right hon. Gentleman who is now Chief Secretary for Ireland—who has gone in considerable detail into the legal administration, not only under his own Government, but under the Government of my right hon. Friend—it is only natural that one who has taken some part in the administration of the law in that country during the past few years, should rise to reply to the right hon. Gentleman. I was much interested in listening to the right hon. Gentleman's explanation of the amnesty speech that had been quoted by the right hon. Member for West Birmingham. I had intended myself to ask the right hon. Gentleman some questions with reference to that speech, and I certainly did look with much interest to the explanation he would give to this House of what he meant when he addressed that large audience in Dublin in the terms which have been referred to by the Member for West Birmingham, and I must say having listened to the explanation of the right hon. Gentleman that although he has told us at considerable length what he did not mean by that speech, I have utterly failed to derive any assistance in coming to a conclusion as to what he did mean. He says he dislikes the *crambe repetita* of old speeches. No doubt he does. He says the speech did not refer to dynamiters. What did the speech refer to? But after all it is not

so much a question of what the right hon. Gentleman may conceive his speech to refer to—that may not be a matter which he even now recollects—but so far as Ireland is concerned the importance of the matter is this: What were the people in Ireland likely to understand from that speech? and I understood that the point made earlier in the evening by the Member for West Birmingham was this—that what the people of Ireland understood was well expressed by the speech of the Member for Waterford which he quoted. And if the right hon. Gentleman desires further to see what is the meaning attached to his words, I would ask him just to take the trouble to read an interesting pamphlet recently published by the Member for Waterford, entitled “The Case for Amnesty,” and on the back of which he will find printed in detail the very words which had been quoted by the right hon. Member for West Birmingham. I think I know something of Ireland, and I may tell the right hon. Gentleman that there is nothing more dangerous in that country than to be using words which may bear one construction in his mind, but which may bear another construction in the minds of those that listened to him. The right hon. Gentleman proceeded to deal with the different matters upon which he has been assailed in his administration, and it was because I thought, having regard to the very able and powerful speech that he had made, that it was necessary to go in considerable detail into these matters, that I suggested to my right hon. friend it might be more convenient to adjourn the debate until to-morrow. However, as the House has not acceded to what appeared to me a fair and reasonable proposition, I feel bound to proceed to analyse the administration of the right hon. Gentleman—an administration at which he seems to look with such profound satisfaction at the present time. The right hon. Gentleman commenced by a reference to the provisions of the Crimes Act, which he has repealed and which was the first heroic act of the right hon. Gentleman in Ireland. It was somewhat amusing to see him fall back upon the consideration of his own statistics—statistics got up in Dublin Castle. I should like to know how often has the right hon. Gentleman from this very Bench referred to the statistics of my right hon. Friend in terms

of considerable disparagement, and I can only say that before I shall know what was the value to be placed on those statistics I should like to know what is the basis upon which the statistics have been prepared. Of course I admit the right hon. Gentleman's statistics so far as they are statistics, but when he takes credit to himself for a diminution of crime in Ireland during the six months that he has been in office, I would like to remind him that the diminution he has referred to is of such a trifling character that it is almost unnecessary to consider it at all; and I am reminded by my right hon. Friend that the Member for Midlothian has over and over again stated in this House that you cannot attach any particular importance to a slight change in statistics occurring within a few months of a change of Government. The right hon. Gentleman says crime has not increased in Ireland, but I should like to ask him how much agrarian crime has he detected since his *régime*? I should like to ask this further question, How many of these agrarian criminals have been brought to justice? The right hon. Gentleman referred to inquiries held under the first clause of the Crimes Act; that is the clause which he says had not been very successfully used by his predecessor in office. Far and away more important than that provision, are the provisions relating to special juries, and change of venues; and I notice that while the right hon. Gentleman gave us many details as regards the County of Clare, as to the section under which the special inquiries are held, he said not one single word as regards the number of criminals brought to justice by the special jury and change of venue section. And while the right hon. Gentleman went into vast detail as regards statistics of the recent Winter Assizes—about which I shall have something to say before I have done—he never told us what he might have told us, namely, how many of these agrarian criminals, who undoubtedly exist in the County of Clare and elsewhere in Ireland, and who undoubtedly have committed outrages of a terrible character, since the right hon. Gentleman came into power—had been brought forward at the recent Winter Assizes, and how many were convicted. But I can supply the right hon. Gentleman with the deficiency of information, because I am aware of this, and I

assert it boldly before the right hon. Gentleman, that in no case of an agrarian nature, that is, agrarian crime proper, which was tried at the recent Winter Assizes, even with the benefit of change of venue, was the right hon. Gentleman successful in getting one single conviction. As further evidence of the great success of his administration, the right hon. Gentleman said rents were better paid now than ever before. Now, I ask hon. Members for agricultural constituencies in England to note that admission, because, if there is one thing more than another I have heard in speeches, outside Irish speeches or questions relating to Ireland, in this Debate, it is the year through which we have just passed was, above all years, one in which there has been a great agricultural depression, and it is certainly a curious coincidence that in the year in which there is this great agricultural depression we should find the Chief Secretary for Ireland boasting that the rents are particularly well paid in Ireland.

It being Midnight, the Debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed to-morrow.

MOTIONS.

REGISTRATION OF ELECTORS AMENDMENT BILL.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. H. H. FOWLER, Wolverhampton, E.) asked for leave to introduce a Bill to enable persons to be registered for the purpose of Parliamentary, County, and Municipal Elections with more speed and accuracy.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.) said he wanted to say a word on this subject. He observed that the Bill referred not only to Parliamentary and Municipal but to County Council Elections. The Secretary for Scotland had given notice of a Registration Bill as regarded Scotland, and he wanted to know if an Irish Registration Bill was to be introduced.

MR. H. H. FOWLER: No.

MR. T. M. HEALY said that if the right hon. Gentleman said that he was not going to bring in an Irish Registration Bill, then he would say that, of all countries in the world, Ireland needed a Registration Bill, Ireland was in need of one. He could not use

that he would not allow one stage of the English Registration Bill to pass until Ireland was included in it.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir W. HARCOURT, Derby) hoped the hon. Member would not object to the Bill being introduced. It was of great importance.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said he had no objection to the Bill being introduced, but he had the strongest objection to its being introduced without some explanation to the House. He recollected that last Session he was not allowed to introduce Bills without a preliminary speech, and he thought the right hon. Gentleman would only be following practice if upon a Bill of such importance as this—one of the most important, he understood, in the Government programme—he made some sort of explanation.

*SIR W. HARCOURT thought that was so with regard to highly contentious Bills, but a line should be drawn between those Bills which were highly contentious and such a one as was now under discussion.

MR. T. M. HEALY was continuing his observations, when—

MR. SPEAKER said: The hon. Member is not in order.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Then I object.

Leave was consequently refused.

DRAINAGE SEPARATION BILL.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 113.]

CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT (IRELAND) ACT (1887) REPEAL BILL.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 114.]

ACCIDENTS NOTIFICATION BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Burt, Bill to amend the Law relating to the Notification of Accidents, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Burt, Mr. Mundella, and Mr. Asquith.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 115.]

REGIMENTAL DEBTS (CONSOLIDATION) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Woodall, Bill to consolidate and amend the Law relating to the payment of Regimental Debts, and the collection and disposal of the effects of Officers and soldiers in case of death, desertion, insanity, and in other cases, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Woodall and Mr. Campbell-Bannerman.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 116.]

Mr. Edward C

COINAGE BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Bill to make further Provision for the Expenses of "The Coinage Act, 1891," ordered to be brought in by Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir John Hibbert, and Mr. Causton.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 117.]

EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Secretary Asquith, Bill to amend the Law relating to the Liability of Employers for injuries to their workmen, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Secretary Asquith, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Herbert Gladstone, and Mr. Burt.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 118.]

FIRMS REGISTRATION BILL.

On Motion of Sir Albert Rollit, Bill to provide for the Registration of Firms, ordered to be brought in by Sir Albert Rollit, Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir Bernhard Samuelson, Sir William Houldsworth, Mr. Lockwood, Colonel Howard Vincent, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, and Mr. Barran.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 119.]

ARTIFICIAL MANURES, &C., ADULTERATION BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Channing, Bill for the better prevention of frauds in the manufacture and sale of artificial manures and feeding stuffs, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Channing, Mr. Halley Stewart, Mr. Cobb, Dr. Farquharson, Mr. Lambert, and Mr. Everett.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 120.]

PLACES OF WORSHIP (SITES) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. John Ellis, Bill to give better facilities for the acquisition of Sites for Places of Worship, ordered to be brought in by Mr. John Ellis, Mr. Fenwick, Mr. Perks, Mr. Henry J. Wilson, and Mr. J. C. Williams.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 121.]

MARKET GARDENERS' COMPENSATION BILL.

On Motion of Sir Edmund Lechmere, Bill to extend the provisions of "The Agricultural Holdings (England) Act, 1883," so far as they relate to Market Gardens, ordered to be brought in by Sir Edmund Lechmere, Mr. Jesse Collins, Sir Frederick Dixon-Hartland, Sir Algernon Borthwick, and Sir Richard Temple.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 122.]

MARGARINE ACT (1887) AND SALE OF FOOD AND DRUGS ACT (1875) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Horace Plunkett, Bill to amend "The Margarine Act, 1887," and "The Sale of Food and Drugs Act, 1875," ordered to be brought in by Mr. Horace Plunkett, Mr. Barton, Mr. Arnold-Forster, and Mr. Butcher.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 123.]

INTOXICATING LIQUORS LOCAL VETO (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Johnston, Bill to enable the Ratepayers of any locality to veto the issue of Licences for the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Johnston, Mr. Pinkerton, Mr. John Barry, and Mr. Wolff.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 124.]

TENANTS (IRELAND) REINSTATEMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Timothy Harrington, Bill for the Reinstatement of Evicted Tenants in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Timothy Harrington, Mr. John Redmond, Dr. Kenny, and Mr. Clancy.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 125.]

MINES REGULATION ACT (1887) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Leake, Bill to amend "The Mines Regulation Act, 1887," ordered to be brought in by Mr. Leake, Mr. Pickard, Mr. David Randell, Mr. Abraham, Mr. Jacoby, Mr. Cremer, and Mr. Woods.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 126.]

LONDON MARKETS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Montagu, Bill to enable the London County Council to establish or purchase Markets in the administrative County of London, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Montagu, Mr. Howell, Mr. Pickersgill, Mr. James Rowlands, and Mr. James Stuart.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 127.]

MERCHANDISE MARKS (FILES) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Stuart-Wortley, Bill to amend the Merchandise Marks Acts in respect of the marking of Files, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Stuart-Wortley, Sir Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett, and Colonel Howard Vincent.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 128.]

TRADE DISPUTES (ARBITRATION) AND CONCILIATION BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Butcher, Bill to establish Councils of Conciliation and Arbitration in Trade Disputes, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Butcher, Sir Frederick Dixon-Hartland, Sir George Baden-Powell, Mr. Fisher, Mr. Webster, Sir Seymour King, Mr. Wyndham, Admiral Field, and Baron Henry de Worms.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 129.]

CONGESTED DISTRICTS BOARD (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Mains, Bill to amend the Law relating to the Congested Districts Board in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Mains, Sir Thomas Esmonde, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. Dillon, Mr. William O'Brien, Mr. Crilly, and Mr. M. Austin.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 130.]

WAGES (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. McGilligan, Bill to provide for the weekly payment of Wages in cer-

tain cases in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. McGilligan, Mr. Justin McCarthy, Mr. Sexton, Mr. O'Keeffe, Mr. Tuite, and Mr. Edward M'Hugh.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 131.]

GROUND GAME BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Lambert, Bill to extend the provisions of "The Ground Game Act, 1880," ordered to be brought in by Mr. Lambert, Earl Compton, Mr. Channing, Mr. Luttrell, and Mr. Billson.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 132.]

FOREIGN MEAT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Lambert, Bill for the identification of Foreign Meat, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Lambert, Mr. Billson, Mr. Yerburgh, and Mr. Luttrell.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 133.]

PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO CHILDREN BILL.

On Motion of Sir Richard Webster, Bill to amend the Law for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, ordered to be brought in by Sir Richard Webster and Mr. Byrne.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 134.]

LAW OF EVIDENCE IN CRIMINAL CASES BILL.

On Motion of Sir Richard Webster, Bill to amend the Law of Evidence in Criminal Cases, ordered to be brought in by Sir Richard Webster, Sir Edward Clarke, and Mr. Stuart-Wortley.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 135.]

TOWN HOLDINGS (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Molloy, Bill to amend the Law relating to Town Holdings in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Molloy, Mr. Sexton, and Mr. Maurice Healy.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 136.]

COUNTY COUNCILS (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Kennedy, Bill to establish County Councils in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Sexton, Mr. William O'Brien, Mr. O'Keeffe, and Mr. Finucane.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 137.]

SALMON FISHERIES AND DEER FORESTS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

On Motion of Dr. Mac Gregor, Bill to amend the Law relating to Salmon Fisheries and Deer Forests in Scotland, ordered to be brought in by Dr. Mac Gregor, Mr. Birkmyre, Mr. Gourley, and Dr. Clark.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 138.]

POOR LAW GUARDIANS (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. O'Keeffe, Bill to amend the Law regulating the election and constitution of the Boards of Guardians in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. O'Keeffe, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Maurice Healy, Mr. Finucane, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Sheehy, and Mr. Pinkerton.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 139.]

SHOP HOURS ACT (1892) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Provand, Bill to amend "The Shop Hours Act, 1892," ordered to be brought in by Mr. Provand, Mr. Channing, Mr. Seton-Karr, Mr. Samuel Smith, and Mr. Jennings.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 140.]

VOLUNTEER FORCES (JURY EXEMPTION) BILL.

On Motion of Colonel Howard Vincent, Bill to relieve efficient Volunteers from Jury Duty, ordered to be brought in by Colonel Howard Vincent, Viscount Bury, Colonel Hughes, Sir Albert Rollit, Sir James Whitehead, Sir Joseph Savory, Mr. Disraeli, and Mr. Cavendish.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 141.]

PUBLIC TRUSTEE BILL.

On Motion of Colonel Howard Vincent, Bill for the appointment of a public trustee and executor, ordered to be brought in by Colonel Howard Vincent, Mr. Warrington, and Mr. Hobhouse.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 142.]

CONGESTED DISTRICTS BOARD (IRELAND) (NO. 2) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. John Redmond, Bill to extend the operation of the Congested Districts Board in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. John Redmond, Mr. Clancy, Dr. Kenny, and Mr. Hayden.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 143.]

LOCAL AUTHORITIES ACQUISITION OF LAND IN MIDDLESEX RESTRICTION BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Bigwood, Bill to restrict the powers of local or other authorities outside the County of Middlesex to acquire lands in that county, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Bigwood, Mr. Howard, Mr. Gibson Bowles, Mr. Ambrose, and Sir Frederick Dixon-Hartland.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 144.]

CONTROVERTED ELECTIONS (JUDGMENTS) BILL.

Ordered, That Copies of all the shorthand writers' notes of the Judgments of the Election Judges on Petitions against the return of Members of this House since the last General Election, and during the present Session of Parliament, be printed. — (*Mr. Secretary Asquith*.)

House adjourned at twenty-five minutes after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 3rd February 1893.

Several Lords—Took the Oath.

ROLL OF THE LORDS.

The Lord Chancellor acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had prepared and laid it on the Table: The same was ordered to be printed. (No. 3.)

INDIA COUNCILS BILL.

VISCOUNT CROSS: My Lords, seeing the Leader of this House, the Secretary of State for India, in his place, I wish to ask him a question of which I have just given him private notice. It is whether he can tell the House when he will be able to make any statement with regard to the regulations for putting in force the India Councils Act of last Session?

THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL AND SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (The Earl of KIMBERLEY): My Lords, I daresay the noble Viscount has observed that two of the rules have been brought into force already, the Rule allowing discussion on financial statements and the Rule allowing questions to be addressed to the Government with regard to the other regulations have all been sent home by Lord Lansdowne, and have been for some time under consideration. We have not yet completely arrived at a conclusion with regard to one of them, but there is no serious difficulty in the way, and I have no doubt that in a short time I shall be able to announce the whole of the regulations and to lay the Correspondence before the House.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER
MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.
ADJOURNED DEBATE.

Order of the Day for resuming the Debate on the Motion for an humble Address to Her Majesty, read.

Debate resumed accordingly.

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN said, before entering upon the question of Ireland, the topic which had attracted

most of the Debate on the Address in their Lordships' House, he desired to make a few remarks on another subject. He was not going to investigate the heterogeneous materials of which the Programme of Her Majesty's Government, as set forth in the Speech from the Throne, was composed. Doubtless the House was not supposed to take that Programme very seriously, as, indeed, Lord Spencer had frankly stated. The noble Earl last night, in the name of the Government, explained quite frankly that, have pledged themselves to a great many measures during the last six years, the Government thought it advisable so far to fulfil those pledges as to make mention of many measures in the Queen's Speech, although there was no possibility whatever of those measures ever becoming law. He thought the proper moral of that was not that an impossible Queen's Speech was desirable, but that it was undesirable to give pledges to the constituencies which they knew perfectly well they had no intention or power of fulfilling. It was all very well making these candid and somewhat cynical avowals in that House; but why were not noble Lords and their friends equally honest to their constituencies in explaining that their pledges meant nothing more than the shadowy satisfaction of a mention in the Queen's Speech, and that they had no intention whatever of attempting to carry those promised Bills into law or even of placing Bills upon those subjects upon the Table in either House of Parliament? Not content, however, even with the immense volume of the Queen's Speech, it appeared that the Prime Minister had stated, in another place, that it was the intention of the Government to issue a Royal Commission to inquire into the land question in Wales. He should like very much to know what the land question in Wales was, wherein it differed from the land question in England, whatever that might be, and, if so, in what way? If the Government were of opinion that agricultural distress was in any way due to anything faulty in the system of land tenure in those parts, as the Government were a Royal Commission to inquire into the system of land tenure were, but as the Commission, the United States, and

Continental countries, and let a thorough investigation be made of the subject. But this Commission was of quite a different complexion, and must be looked at in the light derived from the speech that Mr. Gladstone made amid the appropriate mists of Suowdon some little time ago. It appeared that the owners of landed property in Wales had been unfortunate enough to incur Mr. Gladstone's displeasure. He was not satisfied with the deductions they had made from their rents, and, therefore, their conduct must be inquired into. This Royal Commission to inquire into the land system in Wales was a direct outcome of Mr. Gladstone's Speech. He protested against such interference with the exercise of private rights. The proposed Commission was nothing more nor less than an inquisitorial visitation into the private business of certain private individuals—men who were not accused of doing anything in any way beyond the law, but who had not administered their properties in a way which the Prime Minister approved of. However tempting it might be as an owner of land in Wales to court full inquiry, he protested against this proposed action. He protested against Parliament turning itself into a sort of private inquiry office; he protested against such interference in the private affairs of private individuals, and against such arbitrary, despotic action on the part of the Executive. This looked ominously like taking a leaf from the Parnellite book. That most astute organiser of men bought the adhesion of one class in Ireland to his political Separatist ideas by money obtained for them from the pockets of another class in Ireland, a very simple and efficacious, but, he ventured to say, an exceedingly immoral proceeding. He protested against this on account also of the injury to agriculture that must ensue throughout the whole country. The noble Earl the Lord President of the Council (Lord Kimberley) made light of the effects on agriculture, that doubt and distrust as to the security of capital could produce. Did he think that owners of land in Wales would be encouraged to invest their capital in keeping their estates and farm buildings in good order and that they would be encouraged to assist farmers by liberal reductions in

their rent with such an inquiry as this hanging over their heads? Did he think that such an inquiry would inspire confidence among landowners in England? There was no difference whatever in the system of land tenure, or practically in the system of management of landed estates in England and in Wales. A similar inquiry might be undertaken tomorrow in England or in any county in England at the pleasure of the Government. The proposed action on the part of the Government could not fail to react injuriously on agriculture, and he would be glad to be informed by Her Majesty's Government what they considered the land question was in Wales, and in what way it was different from other parts of Great Britain. Landowners in every part of the country had a right to expect information on those points. And now, with regard to Ireland, he did not intend to occupy the time of the House in going over the ground that had been so well explored by his noble Friend the Marquess of Londonderry, in making good his general contention that the action of the Government during the last six months had been detrimental to the peace and prosperity of Ireland. The noble and learned Lord upon the Woolsack took great exception to the facts and figures quoted by the noble Marquess as being unofficial, and grew eloquent on the theme that they had no right to rely on figures as true which were not derived from an official source, or on anything stated in the public newspapers—that, in fact, nothing in the world was reliable except statistics in Blue Books. He was always glad to quote from Blue Books where possible; but really the noble and learned Lord appeared to carry his reverence for Blue Books to the verge of superstition, and whether the statistics there to be found were accurate or not, it was scarcely the fact that truth was not to be culled from other sources also. They on that side of the House were not to blame if they could not quote from official Returns of the last six months during which time the Government had been in Office; they were not yet published, but the noble Marquess (Lord Londonderry) had referred to sources not unreliable, the Charges of Judges, the records of outrages derived from the ordinary source of information—the newspapers—and he had

adduced in evidence a meeting of the magistrates of the County Clare convened by the Lord Lieutenant of that county. Whether such evidence was in every item absolutely correct or not, their Lordships must admit it carried so much weight that the onus of proof to the contrary lay with the other side of the House. If they could prove that that information was incorrect, well and good; but he submitted they had done nothing of the kind, and it therefore deserved to be accepted as fairly accurate by their Lordships' House. He had some knowledge and some little experience of the southern and western portions of Ireland. He had the doubtful privilege of possessing some little property—very little, he was glad to say—in the Counties of Kerry and Clare, and a little more in the adjoining County Limerick. In that county he was born, and there he principally lived and lived, he was thankful to say, in peace. Though he might have no intelligence, he had at least some local instincts, and it would take many columns of statistics to convince him that, as far as agrarian crime was concerned, the country had not deteriorated during the last few months. A great deal was said about the fact that agrarian crime throughout the country generally had diminished, and that they had no right to pick out particular counties. He entirely denied that the condition of crime throughout the whole country should alone be considered, and no Government had a right to dispense with powers which would enable them to detect and prevent crime in particular districts or counties or parts of them. He would not argue the point whether crime of this nature had diminished or not throughout Ireland as a whole. His point was that, whatever might be the condition of crime throughout the country, if it was increasing in any particular county or district, if it could not be dealt with by ordinary powers of the law in any particular county and district, the Executive were not justified in abandoning powers which in that particular county or district would enable them to put down crime. What comfort was it to a law-abiding citizen in County Clare, who went about in terror of his life, to be told that agrarian crime was diminishing in Ireland? The first duty of the Executive, the main end and

object of any Government, was to afford proper security for life, property, and liberty in every portion of its jurisdiction. The system of averages might be very conveniently adopted in some cases; but it was a poor consolation to the unfortunate persons whose lives and properties were insecure in certain districts in Ireland. The noble and learned Lord upon the Woolsack spoke about the Gweedore case, and appealed to their sense of humanity whether he was not perfectly justified in letting those murderers loose upon society. He informed their Lordships, also, that the ordinary course had been pursued, that the Judge who had tried the case had reported, and that he was fully justified in recommending the clemency of the Crown. But the Judge reported two years ago. Why was he not asked to report again? Why was an unusual course pursued in this case? He knew of no instance when the Lord Chancellor of England had been consulted as to whether the clemency of the Crown should be extended to prisoners convicted in Ireland for an offence committed in that country. Was the Lord Chancellor of Ireland consulted in the matter? If so, what did he say? And if not, why not? Under ordinary circumstances the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, not the Lord Chancellor of England, would have been the proper person to consult. That would have been the ordinary course.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: I believe he was consulted in addition to myself.

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN said, that the substitution of the highest legal authority in England for the highest legal authority in Ireland was a somewhat strange and curious comment upon the Government's idea of Home Rule. Her Majesty's Government appeared to think Ireland perfectly capable of managing her own affairs, and that her dependence upon England should be of the most slender kind, but the course they had adopted in this matter seemed hardly consistent with that idea. The noble and learned Lord had appealed to their Lordships' sentiments of mercy and charity; and they must have been touched by the pleading of the noble and learned Lord that a man might in a moment of passion

commit a terrible offence and be convicted for a long term of penal servitude which might justly be commuted in consideration of the fact that the offence had been committed in a moment of great excitement. These facts were generally taken into consideration by the jury and by the Judge. But this was a peculiar case. The case of the murder of Sub-Inspector Martin was no ordinary one. He was executing a warrant, and was killed in the execution of that duty. It was no private quarrel. It was a case of resistance to the law. The noble and learned Lord said that this release would have attracted no attention if it had occurred in England. Would the noble Lord give an instance where a man in the position of Sub-Inspector Martin had been murdered in England in executing a warrant and where the murderers had been similarly released? Though the noble and learned Lord might not have been actuated by political motives, he must have known (at any rate, he ought to have known) that his action would lead to grave political and social consequences. He absolved the noble and learned Lord at once from any sympathy with crime, or any desire to extenuate crime, but he could not suppose the noble and learned Lord had failed to apprehend the inevitable consequences which his action must have upon Ireland. The noble and learned Lord spoke of the Commission for the reinstatement of the evicted tenants, and attempted to traverse the argument that it was a partisan Commission by stating that it could not be partisan, because neither landlords nor tenants were upon it. What had that to do with the matter? What they contended was that the Commission was partisan in its constitution, that it was composed of individuals perfectly well-known to be partisan in their proclivities, whereas the landlord's interest was not in any way represented on the Commission. It might as well be said that a Commission to inquire into vivisection was not partisan, notwithstanding all its members were Anti-Vivisectionists, because the dogs, cats, and other animals to be operated upon were not upon it. He presumed the object of a Commission, whether it was Viceregal or Royal, was to arrive at the truth; and in a case like this, to forbid cross-examination by counsel, was to make it absolutely im-

possible to arrive at the truth. But what he mainly objected to about this Commission of Mr. Morley's was not so much the method as the nature of the Reference. It was supposed to be instituted to carry out Clause 13 of the Act of 1891. That clause enabled landlords, if they thought fit, to sell their property to tenants who had been evicted; but the arrangement lay with the landlords. If the tenant had been evicted through misfortune, through no particular fault of his own, the landlord could, if he chose, still avail himself, and allow the tenant to avail himself, of the privileges of the Land Purchase Act. This Commission was an entirely different matter. It was to be compulsory, and evicted tenants were to be put back again, though, as Lord Londonderry had said, they were fraudulent bankrupts. It was not instituted to discover whether a tenant should be reinstated or not. It was instituted to find out the best means of reinstating them. It was appointed with its finding stated for it in the Reference, and he did not believe that a Commission of that kind, whether Viceregal or Royal, had ever before been issued in the United Kingdom. The noble Earl (Lord Spencer) spoke about the Lunatic Asylums Boards. He appeared to think that a man's religion qualified or disqualified him from serving on any Board of Administration, and he attempted to prove the righteousness of having a proper proportion of Protestants and Catholics upon these Boards. But what on earth had religion got to do with a thing of this kind? The noble Earl went so far as to say that because the majority of the lunatics were Catholics the majority of the Board ought to be Catholics. He might with equal logic have said that because the majority of the lunatics to be dealt with were insane therefore the majority of the Board should be insane. He could not conceive anything more utterly unreasonable, more utterly contrary to all the dictates of the most ordinary common-sense than the process which the Government had carried on of turning out men of proved integrity and proved intelligence, who had devoted long lives to doing excellent work, simply on account of their religious belief. Her Majesty's Government were indignant at the idea expressed of their sympathising with crime. He did not for a moment

accuse the Government of sympathising with crime, but simply with what their actions had shown—namely, the most complete ignorance on the subject of Ireland, and an absolute incapacity for governing that country. He wished to treat the Gracious Speech with the utmost respect; but it was evident that the paragraph in the Queen's Speech relating to the improvement as regarded agrarian crime had been dictated by Her Majesty's advisers rather in a sense of humour than with a full and clear appreciation of the facts. The fact that their sympathies appeared to be with criminals was, no doubt, due to coincidence. It was a coincidence, no doubt, that Mr. Morley issued this Commission to reinstate evicted tenants, members or dupes of a criminal conspiracy, at a time when the reinstatement of those evicted tenants was a financial and political necessity for the allies of the Government in Ireland. It was a coincidence that excellent men who happened to be Protestants were removed from the Asylums Board to make room for Catholics at a time when the clerical party, supporting Her Majesty's Government, demanded consideration at their hands. It was a coincidence that prisoners had been released at a time when the release of those prisoners was clamoured for by an Irish Party upon whose votes Her Majesty's Government depended for their maintenance in power. Those were mere coincidences—unfortunate ones, no doubt. He noticed that the noble Lord who moved the Address, in speaking on this question, used the expression "local self-government," while the noble Lord who seconded it invariably adopted the expression "Home Rule." Now, there was an enormous difference between the two expressions, as they were generally understood. With regard to local self-government, he entertained very strong, and what some of those among whom he lived in Ireland might regard as very advanced, opinions. He was warmly in favour of a large and liberal measure of local self-government being granted to Ireland, for he had great faith in the educating effect of responsibility, in the advantages to be gained by affording useful employment for the energies of people, and by gratifying their natural ambition to manage their own local affairs. There might be some trouble

and difficulty at first, there might be to some extent maladministration, and difficulties might arise from the natural results of a delight in the exercise of unusual powers, but he had not the slightest doubt as to the ultimate result. The Irish people were certainly not fools. They were by nature aristocratic in their ideas, and if they were administering their own local affairs they would in a very short time take good care to administer them well. The course now pursued for instance in Private Bill legislation was a great grievance to Ireland. But between the devolution of powers to Local Bodies in Ireland under one supreme Parliament and the creation of another and a separate Parliament, controlling and practically selecting its own Executive, there was a fundamental difference a difference not of degree, but of kind. Even if he had time he would not attempt to discuss Home Rule. It was, in his opinion, little better than a waste of time to discuss that impossible craze, Home Rule. What was the condition of public sentiment on that question? Home Rule as the Irish understood it, and if it were to be anything like that proposed by the former Bill, was what had been ardently pressed for by the open and avowed enemies of England and America. It was ardently desired by some honest but mistaken enthusiasts in Ireland, and it was rather languidly acquiesced in by the majority in that country. It was vehemently repudiated by the minority—not a small one, and one they must remember that comprised practically all the wealth of the country, not only in capital, but in skilled industry, and cultivated intelligence. Great Britain had pronounced against it, and England had done so in words to which they could not possibly shut their ears. How was it possible, therefore, to dream of carrying a great constitutional change in the system of union that existed between the different parts of the United Kingdom in the face of such forces and such opposition as this? It was because Ireland was deprived of constructive legislation she needed while the Government persisted in an impossible policy, and because he knew the evil results that would be produced by Home Rule that he so strongly opposed it. Ireland was to

wait for relief in matters which pressed hardly upon her, such as the inconvenience and cost of attending at Westminster in Private Bill legislation while Government were insisting upon carrying out their idea of Home Rule. The Party opposite seemed to think that they had some kind of monopoly of sympathy with the Irish people. Nothing of the kind. Many of their Lordships were born in Ireland and had lived there for the greater portion of their lives, they knew the country and loved it, knew the people and loved them, and in spite of the enormous temptation, especially amongst the smaller landed proprietors in Ireland, to make friends with the Mammon of unrighteousness, they had stoutly resisted temptation. They were opposed to this measure of Home Rule, and as long as they could they would continue to oppose it.

THE EARL OF BELMORE said, he would first refer to certain matters relating to the Evicted Tenants Commission, as he happened to be a member of the Landlords Convention Executive Committee, which was responsible for the advice given to the Irish Landlords, and taken by the majority, not the whole of them, not to appear before the Commission. Several objections to it had been already pointed out by previous speakers, but he would only refer to what he considered the two principal ones. He complained of the course adopted by the Commission in refusing to comply with a respectful request made to them that no evidence against a landlord should be published until he had been heard in reply. Another cause of dissatisfaction with the Commission arose in connection with the right of cross-examination, and, though he confessed that he had himself some doubt as to that right, it had certainly been admitted on many Commissions held in Ireland during the last 20 years and more, including the Belfast Inquiry Commission in 1864, the Londonderry Riots Inquiry Commission in 1869, the Dungannon Inquiry Commission in 1871, the Municipal Boundaries Commission in 1878, and the Lurgan Riots Inquiry Commission in 1880. On the Belfast Inquiry, of which Baron Dowse was one of the Commissioners, Serjeant Armstrong examined and cross-examined witnesses, and

missioner Barrow said wit

course of procedure "We shall place ourselves entirely in the hands of professional gentlemen present" and he allowed them to take part in the Inquiry. At the Londonderry Commission, of which Mr. Wrexham was one of the Commissioners and the present Justice Murphy another, the witnesses were examined and cross-examined in the same way, and Mr. Wrexham said as to the course to be adopted—

"I am glad to see professional gentlemen present, and to state that we shall suit their convenience on both sides."

Mr. Wrexham also presided on the Dungannon Commission, and Serjeant Armstrong again appeared there with other professional gentlemen, the Commissioners stating that their presence "would ensure that the matters complained of would receive the most complete and searching investigation." There appeared before the Municipal Boundaries Commission in 1878 the present Lord Chancellor of Ireland, the present Master of Rolls, and other distinguished Queen's Counsel. On the Lurgan Commission, the parties concerned were represented by solicitors, and the Report concluded—

"We desire to say that the Inquiry has been greatly facilitated by the manner in which the professional gentlemen concerned discharged the duties devolving upon them."

He had read sufficient to show that the privilege asked on the part of the landlords of cross-examining the witnesses could not have been considered unreasonable. The first witness called before the Commission was Mr. Roche, a Member of the other House, who had been called as a witness before the Parnell Commission, and his evidence and cross-examination were given at great length in the Report of that Commission. Mr. Justice Mathew had the Blue Book containing the former examination before him. Certainly, upon one important point, Mr. Roche had, in his cross-examination, contradicted his evidence in chief out of his own mouth; but that cross-examination was not made use of by the Commissioners, nor was cross-examination on behalf of the landlords allowed. Thereupon, Counsel having consulted together, thought it their duty to withdraw, and upon hearing the circumstances of the case the Committee of the Landlords Convention thought

The Earl of Dunrae

they were justified in advising their friends not to appear. Although 15 out of 18 had taken that advice, they had watched the case very closely, and when the Commissioners Report should have appeared he trusted and believed that the landlords would find some way of answering any material allegations against them that it might contain. With reference to the recent appointments to Lunacy Boards in Ireland, which had been the subject of an explanation by the First Lord of the Admiralty on Thursday, he wished to express his agreement with the view, that a fair amount of representation on these Boards should be given to the Roman Catholics. No Member of the Conservative Party would have objected to the Members appointed, provided competent persons had not been thereby displaced on the Boards. He agreed that as the main business of the Boards was financial in administering funds largely provided by the cess-payers of the county or united counties from which the lunatics came, it was only fair that the Roman Catholic cess-payers should be properly represented. What he objected to in the action of the Government in the matter was the capricious exclusion from the Boards of gentlemen who had done good work upon them in the past. Several cases of the kind had been brought to his notice in the counties of Armagh, Monaghan, and Down. In Donegal, also, a striking instance had occurred in the case of a gentleman well-known in the North of Ireland for his business habits and capacity, Colonel Montgomery; and it was remarkable that the first act at the new Board, including all its Nationalist Members, was to unanimously memorialise the Lord Lieutenant to replace the gentlemen. The noble Lord who had seconded the Address (Lord Thring) had argued that there was no ground for supposing that under a system of Home Rule the majority would oppress the minority; but he could assure the House that the minority, who were devoted to the principle of unsectarian education, felt a genuine fear lest their interests should suffer in educational matters. But beyond the questions of worship and of education, there were those of commerce and of the land—the agrarian question. Many people in a position to form a just opinion held that the effect of Home Rule upon the com-

merce of this country would be disastrous. There had been several important meetings lately in the North of Ireland, and this view had been expressed at all of them. It was well known that the main commerce of the country was carried on in Dublin, Belfast, Londonderry, and neighbouring towns, and the great manufacturers there were against Home Rule. If a Home Rule Government, in which those engaged in trade had no confidence, was established in Ireland, trade would be withdrawn from the country and established elsewhere. The figures of that trade were very large, and if the trade went, of course the artisans would go also. Some of their Orange friends had talked of “dying in the last ditch,” but the artisans at any rate would not die in the last or any other ditch. His own opinion was that the artisans generally would follow the trade across the Channel and would flood the labour markets of England and Scotland. After all, the land was the pivot upon which the whole of this question of Home Rule turned. The land must remain whatever happened to trade and commerce, and the great fear was that with a Nationalist Legislature, however it might be nominally guarded, it would be impossible to collect rents. Having lived long in Ireland and knowing the country well, he strongly recommended these points to their Lordships’ consideration; and as regarded religious differences, the differences were not on the part of the Protestants against the Roman Catholics, but that the Roman Catholics were against the Protestants. In the south the people were afraid of the priesthood, but in the other parts of Ireland they were afraid of each other.

LORD MONKSWELL said he could not refrain from speaking in this Debate after the invectives directed to that side of the House by the noble Marquess, who had held high office in Ireland (Lord Londonderry). He would first, however, deal with the proposed reform in the registration laws, which was in London a very burning question indeed, whatever it might be in the country. In London about one person in nine only of the population was on the Register, while in quiet country towns in which the workmen did not move about the proportion was one in five.

EARL CADOGAN: When the noble Lord speaks of the population, does he mean the adult population or the population generally, including women and children?

LORD MONKSWELL referred to the population generally. The result of the present state of the law was that in London nearly one-half of the working men were not on the Register, and many of those who were on it were obliged before election time to go away in search of work. Of course he knew how this Registration Bill would be met. It would be said, "If you have a reform of the Registration Laws, you must also have Redistribution with it." In answer to that he proposed to quote the opinion of a very distinguished Member of the Unionist Party, which was expressed when this matter was so much discussed in 1883. The case was put so well in the extract he was about to read that he would add nothing of his own to it. Speaking in 1883, Mr. Chamberlain said—

"The two questions are, to my mind, independent and distinct. There are two benefits to be conferred on the people of this country, two wrongs to be redressed. The first is an injustice which is done to many of our fellow-countrymen who have no votes at all; the second is an injustice done to those who have votes and whose political influence is nullified by the excessive weight and power given to the smaller constituencies. It may, and probably would, be impossible to carry both these reforms in a single Session, but why not carry one of them? Why should we delay giving a vote to men who are absolutely at the present moment outside the pale of the Constitution because we have not yet agreed among ourselves as to the machinery by which we will endeavour to estimate the proportionate weight and value of the vote which should be given?"

The right hon. Gentleman went on to say—

"Those who are honestly anxious for reform should do all they can to secure it step by step. Those who are opposed to reform in any shape, but are afraid of saying so, will no doubt be very wise if they can contrive to jumble the two questions up together, so that the one that is plain and simple may be overlaid and stifled in the embraces of the one that is difficult and complex."

That was Mr. Chamberlain's opinion in 1883. He would now turn to the very temperate speech of the noble Earl (Lord Dunraven) who, in opening the Debate, fell foul of the Land Commission for Wales. It was difficult to understand why the noble Earl should object to the

appointment of the Commission to inquire into the conditions of land tenure in Wales if he was right in the facts he had himself given, because he had declared that everything was going on smoothly in that part of the country.

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN said he thought that was the case.

LORD MONKSWELL said if it were the fact the Report of the Commission would demonstrate that that happy state of things existed in Wales as the noble Earl supposed, then why should he object to it? It seemed to him that the Commission might be the means of making capital invested in land more secure. With regard to the noble Earl's remarks on Clare and Kerry, his noble Friend the First Lord of the Admiralty had distinctly shown that there had been an appreciable diminution in crime. As to that part of the noble Earl's speech which referred to the release of the Gweedore prisoners, he thought it was rather bold on his part to venture a fall with the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack as to the law of murder, especially after the duel which took place last night on the subject between the late Lord Chancellor for Ireland and the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack. The noble Earl also fell foul of the Commission of which Mr. Justice Mathew was President, but that was simply a Commission of Inquiry, and was not bound to do anything, and it might show that some tenants, at all events, could be reinstated without doing injustice. The noble Earl could not have been present when the First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord Spencer) quoted Mr. Balfour's own words, to the effect that he would desire to restore peace to that part of the country in which his property was situated, and to see that on fair and equitable and even generous terms the tenants were restored to their homes. It was plain, therefore, that the right hon. Gentleman in the House of Commons had expressed himself in favour of something being done to reinstate the tenants on the land. The noble Earl made a very considerable admission when he said he was in favour of giving Ireland Local Government, for Local Government would do much to pave the way for Home Rule. Then the noble Earl called attention to the fact that the majority of the electors in Great

Britain declared against Home Rule at the General Election. No doubt that was true; but the majority in 1892 was very much less than it was in 1886; and, therefore, though opinion on Home Rule might not yet have reached the high-water mark, the tide was still advancing. He had very little knowledge of Ireland, and would not have said more on the subject but for the tone of Lord Londonderry's evidently very carefully prepared speech. The noble Marquess made a terrible indictment against all who disagreed with him on the subject of Home Rule, and talked of the "depths of degradation" to which noble Lords on the Government side of the House had fallen, adding that he would not exult over it. That was very kind of him. He also charged them with "truckling to lawlessness and outrage." Those were strong words. Well, it had been said if an Irishman was to be abused another Irishman could always be got to do it. But on his own showing he should be a little more charitable. The noble Marquess said he was willing to fight on behalf of his opinions. That was a very serious announcement. It might be assumed that the noble Marquess seriously held such strong opinions as to Home Rule that he considered everything ought to be done to avert it. But supposing things came to the worst, supposing that there was a rebellion in Ulster, and, which Heaven forbid, that the noble Marquess should "die in the last ditch," would the noble Lords who differed with him say that in taking the course he did the noble Marquess was a "murderous ruffian"? On the contrary, they would admire the noble Marquess for his courage and deplore his fate; and why should the noble Marquess not extend the same charity to others that he wished extended to himself? Home Rule was just as sacred a cause to many persons as the Union was to the noble Marquess. The noble Marquess intimated that he considered the tenants who did not pay their rents were mere vulgar robbers. On the other hand, a very large number of tenants in Ireland, who did not belong to the criminal class at all, firmly believed that the greatest robbers in Ireland were the Irish landlords. He did not suggest that was the case, or that they had any right to say so; but when noble Lords talked of hundreds of thousands of

tenants in Ireland as mere robbers because they did not pay their rents, he ventured to think they took a very uncharitable view of the case. The Liberal Party had been accused by the noble Marquess, and to some extent by the ex-Lord Chancellor of Ireland, of having concluded an unhallowed alliance with ruffians; but he would remind noble Lords opposite that the same thing had been said of themselves. He did not suggest that the Conservatives, in allowing coercion to elapse in 1885, were animated by other than purely patriotic motives, but persons now holding high and distinguished positions in the Unionist Party believed that they were truckling to crime and to lawlessness. In a speech delivered in July, 1885, by Mr. Chamberlain, now a light in the Unionist Party, the right hon. Gentleman stated that the Conservatives had received with laughter and disapprobation an Amendment by Mr. Morley against the renewal of the Crimes Act; and that, subsequently, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, on behalf of the Tory Government, announced their adhesion to the policy of Mr. Morley. The reason, Mr. Chamberlain continued, for this astounding tergiversation was to be found in a Circular issued by the Central Conservative Association inquiring how many Irish voters there were in each constituency, and whether their number was sufficient to turn the balance at the next election. "A strategic movement of this kind," Mr. Chamberlain added,

"Executed in opposition to the notorious convictions of the men who effected it, carried out for Party purposes, and for Party purposes alone, is the most flagrant instance of political dishonesty and of political immorality that the country has ever known."

These extracts were quoted from the revised edition of Mr. Chamberlain's speeches. Next he would remind their Lordships of what was said of the Maamtrasna Debate by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the late Government. Speaking at St. Leonards on September 18th, 1885, Mr. Goschen said—

"I wonder if they (the Conservatives) have forgotten what the Conservative Press to a great extent wrote after that famous Maamtrasna Debate. I was in the House that night, and as I stood at the door of the House some Conservative Members rushed past me saying, when they had listened to speeches which had been made from the Front Bench, 'We cannot stand this.' They did not understand, they could

not understand, the attitude of their leaders towards Lord Spencer. They could not understand how a man who had come back, having held his life in his hand in Ireland, having done a great service to the Crown and country, should be met with such cold praise, if praise it was, and with such sneers, for sneers they were, at the hands of different members of the Conservative Party."

And what said one of the most influential organs of the Conservative Party after that?

"We say, without the least hesitation, that it would be a thousand times better that the Conservative Party were once more in Opposition, rather than we should be again exposed to the humiliation of such a speech as that which Lord Randolph Churchill delivered. The National conscience has been shocked by the ungracious requital of the difficult and dangerous services which Lord Spencer has discharged with as much success as intrepidity."

He would not say anything half so damaging as those words of Mr. Goschen, spoken no longer ago than September, 1885, but would only suggest that when noble Lords opposite found that Party rancour was capable of representing what they admitted to be a most innocent and meritorious transaction as evidence of a culpable motive and spirit, to say the least of it, they should give to their opponents some portion of that charity of which they themselves stood somewhat in need. Surely after this it behoved the late Lord Lieutenant and the late Lord Chancellor of Ireland to be careful how they threw stones in the matter of truckling to crime and lawlessness. He did not ask noble Lords opposite to become converts to the principle of Home Rule, but he did ask them to extend to the Government a reasonable amount of charity, and to believe that the Government was actuated by patriotic motives in advancing Home Rule and by as honest and earnest a desire to do their best for Ireland and the honour and fame of the Empire as were those who disagreed with them as to the best method to be pursued.

THE EARL OF KILMOREY said, the quotations which had been made from Mr. Chamberlain's and Mr. Goschen's speeches delivered some years ago were hardly applicable to the policy adopted by Her Majesty's Government at the present day. Before touching upon the affairs of the most distressful country the world had ever seen, he would turn to another country which, if history were

Lord Monkswell

to be credited, had in its time suffered a good deal of distress. Egypt, for he supposed, not excepting Nebuchadnezzar and Nero, two of the most extreme types of cruel rulers—of absolute typical brutality—the Pharaohs must take the first prize. He had visited Egypt when he was younger, and also not long ago, and the differences which he had observed in the condition of the country and its people were such as we have every reason to be proud of. There was an extraordinary improvement in the manners and customs of the people, and it was to be accounted for by the humanising effect of a closer connection with the more civilised nations of Europe. He quoted in support of this view a passage from a new work on the English in Egypt, to the effect that without the English nothing could have been accomplished, and that if they were to withdraw now all that had been won by our long and patient endeavours would be lost. Turning to the Irish Question, and as to what we were permitted to know about the Government measure relating to the government of Ireland, he was rather surprised at the leaders of the Opposition criticising a secrecy which they would have observed themselves; but, while he censured the policy adopted on his own side of trying to force the hands of the Government, he reserved to himself the full right to criticise, and all the more freely on account of the reserve that had been maintained, the measure when it was produced. He had come to the conclusion that the Government were not quite as hopeful of success as they wished to be. For the big jump of the Session they had constructed a high stone wall for themselves, and it was a question whether they would clear it, scramble over it, or fall in the attempted leap—whether the crumbled stones of the fence should form for them a triumphal arch or a funeral vault. The noble Marquess the Leader of the Opposition gathered from the words of the noble Lord who moved the Address that the Home Rule Bill was to be a measure of a very mild character, and he further presumed that its proportions would be represented by zero. He ventured for once to disagree with his leader, for he drew from the speech in question a totally different conclusion that its proportions in no way resembled zero, but that on

the contrary it was of such unusual substance and proportions that it would be impossible for an unassisted Minister to get it through the Second Reading. He gathered that the noble Lord who deeply oppressed with a feeling that the grant of legislative autonomy to Ireland in harmony with the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament was a problem which it passed the wit of man to solve. The excuse put forward by the advocates of Home Rule was that it was demanded by the majority of the Parliamentary Representatives of the Irish nation; but he denied that Ireland was in any true sense a nation, as the Portuguese, the Dutch, or the Danes were each a nation, having separate and distinct languages, laws, customs, blood, and appearance. Lord Thring, in seconding the Address, mentioned the fact that Ireland had been conquered three times. Poor Ireland! Conquering armies left their mark behind them. Pure Celtic blood was a thing unknown, and Ireland had no right to call herself a separate nation; and certainly those who called themselves her Representatives in another place, did not represent what was best and truest in that unfortunate island. This comprehensive remedial measure which was to do good to one part of the country would do harm to another. The principle of the forthcoming measure, as he understood it, was unconstitutional. It proposed to give to one portion of Her Majesty's dominions—namely, Ireland—privileges which were denied to the remainder—namely, England, Scotland, and Wales; and at the same time English, Scotch, and Welsh Members were to be liable to interference in their domestic affairs from Irish Members, without having, in turn, a similar right of interference with the Sister Isle. Such a measure, giving exceptional privileges to one portion of the country over another, would never find favour with an Assembly whose business it was to conduct its proceedings with even-handed justice and strict impartiality. Ministers who had climbed into office with the assistance of those who had given them a very slender majority should remember that the day might not be very far distant when, betrayed by those same men, they would be hurled to the ground by the fall of the treacherous ladder on which they stood.

THE EARL OF DUDLEY said, that in view of the fact that during the last six months Her Majesty's Government had enjoyed unrestricted and unquestioned power, it might not be waste of time on his part if he brought under notice one or two points in its action during that period which seemed to him, as one of the younger and more inexperienced Members of their Lordships' House, to stand in need of some justification. In the course of these last six months, considerable complications, more or less serious, had arisen. Some of these seemed to have been dealt with by a firm hand; but in other instances the remedies applied seemed more vague and success less marked. The policy adopted by Her Majesty's Government with regard to Uganda, leaving aside the question of the Slave Trade about which he felt sure there could be no difference of opinion between either Party, seemed to him vague and undefined. What was to happen in the interval between the evacuation of the country by the British East Africa Company and the arrival of the Commissioner's Report? In any case some months would be required for the completion of Sir Gerald Portal's Mission, and by that time, under the present arrangement, no trace would remain in Uganda of the British East Africa Company. Their stores, their agents, their implements would all alike have disappeared; and the maintenance of peace and order, the protection of the lives of the Europeans there, and the whole possibility of the future peaceful development of the country would depend upon a British Commissioner supported only by a small force, surrounded by tribes which at any moment might become hostile, and with a line of communication 700 miles in length to keep up through an arid and more or less unsettled country. Did not such a state of things seem very like the first step towards a repetition of the lamentable events which occurred in the Soudan in 1885? Or, looking at the question from another point of view, supposing the Commissioner's Report were such as to induce the Government to retain possession of Uganda, and directly or indirectly to open it up to British commerce and enterprise, would the fact that in the meantime the East Africa Company had withdrawn its

whole commercial apparatus make these objects more easy of attainment, or would such a state of affairs be likely to afford inducements to private enterprise to step in where the operations of the East Africa Company had proved such a disastrous failure? Would it not be better, pending the Report, that Her Majesty's Government should come to some understanding with the East Africa Company to induce them to retain, for the next few months at all events, their position and influence in Uganda? Then, with respect to the difficulty created in India by the heavy and continuous fall in the value of the rupee, some information ought to be given as to when the Committee on Indian Currency would have completed their labours. It was reported that the Viceroy of India had expressed to a deputation the sympathy of the Government on this subject, and implied that when the Report of the Committee was produced steps would be taken to relieve the distress caused by the present state of affairs in regard to the fall in the exchange. If these steps involved any alteration in the standard of value in India, he would like to know whether they were to have any opportunity of a full discussion of the subject in Parliament before any decision was taken?

LORD MUSKERRY said, as to Ireland's monopoly of misery among the nations, surely the noble and learned Lord who seconded the Address could never have lived for any time in that country; and the restlessness among a portion of her people had been fostered by an injudicious and over-zealous course of legislation. For 17 years he had been constantly resident in the South of Ireland, and every day of his life he mixed with the people; and he could say that among the greater part of the tenant farmers in that country there was no desire for Home Rule. Knowledge of the country and people could not be obtained by a short stay in Dublin, by reading Reports in Blue Books, or by drafting and preparing Bills on Irish affairs. A prominent politician had made up his mind on the Irish Land Question simply from the knowledge he had gained during a short yachting tour round the coast of Ireland. Certainly he must have possessed great powers of observation. Why should the tenant farmers of

Ireland desire Home Rule under the present system of land confiscation? The land system had left the Irish tenant very little to desire in the way of legislation. The Irish Members professed to have great sympathy with the farmers, but they did not seem to have any with the Irish landowners—men who had always had the best interests of Ireland at heart. A great deal of generosity had been shown to the Irish tenants, but very little justice had been dealt out to the Irish landlords. If Home Rule was given, it would be for the Irish landowners a question not of their property, but of their lives. Let the Government ask the opinion of the Resident Magistrates or any persons who knew the country, and they would tell them that Home Rule meant in the North of Ireland civil war, and in the South the extermination of everyone who was loyal to England.

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE said, it was some years since he had taken part in an Irish Debate in that House, and it was possible that a very long period might elapse before their Lordships would again have the opportunity of discussing this very important subject. The noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack had denied that the Government had any political object in releasing the Gweedore prisoners; but the political situation, particularly in Ireland, should have been taken into consideration. Anyone who understood Irish affairs would know that to liberate men of this character was a direct incentive to persons of the same class to act in a similar manner in opposition to the law; but he was glad to hear the course adopted by the Government in these cases was not the beginning of a general amnesty. The noble and learned Lord stated that this proposed policy was the only one that had been left untried, and he further begged them to bring calm and judicial minds to the consideration of the question. In that last remark he would thoroughly agree, but an examination of the events of the last few months would show how far the minds of the Government supporters had been calm and judicial in their proceedings for paving the way for the great measure to be introduced this Session. What had been the effect of Mr. Morley's methods in Ireland during the last year?

The Earl of Dudley

Mr. Morley had himself represented that his mission in Ireland was to show as striking a contrast as he possibly could between the policies of Coercion and Conciliation. It had been plainly declared, both in the House and in another place, that the release of these prisoners was not to be taken in any way as the opening out of a general amnesty policy; but, as the Irish Party had been clamouring all round for a political amnesty, he was inclined to think that the support Her Majesty's Government looked for in that direction, and were so dependent upon, would not be likely to be much strengthened by such a declaration. As showing the not very gracious way in which their Irish supporters had received the concession made to them by the repeal of the Coercion Act, he would quote Mr. Redmond's statement last September that it would not benefit the people one way or the other, because that Act had long since fallen out of use. As to the Evicted Tenants Commission, he had never clearly understood what the Government wanted it for, and he doubted strongly whether it would result in any real practical good. With regard to Home Rule, he urged that it was of great importance that the subject of national education in Ireland, and the system and control of the Imperial Grants in connection with it, should be seriously considered before that question came on for discussion. A curious friendship seemed to exist between the Chief Secretary and the Clerical Party in Ireland, and it was remarkable that while information on the Home Rule Bill had been withheld from all others, the details had been confided to the Nationalists. That Party seemed to acquiesce in the Bill, and this was calculated to raise serious doubts on a very important point. The various members of the Government and most of their followers had admitted the absolute necessity of maintaining the Imperial supremacy in any Home Rule Bill; but, remembering the statement of the Nationalists on this point, the fact of their acquiescing in the details of the coming Bill appeared to indicate that either the Nationalists had, to use an American phrase, "considerably climbed down," or that the Government had thrown their declarations on this cardinal point to the winds. He would not express an opinion upon the matter one way or the other,

but one thing was plain: there never would be a final settlement of the Home Rule question except upon the terms agreed upon. The Lord Chancellor had said that no human being on the civilised globe would say that in Ireland there was no problem to solve. He would join issue with the noble and learned Lord, and ventured to say that the problem had been solved. When Her Majesty's Government took over Ireland from their predecessors she was in a state of unexampled quiet and calm, and it had been distinctly proved that the country could be governed without coercion, though the resources of law and order were not extinct. He trusted she would be so governed again, and not abandoned to a large and factious majority and an unscrupulous priesthood; and he would echo the words of the noble Marquess from the North of Ireland, he coming from the South, that it was a disgrace to see such a policy put forward by English statesmen.

THE EARL OF ARRAN asked the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack whether he had said that the Lord Chancellor of Ireland was consulted with reference to the proposed release of the Gweedore prisoners; and whether the Lord Chancellor of Ireland was consulted before or after the noble Lord on the Woolsack had had the matter brought before him?

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: That he was consulted, I know; but to the second question of the noble Earl I am unable to give any answer.

Address agreed to, *nemine dissente*, and ordered to be presented to Her Majesty by the Lords with White Staves.

MERCHANDISE MARKS ACT, 1887, AMENDMENT BILL [H.L.].

A Bill to amend the Merchandise Marks Act, 1887, and to extend the provisions thereof to imported meat—Was presented by the Earl of Onslow; read 1st; and to be printed. (No. 4.)

House adjourned at Seven o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 3rd February 1893.

QUESTIONS.

AMERICAN PATENT SPECIFICATIONS.

MR. SNAPE (Lancashire, S.E., Heywood): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether, in view of the fact that only one set of Patent Specifications of the United States of America is presented to this country, whilst twelve sets of British specifications are presented by the British Government, one set to the United States' Patent Office, and the other 11 to the United States' public libraries, he will take steps to procure a corresponding number of United States specifications for the public libraries of the principal towns of the United Kingdom?

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. MUNDELLA, Sheffield, Brightside): Only one set of the specifications of the United States of America is presented to this country. Communications have, from time to time, been addressed to the United States' Patent Office, with a view to obtaining additional sets for the chief public libraries of the United Kingdom; but it would appear that the United States law does not allow the United States Patent Office to present free copies of its publications to any public libraries either in the United States or elsewhere.

BOGUS DRINKING CLUBS IN DUBLIN.

DR. KENNY (Dublin, College Green): I desire to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he has received or has had his attention drawn to a resolution adopted by the Dublin Corporation, on the 16th ultimo—namely, in which they state that they

"view with alarm and dismay the rapid increase of bogus drinking clubs in all portions of the city; that, in their opinion, these clubs are a prolific source of poverty, crime, and disorder; that they are instrumental in depreciating the rateable value of property wherever they are established, and call upon the Government to introduce a Bill in the coming Session of Parliament that will be effective in grappling with this degrading and pestiferous evil;"

and whether, in view of the urgency of the evil condemned in above-cited resolution, and in compliance with the request therein contained, he will introduce a Bill during the present Session which, whilst giving power to the Local Authority to grapple effectively with evil complained of, will guard the rights of genuine workmen's clubs?

MR. JOHN MORLEY: My attention has been drawn to the resolution referred to, and the Irish Government fully recognise that the evil condemned in the resolution is rapidly increasing and demands attention and remedy, but at the present moment I cannot promise immediate legislation on the subject.

COMPULSORY RETIREMENT OF SIR T. BRADY.

MR. JOHNSTON (Belfast, S.): In putting this question, perhaps I may say I have had great pleasure in working with Sir Thomas Brady before I was dismissed from the office of Inspector of Irish Fisheries for making a Protestant speech. I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether, considering the distinguished and special services rendered to the State by Sir Thomas Brady, late Inspector of Irish Fisheries, during a period of nearly 46 years, as testified by letter from His Excellency to Sir Thomas Brady, and his having been compulsorily retired from his office under an erroneous impression and advice that the Order in Council of 19th August, 1890, requiring all Civil servants who had attained the age of 65 to retire from the Public Service, applied to his office, the Treasury will exercise the powers given to them by the Superannuation Act to meet the case of such special services as have been rendered to the State by Sir Thomas Brady, and confer on him a pension equal to the amount of his salary when he was retired from the Public Service?

MR. BURDETT-COUTTS (Westminster): When answering the question, would the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury say whether he will be willing to lay upon the Table the correspondence between the Treasury and the Irish Fishery Board on the subject of the retirement of Sir Thomas Brady?

MR. DANE (Fermanagh, N.): Before the right hon. Gentleman answers the supplementary question of the hon. Member for Westminster I should like to put another question to him. Will he undertake to lay on the Table of the House the Judgment of the Master of the Rolls in Ireland in the initial hearing of Sir Thomas Brady's case?

***THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY** (Sir J. T. HIBBERT, Oldham): An Inspector of Irish Fisheries is an officer within the operation of the Order in Council, and his retirement is compulsory, under Clause 10, on his attaining the age of 65. This point was raised by Sir Thomas Brady on a Petition of Right, and was decided against him by the Master of the Rolls and by the Court of Appeal. Sir Thomas has been awarded the full pension sanctioned by Section 2 of the Superannuation Act, 1859, for diligent and faithful service, and I cannot hold out any hope of its being increased.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): I would ask the right hon. Gentleman whether the opinion he has expressed as to the effect of the decision of the Court of Appeal and the Rolls Court is his own opinion of the construction of the Judgments or the opinion of the Attorney General for England or anyone connected with the Legal Profession in this country?

SIR J. T. HIBBERT: The decision I have referred to is the one arrived at in two Courts.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Does the right hon. Gentleman act on his own opinion as to the construction of the Judgments, or have they been submitted to competent legal authorities?

SIR J. T. HIBBERT: The Judgments have not been especially reported upon to me.

MR. W. REDMOND (Clare, E.): In view of the fact that all parties in Ireland strongly desire to have the suggestion of the hon. Member for Belfast which is contained in this question carried out, I would ask whether the Treasury could not re-consider their determination? Could they not do this in view of the special facts of the case?

SIR J. T. HIBBERT: If any special facts can be brought forward showing that this case ought to be taken out of the general run of cases of this kind no doubt the Treasury will be willing to consider such facts, if submitted.

***MR. DANE**: I would ask the right hon. Gentleman if he himself has had an opportunity of reading the Judgment passed by the Master of the Rolls in Ireland, and the Judgment of the three Judges who decided the appeal in the Court of Appeal in Ireland; and if he is aware that the majority of the Court of Appeal in Ireland decided that they had no power to inquire into the reasons why His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant dismissed Sir Thomas Brady; and if he is further aware, as a matter of fact, that it was admitted in both Courts that His Excellency had dismissed Sir Thomas Brady under an erroneous impression of law, having been wrongly advised that the Order of Her Majesty's Privy Council in England operated in Ireland?

SIR J. T. HIBBERT: I may say I was not Secretary to the Treasury when this matter was decided, and therefore I have not thought it my duty to read the decision of either Court.

MR. LANE: Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will re-consider the matter and read the decisions.

MR. MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): I wish to ask my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland whether he is aware, as a matter of fact, that Sir Thomas Brady was dismissed by the last Government, and that his place was filled by Mr. Cecil Roche?

MR. J. MORLEY: Yes; I understand that both statements are correct.

MR. W. REDMOND: Might I ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he would be good enough to look into the case of Sir Thomas Brady, and see whether he cannot meet a demand that comes generally from the Irish Members?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE, Edinburgh, Midlothian): I do not think I need apologise to the House for not being acquainted with these Departmental facts, but I may point out that the decision was given some time ago. It appears to me that a very fair answer was made by my right hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury—namely, that if any new facts could be alleged the subject would be re-considered.

QUALIFICATION OF MEMBERS OF SCOTTISH PAROCHIAL BOARDS.

MR. LENG (Dundee): I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland whether re-

presentations have been made to him of the desirability of reducing the qualification of members of Parochial Boards in Scotland to the same rating as that of members of Boards of Guardians in England; whether he has had any communications with the Board of Supervision on the subject; and whether he will state the nature and result of those communications?

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (Sir G. TREVELYAN, Glasgow, Bridgeton): The Ratepayers' Association of Dundee have memorialized the Scotch Office to reduce the qualification for elected members for the Parochial Board, which now stands at a rating of £40 a year. There are some 10 parishes in Scotland, containing about a quarter of its population, in which the qualification is restricted, and in the most important of these the figure stands at £20 or £40. On December 5th last I wrote to the Board of Supervision in Edinburgh suggesting the propriety of reducing the qualification on these Boards to £5. The Board of Supervision met to decide the question on December 29th, and found themselves unable to accede to the proposal. The Board resolved instead to make an inquiry into the circumstances of each separate parish and to decide on each separately. I have applied for the result of the decision several times since, but am told that nothing can be determined until after the meeting of the Board next week. I am assured that the Board is proceeding with all possible rapidity, and I can only transmit that assurance to my hon. Friend.

RAILWAY RATES IN IRELAND.

MR. DONAL SULLIVAN (Westmeath, S.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware that the freights on Irish produce and Irish manufactures charged by Irish Railways are much higher than the charges made by English Railways for the carriage of similar goods; and whether he will direct the attention of the Directors of the Irish Railways to the injury which their charges inflict on the Irish traders?

MR. MUNDELLA: The maximum powers conferred by Parliament last Session are not greater in the case of the Irish Railways than in that of English

Railways of similar description. As to actual charges, I have no such information as will enable me to answer the hon. Member's question. But all complaints of unreasonable charges will at once receive the careful consideration of the Board of Trade, and the attention of the Directors of Irish Railways will be called to them.

MR. W. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he is aware that the Irish Railway Companies place the charges for transport in Ireland some 10 to 20 per cent. higher than the English charges? If not, will the right hon. Gentleman institute inquiries to ascertain whether I am right in my statement?

MR. MUNDELLA: I am not aware of the fact. If the hon. Gentleman would give specific illustrations I would make inquiries.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.): Has the right hon. Gentleman's attention been called to the Report of the Cork Chamber of Commerce on the subject?

MR. W. FIELD: May I ask whether, in the event of such evidence as the right hon. Gentleman desires being forthcoming, he will take steps to prevent the Irish Railway Companies levying these taxes on the Irish people?

[No answer was given.]

THE GALWAY HOSPITAL.

DR. KENNY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Royal Commission on the Queen's Colleges, which sat in Galway in 1884, reported that it was only by the utilisation of all the hospitals in Galway City, including the Galway Hospital and the union and fever hospitals, that medical students in the Galway College could receive even the minimum of the necessary clinical instruction for their course, and that the Galway Queen's College authorities, in their College Calendar for 1892-3, offer to students entering their medical school all the clinical facilities referred to above; whether he is also aware that, notwithstanding the Senate of the Royal University of Ireland has recently recognised the "Galway Hospital," an institution containing only 20 beds in constant occupation, instead of 60 as required by the

Mr. Leng

regulations, as sufficient for the clinical instruction of medical students attending the Queen's College, Galway, who were induced to join the medical school of that College on the understanding that they would enjoy the clinical instruction of all the Galway hospitals; and whether, since the new regulations will have the effect of depriving them of clinical instruction in fever cases, and of their certificates for having attended the same, the Government propose to take any steps in the matter?

MR. J. MORLEY : In reply to the first paragraph of the question, the President, Queen's College, Galway, reports that the Commission of 1884 did refer to the then existing Galway hospitals as unsatisfactory for clinical instruction, but the Galway Hospital mentioned in this portion of the question did not then exist, having been founded by Act of Parliament, June 27, 1892. The statement in paragraph 2 is described as incorrect; the notification in the calendar was drawn up by the medical officers of the union and fever hospitals over which the college has no control, and the college disclaims all responsibility for the statements of these gentlemen. As regards paragraph 3, I understand the Senate of the Royal University has recognised the Galway Hospital with the approval of the Lord Lieutenant. The hospital is reported to the President by the medical faculty as fulfilling in every particular the requirements set forth in the regulations of the Royal University; but representations having been made as to the number of beds available inquiries were instituted, and the entire question will be again before the Standing Committee at its meeting next week. The college has made no new "regulations," but regrets the exclusion up to this date of medical students by the senior medical officer of the Galway Fever Hospital.

DR. KENNY : The right hon. Gentleman states that the Galway Hospital was not in existence up to 1892. That is quite correct as to the name, but the institution existed as the Galway Infirmary. The right hon. Gentleman has not answered that portion of the question dealing with the number of beds in constant occupation. May I also ask whether—

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MR. SPEAKER : The hon. Gentleman will have another opportunity of putting his questions.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.) : May I ask whether, if the number of these beds is going to be increased at the expense of the county, the right hon. Gentleman will consider the propriety of making a contribution from Government Funds towards their maintenance?

[No reply was given.]

CITY OF LIMERICK MAIL SERVICE.

MR. O'KEEFFE (Limerick) : I beg to ask the Postmaster General if steps will be taken to give to the City of Limerick the benefits by the new system of the acceleration of the mails from England and Dublin to the South of Ireland?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. ARNOLD MORLEY, Nottingham, E.) : This matter is under consideration, but I am not yet in a position to say whether any arrangement can be adopted for giving effect to the wishes of the hon. Member.

EXAMINING OFFICERS OF CUSTOMS.

SIR GEORGE BADEN-POWELL (Liverpool, Kirkdale) : I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether any decision has yet been arrived at by the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, with reference to the memorials of Examining Officers of the Customs on the question of their seniority in the Department; and, if so, whether he will indicate the nature of the decision?

***SIR J. T. HIBBERT :** This question was inquired into and reported on by a Departmental Committee, and regulations were framed by the Commissioners of Customs in accordance with the Committee's recommendations. The Treasury has not seen its way to devise any different solution, or to modify the arrangements made. It would be difficult to describe within the limits of an answer to a question the arrangements made, but if the hon. Member desires information as to any details, I shall be very glad to communicate with him.

QUALIFICATION FOR IRISH POOR LAW GUARDIANS.

MR. HAYDEN (Roscommon, S.) : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the

Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he intends before the annual election in March to reduce the rateable qualification for Poor Law Guardians in Ireland to the standard recently fixed for that office in England?

MR. J. MORLEY: From the information at present before the Local Government Board for Ireland, they are of opinion that a uniform reduction of the rating qualification for the office of guardian, such as that made in England, would not be generally acceptable to the unions throughout Ireland; but where any application has been made to the Board to reduce the existing qualification, the guardians of the union concerned have been informed in every case that if, after due notice, they pass a resolution in favour of reduction, the matter shall receive the favourable consideration of the Local Government Board.

MR. HAYDEN: Does the right hon. Gentleman take into consideration the fact that these men do not represent the ratepayers, and are not likely to pass such a resolution as he refers to?

[No reply was given.]

ASYLUM GOVERNORS IN IRELAND.

MR. JOHNSTON: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he will consent to give the Return of the names, addresses, dates of appointment, and religious professions of all Governors of District Lunatic Asylums in Ireland for the years 1892 and 1893, as moved for by the Member for South Belfast?

MR. J. MORLEY: I cannot find that there is a precedent for the Return suggested by the hon. Member. The District Lunatic Asylums Boards in Ireland were re-organized by the late Government in 1887, during the Chief Secretaryship of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Bristol, when 95 Governors who had been appointed without any limitation of time were removed; and again in 1889, during the Chief Secretaryship of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Manchester, when the numbers of the Governors constituting the Boards were generally reduced, in some cases, at least, by one-third. It does not appear that Returns were then presented to the House, and I think properly so, as any such Returns must prove invidious, and could serve no useful purpose.

Mr. Hayden

ROYAL COMMISSION ON MINING ROYALTIES

MR. WOODS (Lancashire, Ince): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether the Royal Commissioners on Mining Royalties have completed their investigations; and, if so, when is their final Report likely to be submitted to the House?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. ASQUITH, Fife, E.): I have no knowledge of my own on the subject; but I will communicate with the Royal Commissioners, and inform the hon. Member of the result.

SICK PAY IN THE POST OFFICE.

MR. GRAHAM (St. Pancras, W.): I beg to ask the Postmaster General why the Post Office Minute, concerning sick pay, which has recently come into force, has not been extended to all the unestablished hands engaged at Mount Pleasant and Holloway Postal Telegraph Factories?

MR. ARNOLD MORLEY: I am not aware to what Post Office Minute the question of the hon. Member refers, but the subject of the question shall receive consideration.

ILLITERATE VOTERS AT THE MEATH ELECTIONS.

MR. WEBSTER (St. Pancras, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he would inform the House, prior to the Debate on the North and South Meath Election Petitions, the number of electors who voted as illiterates at the late General Election in those constituencies?

MR. ASQUITH: I am endeavouring to obtain the information the hon. Member desires, and have telegraphed to Dublin for the figures. Up to the present I have received no reply. If I do receive one I will communicate with him.

THE CONVICT LEARY.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with respect to the case of Daniel Leary, a convict in Mountjoy Prison, who has been in the hospital for the past four months, whether, in view of the fact that his sentence is nearly up, and that he is seriously ill, he will order his release?

MR. J. MORLEY: The General Prisons Board report that this convict was removed on the 21st of last month on medical grounds to Maryboro' Prison, where his condition will be carefully watched. He will be eligible in the ordinary course for release on licence on the 23rd of next month. His case was recently under the consideration of the Government, and there seemed to be no adequate medical ground for release before that time.

THE CONVICT GALLAGHER.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he has read the statement reported to have been made by Callan, who was lately released from prison, that Dr. Gallagher, a convict in Portland, is insane; and whether he will sanction an independent medical inquiry into Dr. Gallagher's condition?

MR. ASQUITH: I have read the statement attributed to Callan. It is totally without foundation in fact. In view of this and similar allegations I have made careful inquiries respecting the mental condition of Gallagher, with the result that I have come to the conclusion that he is perfectly sane. There is no ground, in my opinion, for an independent medical inquiry.

PUBLICANS AND THE MAGISTERIAL BENCH.

MR. PENROSE FITZGERALD (Cambridge): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if Mr. James O'Neil, recently appointed a magistrate at Kinsale, County Cork, held, at the time of his appointment, a retail publican's licence; if he still holds a publican's licence; and if he is the owner of a pawnbroker's establishment, the licence for which is taken out in the name of his wife?

MR. J. MORLEY: Being unacquainted with the practice, I have communicated with the Lord Chancellor of Ireland on the subject of the question, and have not yet procured a reply.

MR. SEXTON: May I ask whether there is any rule of law by which persons holding publican's licences are excluded from the Magisterial Bench?

[No reply was given.]

QUARANTINE IN THE SUEZ CANAL.

MR. JAMES WILLIAM LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the Convention relating to quarantine in the Suez Canal, signed at Venice on 30th January, 1892, by a certain number of the European Powers, has now been signed and ratified by all?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir E. GREY, Northumberland, Berwick): The Convention signed at Venice on January 30th, 1892, relating to quarantine in the Suez Canal, has now been ratified by all the signatory Powers, except Portugal, whose action is still dependent upon the consent of the Cortes.

IMPRISONMENT OF AN ENGLISH SEAMAN AT BILBAO.

MR. HAVELOCK WILSON (Middlesex): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if his attention has been called to the imprisonment of an English seaman named A. Shelley, of the steamship *Newcastle*, at Bilbao, and if he is aware of the fact that the man Shelley has been waiting in prison seven months for his trial; if his attention has been directed to the fact that the other two seamen who were arrested with Shelley for the same alleged offence have been liberated through the influence of the American and Swedish Consul; if he is aware that the English inhabitants of Bilbao have repeatedly called the attention of the British Consul and Vice Consul to the fact that this seaman has been kept in prison for so many months without trial, the alleged offence against Shelley and the other seamen being, "That whilst under the influence of drink they had an altercation with the Spanish police;" and that the British Consul and the Vice Consul have repeatedly refused to secure the release of the man Shelley, or to insist upon the Spanish Authorities bringing him to trial in order that the alleged offence might be enquired into; and if he will at once take steps to secure the release of one of Her Majesty's subjects who has suffered so many months' imprisonment without trial, whilst subjects of other nations, through the care and interference of their consuls, have been released for the same alleged offence, and are now taking steps against

the Spanish Government for false imprisonment?

*SIR E. GREY: This is the first time that the attention of the Foreign Office has been called to this case. Inquiry will be made at once by cable.

THE GLANDERS AND FARCY ORDER.

MR. THOMAS HENRY BOLTON (St. Pancras, N.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Agriculture whether his attention has been called to the fact that the London County Council, in carrying out the recent Order with regard to glanders and farcy, refuses compensation to the owners of animals compulsorily slaughtered; and whether any further legislation is contemplated, with a view to the provision of reasonable compensation in such cases?

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE (Mr. H. GARDNER, Essex, Saffron Walden): The recent Order with regard to glanders and farcy left it optional on the part of Local Authorities to slaughter and pay compensation for animals suffering from either of those diseases. The London County Council unanimously decided not to exercise the power thus conferred upon them, and I do not feel that I should be justified at the present time in setting aside their decision. In any case, I do not think that any further legislation would be necessary.

MR. T. H. BOLTON: Having regard to the serious danger to human life, will the right hon. Gentleman consider the desirability of sending the Order back to the London County Council for re-consideration?

MR. GARDNER: My hon. Friend is no doubt aware that there are other provisions in the Order besides those for slaughter and compensation, and I think it would be better to wait and see how the Order works before taking further steps.

UGANDA—SIR GERALD PORTAL'S MISSION.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN (Birmingham, W.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he will lay upon the Table a Copy of the Instructions to Sir Gerald Portal?

Mr. Havelock Wilson

SIR E. GREY: The full instructions are included among Papers which were laid on the Table on Tuesday, and will be distributed on Monday.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: Would it be convenient to say whether those instructions will contain any reference to the provisions which may have to be made for the peace of the country in the interval between the evacuation of the East Africa Company and the final decision of the Government?

SIR E. GREY: I should say that the question of what is an adequate provision would be rather a matter of opinion.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I did not say adequate. I said "reference to any provision."

SIR E. GREY: The Papers will be distributed on Monday, and it would be better for the right hon. Gentleman to form his own opinion then.

THE CHRISTIAN BROTHERS.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if the Board of Education in Ireland has passed rules under which the Christian Brothers can receive grants on the terms sketched out in last year's Debates; if these rules have received the assent of the Lord Lieutenant, and if the estimate will provide for any increase of expense under this head; and if the Lord Lieutenant does not sanction such rules, how will the Christian Brothers be admitted to share in the grant?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. J. MORLEY, Newcastle-upon-Tyne): The Board of Education have recently submitted certain proposed changes in the rules under which grants are paid, but the Lord Lieutenant found himself unable to give his sanction to the changes so proposed. The Christian Brothers can, of course, only be admitted to share in the grants by compliance with the regulations of the Board.

COLONEL NOLAN: Do I understand the right hon. Gentleman to say that the Lord Lieutenant has refused to sanction the second set of rules passed by the Board of Education?

MR. J. MORLEY: I am not sure that the hon. and gallant Gentleman is right in saying that the rules were really "passed." But the Lord Lieutenant has found himself unable to sanction cer-

tain changes proposed by the National Board.

MR. SEXTON (Kerry, N.) : Are we to understand that the amended proposal has been rejected, or is it still under consideration? Has the right hon. Gentleman any objection to lay on the Table a copy of the proceedings and votes of the Commission on the subject?

MR. J. MORLEY : It is quite true that on Friday last it was my duty a second time to inform the National Board that the proposed changes could not be sanctioned. I know of no reason why the correspondence on this subject and the minutes of the National Board should not be laid on the Table of the House, but I should like to communicate with the National Board before doing so.

MR. DIAMOND (Monaghan, N.) : Is it not a fact that some of the practices to which the objection is taken in the case of the Christian Brothers' schools in Ireland are carried on in English voluntary schools, where they are made no obstacle to the earning of the grant.

[No answer was given.]

ALLEGED TERRORISM IN ROSS-SHIRE.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromartie) : I beg to ask the Lord Advocate whether his attention has been called to the case of Alexander Macrae, who, between Thursday, 26th January, and Tuesday, 31st January last, was mobbed in Plockton, Ross-shire, had to barricade himself in his bedroom, was refused police protection, and ultimately ejected from his lodgings through terrorism, was for safety taken by his friends at 11 p.m. on Tuesday night to Strome Ferry, where he arrived at 1 a.m., and sought the shelter of the police station there for the rest of the night; and whether steps have been taken to provide protection for him, in order that he may be able to follow his ordinary calling in the village of Plockton?

***THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) (Clackmannan, &c.) :** My attention was called to certain statements relating to this matter, and I immediately telegraphed directing that an official Report should be sent to me in regard to it. I have received a telegram briefly stating the result of the inquiry, and mentioning that a full Report is being forwarded by post. When that Report is received steps appropriate to the circumstances which it may disclose will at once be taken.

CLASSIFICATION OF AGRARIAN OFFENCES IN IRELAND.

MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER (Belfast, W.) : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether any alteration has been made since 1st August, 1892, in the classification of agrarian offences in Ireland; whether any offences or class of offences are included in the Return presented to this House which were not previously included; and whether any offences or class of offences are omitted from the Return which were previously included?

MR. J. MORLEY : My answer to the inquiries is "No."

INDIAN COUNCILS ACT, 1892.

MR. SCHWANN (Manchester, N.) : I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether he can lay upon the Table of the House, Copies of the Correspondence which has passed between the India Office and the Government of India on the subject of the Indian Councils Act of last Session?

***THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL, Beds, North) :** The correspondence is incomplete, and therefore, as my hon. Friend will see, it would not be desirable to lay it on the Table at present.

TRIAL BY JURY IN BENGAL.

MR. SCHWANN (Manchester, N.) : I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether a Commission has been, or will be, appointed to inquire into the action of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, with the consent of the Viceroy of India, with reference to the abolition of the right of trial by Jury in Bengal in many classes of cases which previously were subject to that mode of trial; and what measures have been taken, or will be taken, by the Secretary of State for India, should such a Commission not have been decided upon, to preserve to the inhabitants of Bengal the right they have hitherto enjoyed of trial by a jury of their fellow-subjects?

MR. G. RUSSELL : The Orders of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal to which my hon. Friend refers, and which affect eight out of the 46 districts of Bengal, have been and are under the consideration of the Secretary of State; but as he

is, at the request of the Government of India, awaiting a despatch on the subject which is now on its way home, it is impossible to make any final announcement of his intentions.

CROWN LANDS IN WALES.

MR. PRITCHARD MORGAN (Merthyr Tydvil): I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer what is the total acreage of the Crown Lands in the counties of Carnarvon, Denbigh, Merioneth, and Montgomery, and what is the total acreage of lands in those counties sold and disposed of where the Crown retained all the mineral rights?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir W. HARCOURT, Derby): The information will be found on page 310 of Parliamentary Paper 284, Session 1889.

HOME AND FOREIGN LABOUR.

COLONEL HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury what effect Her Majesty's Government proposes to give to the resolutions adopted by the Trades Unions Congress at Glasgow in September last, representing some 418 societies, and 1,219,934 artisans, with respect to

"Steps being taken to prevent the State purchasing materials for the postal and other branches of the Civil Service from Bavaria, and to ensure their being purchased from home manufacturers;" "to prevent the landing of foreign pauper aliens on our shores;" and "for the restriction of foreign labour in loading and discharging ships in Great Britain and Ireland."

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE, Edinburgh, Midlothian): In answer to the hon. and gallant Member, I have to say that as regards the part of the question referring to the landing of pauper aliens on our shores, as that is the subject of a notice given by an hon. Gentleman opposite in the Debate now proceeding, it would be decidedly inconvenient to enter upon the matter in answer to a question. With reference to the first part of the question, as to the purchase of materials by branches of the Civil Service from home manufacturers, the Legislature has by a series of Acts made careful provision that the whole of the community shall have free access upon equal terms to all products whatever, in whatever country produced; and it appears to me that those

Acts of the Legislature are presumably a guide for the Executive Government. It would be a singular step for an Executive Government on its own discretion to allow the course of legislative precedents to be infringed. I will also say that there are no facts before me on this subject, and, of course, if any facts do come to the knowledge of the Government that admit of being examined—if they come to the knowledge of any Department of the Government—they will be duly examined. The third part of the question asks about "the restriction of foreign labour in loading and discharging ships in Great Britain and Ireland." I am not aware, Sir, that the Government have any power to interfere for the purpose of dictating to those who load and discharge ships in Great Britain and Ireland whether they should do it by means of foreign or of home labour.

RETURN RELATING TO MAJORITIES.

SIR GEORGE BADEN-POWELL (Liverpool, Kirkdale): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether there is any objection to providing the Return, relating to majorities necessary for constitutional changes, which stands on the Paper to-day?

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: I have inquired of the representatives of the Foreign and Colonial Departments whether there is any objection to this Return, and I find there is none. This is a question referring to matters which are constantly transacted between those who wish for Returns and the representatives of the proper Departments in the House. They are transacted without any public proceeding whatever, and are passed as unopposed Motions. I am quite at a loss to know why the hon. Member has made this the subject of a public question, which necessarily occupies a certain portion of the time of the House.

IRISH JUDICIAL RENTS.

MR. DANE (Fermanagh, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether, having regard to the present serious agricultural depression in Ireland, and the inability of many of the farmers there to realise out of their holdings the rents judicially fixed, Her Majesty's Government will introduce in the present Session a short

Mr. G. Russell

measure providing for a temporary abatement of such rents upon the lines of the 29th section of "The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1887" ?

SIR T. LEA (Londonderry, S.): At the same time, I will ask the right hon. Gentleman if his attention has been called to the low prices obtained for agricultural produce in Ireland; and whether the Government intend to introduce a Bill to provide for a revision of judicial rents upon the basis of prices similar to the provision in the Land Act of 1887 ?

MR. MCGILLIGAN (Fermanagh, S.): Has the right hon. Gentleman received a copy of a resolution from Fermanagh asking him to press this matter on the attention of the Government ?

MR. J. MORLEY: I have received a good many resolutions on the subject, and do not recall this particular one. With reference to the questions on the Paper, I fear I can hardly add anything to what I stated in reply to questions on the same subject which were addressed to me in the House yesterday afternoon.

OFFICIAL NOMINATIONS TO IRISH ASYLUMS BOARD.

MR. DANE: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland how long Colonel Buchanan has been a Governor of the District Asylum for Tyrone and Fermanagh; how many attendances he has made during that period; what was the total number of attendances; and upon what grounds was his removal effected from the List of Governors by His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland ?

MR. J. MORLEY: The general grounds on which the Lord Lieutenant acted in selecting his own nominees for the Asylums Boards for 1893 were fully explained in my reply yesterday to a question put by the hon. and learned Member for Londonderry, and again in my statement of last evening. The fact that the particular gentlemen mentioned were, with others, not included in the limited number of selections made directly by His Excellency was in no way whatever due to personal considerations, but solely to the necessity of establishing a fairer and more general representation on the Boards. I understand both these gentlemen gave good attendances. It is, of course, open to the Grand Jury to

nominate them to any of their vacancies. The Lord Lieutenant would be also glad to appoint them to any vacancies among his nominees when it can be done without interfering with the more general representation which he has endeavoured to establish.

MR. DANE: Arising out of that answer, may I ask if the right hon. Gentleman is aware that Colonel Buchanan was removed in favour of another gentleman who was also a Protestant? Is he also aware that Colonel Buchanan not only most carefully and sedulously attended the meetings of the Board, but lived within gunshot of it; that he was unanimously elected on each one of its committees, and that, as a matter of fact, he kept all the minutes of its meetings in his own handwriting ?

MR. CARSON (Dublin University): Before the right hon. Gentleman answers the question, I wish to ask him, is he aware that last year Colonel Buchanan received special thanks from the Visitors of the Lunacy Department for the manner in which he had discharged his duties ?

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): Is not Colonel Buchanan Clerk of the Peace for the county of Tyrone, and are not his official duties in that capacity sufficient to occupy his attention? Did not the gallant gentleman in the course of a speech that he recently delivered say that if the Home Rule Bill were passed he would put himself at the head of his regiment ?

MR. J. MORLEY: When the change was made I was not aware of one qualification or disqualification of the kind enumerated.

MR. MACARTNEY (Antrim, S.): Was any inquiry made by the Lord Lieutenant into the qualifications or disqualifications of the members of the Board ?

MR. J. MORLEY: The object of the inquiries made by direction of the Lord Lieutenant was to redress the balance in the representation on the Board. No personal consideration of the kind indicated in the questions put to me were entertained for a moment.

MR. MACARTNEY: I am not in conflict with the right hon. Gentleman on the point that the right hon. Gentleman was entitled to exercise his own judgment in the matter, but I want to know whether any inquiry was made by

the Lord Lieutenant as between the gentlemen on the Board as to who had been most regular in attendance and who had the greater or the lesser qualifications?

MR. J. MORLEY: The fact of the attendance was undoubtedly in our view when these appointments were made, but the question of qualification in other respects was not.

MR. DANE: How does the right hon. Gentleman reconcile this last answer with—

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

POLICE PROTECTION FOR SHERIFFS AT NIGHT.

MR. DARLING (Deptford): I wish to ask the Chief Secretary for Ireland a question of which I have given him private notice—namely, whether, having regard to the unanimous judgment delivered yesterday by the Court of Queen's Bench in Ireland in the case of "the Attorney General *v.* Kissaue," he will withdraw the Circular dated Dublin Castle, December 7 last, and direct the police authorities in Ireland to act in accordance with the law of the land, as laid down by the Court of Queen's Bench, until that decision may have been reversed on appeal?

MR. J. MORLEY: I can only say, in answer to the hon. and learned Gentleman, that the decision will of course command the immediate attention of the Irish Government, and whatever direction it may seem necessary in conformity with that decision to give to the police authorities will be given.

MEMBERS AND THEIR SEATS.

DR. FARQUHARSON (Aberdeenshire, W.): Will you, Sir, kindly, for the instruction and convenience of the House, repeat the ruling given by you on a former occasion as to the way hon. Members may secure and retain their seats during the evening?

MR. SPEAKER: In answer to the hon. Member's question, I have to say that there is no fixed rule or Standing Order regulating the manner in which hon. Members may secure their seats. But there is a well-understood custom by which hon. Members who have attended prayers should have a right to the seats they then occupy, and they have asserted their claim by placing a

card at the back of the seats. More than that, hon. Members who are engaged in Committees upstairs have been accustomed a short time before the meeting of the House to secure the seats they wish to occupy by placing their hats upon such seats for the purpose of retaining them. But that claim is not made good until the hon. Member who owns the hat attends at prayers, so as to establish a definite claim to the seat. Some seats in the House are allotted by the courtesy of Members to gentlemen who have occupied them for a long period, and I hope that that is a custom that will be preserved. I have said that there is no fixed rule, but it is quite possible for a Member to have two hats, or even more, for the purpose of securing seats either for himself or his friends. That clearly is a violation of the spirit of the rule, and I may venture to say, in conclusion, that no rule nor practice nor custom can possibly be effective unless it be generously interpreted, and unless applied, as I am sure it will be, with that mutual forbearance and courtesy which I hope is the characteristic of this House.

MR. W. REDMOND (Clare, E.): I desire, Sir, respectfully to ask, is it not a fact that Members who are attending Committees may secure their seats for the evening by means of a pink card instead of placing their hats thereon? And may I ask whether it would not be advisable to make the rule for retaining seats hold good for the whole Session, so that the hon. Members of the various Parties in the House may, as far as possible, sit together? For myself I am lost where I am.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION BY COLONEL SAUNDERSON.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON (Armagh, N.): I rise for the purpose of making a personal explanation. Unfortunately I was absent from the House yesterday, when the hon. Member for East Galway spoke. He said—

"The hon. and gallant Member also accused him of having stolen a deer. He never stole a deer, he never pleaded guilty to stealing a deer, and he was never fined for stealing a deer, and he challenged the hon. and gallant Member to produce any record showing such a conviction."

The hon. Member pointed out also that I made a mistake in asserting that two days after a speech he had made a

Mr. Macartney

murder was committed. I made that statement upon what I believed to be sufficient authority, but I find I was mistaken. The date of the murder was five months after he made the speech. With regard to stealing the deer, I hold in my hand an authority which I deemed conclusive, and that was a certified copy of the order and finding on that case. Perhaps the House will allow me to read it. The case set out—

"That you the defendant (John Roche) did, on the 4th of October 1876, at Derrycraigh, being a forest chase or purlieu of the complainant, carry away therefrom a deer, and further that you had in your possession on the day aforesaid a deer, contrary to the statute in such case made and provided. The defendant pleaded guilty of having the deer in his possession on the 4th of October, 1876, and expressed regret for the same, and consented to pay all costs."

Sir, that is the authority on which I stated John Roche stole a deer. Furthermore, the hon. Member accuses me of personal discourtesy to him in having made this statement in regard to him without having given him previous information. I should be sorry to show discourtesy to any Member of the House; but permit me to observe that I was not bound to associate John Roche, who took away the deer and had it in his possession, with the hon. Member for East Galway, although I am bound to admit that between the names of the two persons there is some similarity.

MR. JOHN ROCHE (Galway, E.): Mr. Speaker, I must firstly say that I received no notice from the hon. Member for North Armagh of his intention to introduce this question here to-day, no more than of his attack on me yesterday. He produces a copy of a summons; but as he told you, he stated in his speech yesterday that I stole this deer, that I pleaded guilty, and that I was fined. Now he has got a copy of a summons close on 20 years old, but why has he not got the conviction, if there was any such thing as a conviction? If I was fined where is the record of the fine? He says I apologised. But I apologised for nothing, because there was nothing to apologise for. I was summoned, no doubt, for shooting a deer upon my own land—upon a farm which I hold in the townland of Derrycrag, for which I pay rent. There is not within 10 miles of the farm a single enclosed deer-park or forest. No doubt there is a large number

of wild deer in the district owned by several men, and I say here, that if to-morrow I were on the lands and found a deer straying there I would shoot him. The landlord's agent, Mr. George Morris, who is now a member of the Local Government Board, Dublin, and a brother of Lord Morris, appeared at the Petty Sessions, and stated he would withdraw the summons, and that no fine or penalty need be inflicted. [*Cries of "Withdraw Saunderson!" and "Apologise!"*]

THE ROCHESTER ELECTION PETITION.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): I wish to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the evidence in the Rochester Petition will be printed and laid on the Table of the House?

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: No, Sir.

MOTIONS.

NEW WRIT—NORTH MEATH.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That Mr. Speaker do issue his Warrant to the Clerk of the Crown in Ireland to make out a New Writ for the electing of a Member to serve in this present Parliament for the County of Meath (Northern Division) in the room of Michael Davitt, esquire, whose election for the said County has been declared void."—(*Sir Thomas Esmonde.*)

COLONEL SAUNDERSON (Armagh, N.): Sir, my hon. Friend the Member for Antrim on a former occasion gave notice that it was our intention to oppose the issue of this Writ. Our object in doing so was to bring under the notice of the House the circumstances attending that election, especially with regard to priestly intimidation. That object will be attained by the discussion that will arise upon the Amendment to be moved by the hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Arnold-Forster); and as we do not wish to put the House to the trouble of two debates on the same subject, it is not our intention to oppose the issue of the Writ. Perhaps I might appeal to my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer to carry out our wishes by moving that the evidence be not only laid on the Table of the House, but circulated amongst Members of the House.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir W. HARCOURT, Derby): On that subject I should think the proper course would be for the hon. Member to move. The evidence in these cases is very voluminous, but, of course, in cases where the House desires it, it will be laid on the Table. It has been so laid, and is accessible to Members in the Library. In any case where it is desired that the evidence should be printed and circulated, there should be a special Motion for the purpose.

MR. J. LOWTHER (Kent, Thanet): Do I understand that the Judgment and the evidence is to be laid on the Table? Is the Judgment to be printed as distinct from the evidence?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: The first Motion was for laying on the Table the Judgment and the evidence, but I understand that the Home Secretary has given notice that the Judgments should be printed and circulated. There is no Motion to print the evidence.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): Is it necessary to make any such Motion? Is it not sufficient to go to the Librarian, as I have often done, and say, "I want this printed and circulated"?

MR. SPEAKER: In such a case as this we would require the order of the House to print the evidence.

Motion agreed to.

NEW WRIT—SOUTH MEATH.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do issue his Warrant to the Clerk of the Crown in Ireland to make out a New Writ for the electing of a Member to serve in this present Parliament for the County of Meath (Southern Division) in the room of Patrick Fulham, esquire, whose election for the said County has been declared void."—(*Colonel Nolan.*)

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE (Kerry, W.): I object to this Motion, on the ground that the hon. and gallant Member is not the proper person from whom such a Motion should come. The hon. and gallant Member is not in any sense connected with the party who recently held the seat in South Meath, and though perhaps he may be within his right in moving for this Writ, we must have regard to what the usage of the House has been. That usage is an ancient usage whereby Writs are moved by the

officials or Whips to which these seats belong. Therefore, I object to the Motion of the hon. and gallant Member. Of course, this matter must now be decided by the House. If it is to approve of the course adopted by the hon. and gallant Member, the usage which has prevailed by courtesy amongst the Whips representing the different Parties in this House will be transgressed. If such a Motion is allowed, there will be nothing to prevent the Whip of my Party from moving a Writ in the case of a seat which has been vacated by a Member of any other Party in the House. I would respectfully submit that inasmuch as my Party hitherto held the seat in South Meath, and also inasmuch as I have a Motion on the Paper for Tuesday next, that the Writ for South Meath be moved for on that day, that the Motion of the hon. and gallant Member should not be allowed. I respectfully beg to move the adjournment of this Debate until Tuesday next.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Sir Thomas Esmonde.*)

MR. JOHN REDMOND and Colonel NOLAN rose at the same time, and the SPEAKER called on

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway N.), who said: Of course, I should in all cases give way to the hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. John Redmond), but in this case there may be some matters of which he may not be aware. The first and most extraordinary business that I went to the hon. Baronet (Sir Thomas Esmonde) last Tuesday, the first day on which this subject was before the House, and told him I would move the Writ if he did not move it. I would appeal to this House—is moving for the Writ to be turned into an electioneering dodge [*Tory and Parnellite Cheers*].—or where we are to move for them fairly and squarely? Otherwise a majority in this House may disfranchise a small minority. What did I do on Tuesday? I asked the Secretary to the Speaker for the two rights for North and South Meath. I brought them both into the House to move both. The hon. Baronet had only one Writ on the Paper; I wanted both. I believe there is supposed to be all Party advantage in the holding of the elections first, and I believe, in

the explanation of all these manoeuvres. I have had no manoeuvres. On every occasion I had both Writs ready, so that both might go by the same post to Ireland. I submit to Liberal Members opposite, is it not fair that the two Writs should be moved for together? And as to the point of etiquette, I appeal to everyone, is not this rule that if a Whip is too slow—[cries of "Oh!"]—in moving for any Writ and wants to turn it into an electioneering dodge—is it not the custom for another Whip to go to him and say, "If you do not move it, I will?" That is not a supposititious case. The last one was done by the hon. Baronet to myself. There was a vacancy in the County of Wexford. The hon. Baronet, I think, very properly came to me and said, "You move the Writ for the County of Wexford, or I will be obliged to move it myself." I told him I had no instructions on the subject, and that I had no great anxiety to move it.

MR. T. M. HEALY: "The Boys of Wexford."

COLONEL NOLAN: He then moved it himself. In the present case, I think the two Writs should be sent away by the same post, so that both elections may take place on the same day.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE: With the indulgence of the House I wish to say, in reply to the remarks of the hon. and gallant Member for Galway, in reference to the Writ for North Wexford, that I did not move for the Writ until I had asked him to move it and until he had declined to do so. The difference is this: that in the present case the hon. and gallant Member put down the Motion without consulting me at all.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: I regret extremely that any difference should arise over this matter, and I sincerely trust that no conflict will take place over it. What I would ask the House to do is to take care that fair play is asserted in the matter. I may say that my hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Galway, in moving the Writ on Tuesday last, moved under the impression that he was acting in accordance with the usages of the House. He said very fairly on Tuesday that he would submit the question to the Whips of the two great Parties in the House, and would adopt their decision. He accordingly consulted the gentlemen, and they told him that in their opinion he

had taken a mistaken view, and he at once acted in accordance with the view which they expressed. The invariable practice of the House, as explained by the Whip of the Conservative Party the other night, has been that not merely the Whip of the Party who owned the allegiance of the late Member should move the Writ, but it has also been the practice of the House that if he does not move the Writ, the Whip of another Party might say to him, "If you do not move the Writ by such a day, I will move it." On Tuesday last my hon. and gallant Friend said openly and publicly to the House that he would move for the Writ to-day if it was not moved by the hon. Baronet, the Whip of the other Party. In addition to that, my hon. and gallant Friend had some private communication with the hon. Baronet; but as to that I know nothing. But he certainly stated publicly in this House that if the hon. Baronet did not move the Writ, he would move it. The hon. Baronet has not moved the Writ to-day, and so my hon. and gallant Friend in moving for the Writ is acting in strict accordance with the usages of the House, as explained by the Whips of the two great Parties. Under these circumstances, I regret extremely that there should be any objection to issue the Writ; and I would appeal to the House, in the spirit of fair play, that if there is any political advantage to be gained by one side or the other, that we should take care not to lend ourselves to any such attempt, and to take care that the Writs are issued on the same occasion by the same post to the proper office in Dublin.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (MR. MARJORIBANKS, Berwickshire): I was not in the House the other day when my right hon. Friend the Member for St. Augustine's Division of Kent (MR. AKERS-DOUGLAS) explained what is the usual practice of the House with regard to moving Writs. My right hon. Friend explained that the Whip of the Party to whom the Member who vacates the seat belongs moves the Writ; but he might have gone further and said that that Writ should be moved within a reasonable time, and that if according to that custom the Whip, as announced, does not move the Writ on a particular day, if that day allows of a fairly reasonable limit of time, that then any person

who gives notice would be within his right in moving for the Writ. It is quite true that it is the right of the hon. Baronet, strictly speaking, to move this Writ; but it does seem to me that there is considerable force in the argument used by the hon. and gallant Member opposite that, having given notice to the hon. Baronet, the hon. Baronet has to some extent lost the right to oppose the issue of the Writ. I do hope that matters of this kind will be treated by all Parties in the House without any sort of heat or partisan feeling. It is to the convenience of Members of the House that these formal matters should be treated in a friendly, considerate, and forbearing manner; and I would appeal to the hon. Baronet opposite to give way and not to oppose the Motion of the hon. and gallant Member opposite, for that is a course that will be to the advantage of the progress of the business of the House.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I am sorry that the Patronage Secretary to the Treasury has seen fit to intervene in a matter upon which he is not sufficiently informed. The facts of the case are these: That without any notice to us of any sort or description the hon. and gallant Member for North Galway, without communicating with us, without communicating with the Tory Whips, without communicating with the Liberal Whips, without communicating with anybody, made his Motion upon Tuesday last. ["Hear, hear!"] We were bound to take exception to the Motion. We took exception to it upon the ground that he had moved in defiance of the House requiring two days' notice to be given that he was obliged to postpone his Motion. What were the facts? We waited until that Rule was put on the Paper by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer. We were bound to wait until we saw what the Rule was, and what the practice under that Rule would be. Some people may take different views; but when you are dealing with a matter that is more or less a matter of discretion, you have to consider the views of those who are acting upon a particular discretion. My hon. Friend did not put down his Motion for South Meath until he saw the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the

Mr. Marjoribanks

Paper. That was upon the Wednesday. He then, in order to give two days' notice, conceived he had to give two days' sitting notice. His notice did not appear on the Paper till Thursday. The two sitting days were Friday and Monday, and the soonest occasion on which he conceived he could make his Motion was Tuesday next. However, this is a matter, of course, in which the Conservative Party are even more interested than anybody else. They are as much interested in maintaining this matter as we are; so is the Liberal Party. It may be inconvenient to the Conservative Party, as it may be inconvenient to our Party, that Writs should be moved as vacancies occur; and if an inroad is to be made on what is laid down as the settled practice, there is an end altogether to the amenities which have hitherto prevailed in relation to this matter. It seems a fair thing to say, let both Writs go together to the Sheriff, and let him decide. But who is the Sheriff? The Sheriff is their man, as every Tory official in Ireland is their man.

MR. W. REDMOND: Every Tory official is not our man, nor every Whig either.

MR. T. M. HEALY: We, by reason of our position in the House—

MR. W. REDMOND: I will not allow anything of that sort to be said.

MR. T. M. HEALY: We, by reason of our position in this House in regard to this matter, prefer to take one of these elections first. At the same time, the matter is in our carriage. We are the proper judges of a matter affecting our own Party—our own seats; and surely we are proper judges of our own domestic affairs. We do not seek to interfere in the affairs of the Tory Party or of the Liberal Party, and all we ask is Home Rule within our own Party.

MR. T. HARRINGTON (Dublin, Harbour) said, he could scarcely congratulate the hon. Member upon the speech he had just made, in face of the appeals that had been made from different parts of the House not to import heat into the discussion. The explanation he had given was an explanation which might have some weight if they did not know that the same Whip of the hon. Member's Party had on the Paper for this evening a Motion with regard to North Meath, and though he antici-

pated some opposition from the Conservative Benches of the House, it was a curious commentary upon the courtesy of hon. Members that the Conservative Members withdrew opposition to the notice and yet they declined to withdraw theirs. The South Meath Election Writ should have been moved before the North Meath Election Writ. The petition and the circumstances heard in the course of the case were decided in South Meath before they were in North Meath. He thought they would be safe in trusting the matter before the House to the sense of fair play of the House. They had endeavoured to take no advantage of their opponents. They were willing to go to Ireland together, and let the officials responsible for the carrying out of the elections select their own date. The elections could not take place on the same day ; one would take place one or two days before the other. The Sheriff would have to make his arrangements, but in any case he thought they might well leave it to the fair sense of the House.

DR. KENNY (Dublin, College Green) said he joined in the request to withdraw this opposition. The hon. Baronet had on the Paper a Motion respecting North Meath, put down in the full knowledge of all the facts, and surely he might have put down the Motion for South Meath at the same time, and avoided this conflict. The hon. Baronet was a gentleman of most courteous disposition, but they were all more or less creatures of their environment, and the hon. Baronet had his instructions from a quarter which was not disposed to extend to them that courtesy. He was bound to say that he recognised the position of the hon. Baronet, and he recognised the hand of the hon. and learned Member for Louth ; the voice was the voice of Jacob, but the hand was the hand of Esau ; and he ventured to appeal to the hon. Baronet to withdraw his opposition. All this contention had been raised over a matter of four days. He would venture again to ask those who thought they were stronger than his own Party, and who had accused them of wishing to take a political advantage, to withdraw their opposition to the Motion of his hon. and gallant Friend.

MR. SEXTON (Kerry, N.) said he was very glad to observe the temper and spirit in which this question had been discussed by the Irish Members who had taken prominent sides in the dispute for, whatever might be the issue, he did not think it a question of sufficient magnitude to justify any angry spirit or any intemperate language. Now, he thought certain matters were beyond dispute. The first was that the original Motion of the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Galway was not justified by the usage of the House. The hon. Member had most frankly made an admission to that effect ; in the second place, the question was whether his hon. Friend the Whip of their Party had used sufficient expedition in putting down a Motion for Tuesday next. He thought the argument of his hon. Friend the Member for North Louth had great force. The hon. Baronet was entitled to wait and see what was the nature and scope of the Sessional Orders. He would propose a compromise. It had been said by one of his hon. Friends that the Sheriff was their opponent's man, and that observation had been resented. He would not take any partial position. The other side said the Sheriff was not their man, and the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down had intimated that if the writs went together the elections would be held together. Well, if the elections were held together they were satisfied. What they wanted was that by no manipulation of the matter should the elections be held in succession to each other. Both sides believed that one division was more favourable to them than the other. He for his part, proposed, though he thought the hon. Baronet was well within his right, according to the spirit of the rule and usage, in fixing Tuesday next for the issue of the Writ—that if the hon. Member for Waterford and his friends would agree to assent to an arrangement by which the elections might be held on the same day, he would himself suggest to the hon. Baronet that he should withdraw his Motion, and that both the Writs should be issued together.

MR. J. LOWTHER asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir W. Harcourt) if his attention had been called to the fact that the Motion made, to which the House assented on Wednes-

day last only, stood as a Sessional Order. He would suggest that the Order should be made a Standing Order of the House.

SIR W. HARCOURT said he only followed the usual form and practice. He had moved it, he believed, as a Sessional Order, but the Speaker expressed an opinion that it ought to be a Standing Order. He thought that would be sufficient.

MR. J. REDMOND (Waterford) said he wished to disclaim altogether any desire of manipulation which had been alluded to. The object of himself and friends in preventing the postponement of one Writ until Tuesday next, after the issue of another Writ to-day, was to prevent that sort of thing. If it was proposed to have the two elections on the same day, he would be very glad. He did not know whether it was possible or not, but certainly, so far as he was concerned, and so far as he could speak for others, no attempt whatever would be made by them to manipulate this matter, or to try and induce the Sheriff to have the election which they desired first put before the one which the hon. Member for Kerry desired first. Therefore he thought the matter might now be allowed to end, and the two Writs might be allowed to issue. He regretted that any heat had been imported into the matter at all, and that the two sections of the Nationalist Party, who differed on important subjects, should have differed in this small matter, which at one time approached the indignity of a scene. He hoped the motion of the hon. Baronet would be withdrawn, and that the Writs would be sent by the same post to the Sheriff, the matter to be left to him.

MR. W. REDMOND regretted that heat had been imported into the discussion. He agreed with the tone of the speech of the hon. Member for Kerry, but thought that if heat had been introduced it had not been through the fault of his own party. [*Ministerial cries of "Oh!"*] It was not the slightest use trying to howl him down. The Member for North Louth had attacked the party to which he belonged. The hon. Member said that the Party to which he belonged was supported by every Tory Official in Ireland. Well, if they wanted to raise the question now he was quite prepared

to go on. The hon. Member also said the Sheriff was their man. The hon. Member had no warrant whatever for saying that the Sheriff was their man, any more than he was the man of the Party to which the hon. Member belonged. It had been said that the Sheriff favoured one particular Party: he certainly had not favoured their Party, and he did not believe he would favour the other Party. The Sheriff was perfectly impartial in the matter. He regretted that they could not have a discussion about these Writs without introducing Party matter, but so far as he was concerned, he deplored any friction whatever. When, however, he heard a thing said in that House about the Party to which he belonged which he knew not to be true, he would deny it at once and as strongly as he could. Therefore, while he completely agreed with suggestions made by various speakers—principally by the Member for Kerry—that this compromise should be adopted, he also took the opportunity of saying that whenever the Party to which he belonged was attacked in that House he would undoubtedly reply. He repudiated the suggestion that either Tory or Whig officials were on their side. He was not sent either by Whig or Tory to that House, but by the Nationalists of Clare, where he would be glad to meet the hon. Member at any time.

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN (Donegal, W.) said, he desired only to say that if the Writs for these two seats were issued on the same day, most certainly the elections would not take place upon the same day. The Sheriff would not supply a new set of ballot boxes in order that two elections could take place on the same day. The House might depend on it that if the Writs were issued on the same day the elections would not be held on the same day, and, therefore, he thought the Motion ought not to be withdrawn.

SIR T. ESMONDE: As it seems to be the wish of my hon. Friends, I beg leave to withdraw the Motion for the Adjournment of the Debate.

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

Original Question put, and agreed to.

Ordered, That Mr. Speaker do issue his Warrant to the Clerk of the Crown in Ireland to make out a New Writ for the electing of a

Mr. J. Louther

Member to serve in this present Parliament for the County of Meath, Southern Division, in the room of Patrick Fulham, esquire, whose election for the said County has been declared void.

NEW WRITS.

For Northumberland County (Hexham Division), *v.* Nathaniel George Clayton, esquire, void election; *Walsall, v.* Frank James, esquire, void election.

NEW WRIT FOR ROCHESTER CITY.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That Mr. Speaker do issue his Warrant to the Clerk of the Crown to make out a New Writ for the electing of a Member to serve in this present Parliament for the borough of Rochester, in the room of Horatio David Davies, esquire, whose election for the said borough has been declared void."—(*Mr. Akers-Douglas.*)

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland) rose to move an Amendment to the Motion in the following terms:—

"That the issue of the Writ for Rochester be postponed until the evidence in the recent Election Petition has been received and considered by the House."

He said that at Question time he asked the First Lord of the Treasury whether the evidence in this case had been received, and he received an answer in the negative. He was quite alive to the inconvenience of discussing beforehand in that House election petitions, but already in the course of the present Session they had had two discussions on an Election Petition, and they were threatened with a third. He guarded himself from saying that he desired this Writ should be indefinitely postponed. He did not wish to visit on the Voters of Rochester generally the crimes and the sins of a small corrupt number in that constituency; in fact, he was sure that if it had not been for those corrupt practices, Rochester would have been represented in this Parliament, as in the last, by a Liberal Member. The case of Rochester was peculiarly significant. He ventured in the last Session of Parliament to make the statement that there had been more widespread and general corruption, more illegal treating, and more corrupt practices generally at the last General Election than at almost any preceding Election in the history of the country. He was denounced in Tory organs and speeches for making a statement which they described as extravagantly wrong, but fortunately, since he

made that speech, several Election Petitions had taken place which showed that much bribery and corruption was practised by the Tory Party generally. In some of those Election Petitions, partly owing to the stupidity of the legal advisers of the Petitioners, Tory Members had been able to escape by the skin of their teeth. Fortunately, at Rochester the means were at hand to bring home to the Tory Party the practices which had been going on. The Tory Party in Rochester delighted to call itself constitutional. They had a constitutional association, a constitutional birth night club, constitutional teas, constitutional beer, and constitutional sandwiches. The constitutional association gave entertainments in the old Corn Exchange, and they were kind enough to provide what was euphemistically described as light refreshments at the figure of threepence. There were light refreshments in one room while performances were going on, and there was another performance in another room, also under the auspices of the association, and at these entertainments no less than 200 sandwiches, 85 dozen of bottled ale, and a small quantity of claret and mineral waters was served to the members and friends of the constitutional association. With regard to the birth night club, a certain number of gentlemen born in the month of October, agreed that on a certain night in October they would meet to celebrate their birth night; the club consisted of what were called rich birds who provided the entertainment, and poor birds who partook of the entertainment, and for the small subscription of threepence a person could get an entertainment that would be very moderate at half-a-crown. That was the way in which the work of registration was carried on; it was continued from one year's end to another, with the result that a large number of the poorer voters were constantly employed and paid as registration agents, and voted, of course, the constitutional ticket when an election came off. The Constitutional Association was not an Association in a very good financial position. In 1890 its total income was not more than £299 and a few shillings. Of this £299, £250 were subscribed by the Tory candidate. In 1891 the finances went up, reaching £315, but again the Tory candidate

figured for £300 out of the entire total. What was the result? One of the Judges at the Election Petition declared that the Constitutional Association was a most unconstitutional body, formed and carried on for purposes of corruption. But there were other methods of corruption. He might allude to one. A brewer's agent was brought before the Petition Court, charged with having gone into a public-house and stood drinks. He acknowledged the charge. He might mention that the very same thing took place in Montgomeryshire, where, by a modern miracle in the shape of an equal division of opinion between two Judges, a gentleman continued to hold a seat in that House who was described by one Judge as legally disentitled. In Montgomeryshire the same thing occurred with a brewer's agent. And what was the defence? It was that as the representative of a brewer it was part of his business and within his right, and, indeed, one of his duties, to stand drinks for the customers of the house for the good of the house. The agents of the brewers had gone up and down every part of this county standing free drinks for the good of the house and the Tory party. He came, finally, to what the Judges said in this most remarkable Election Petition. They said that facts were proved before them which precluded their reporting that they had no reason to believe that corrupt and illegal practices prevailed at the election, but these facts were not such as to support a Report to the effect that corrupt or illegal practices had extensively prevailed at the election. He thought there was enough to show there was a strong presumption for believing a large amount of corrupt practices existed at this election, and under these circumstances he considered he was justified in asking the House to suspend the issue of the Writ until they had had time to peruse and consider the evidence. He made this Motion purely in the interests of electoral purity, and by way of showing how deeply he sympathised with those political purists who desired to clear the electoral atmosphere of anything like a tainted element. At the same time his Motion was not unconnected with a desire to bring home to the minds of the people of this country that if charges could be proved of men in Ireland giving votes in obedience to

spiritual influence, at least, their votes were quite as respectable as those of the gentlemen in Rochester who voted for the party who gave the two thousand sandwiches and the bottled beer. He begged to move his Motion.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "the issue of the Writ for Rochester be postponed until the evidence in the recent Election Petition has been received and considered by this House."—(*Mr. T. P. O'Connor.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

*THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir CHARLES RUSSELL, Hackney, S.): I believe it will be convenient that on the Amendment of my hon. Friend the view the Government takes of this matter should early be explained to the House. I do not think anyone can justly complain of my hon. Friend for moving this Amendment, for I think it must be conceded on all hands that there were some very extraordinary features in connection with the Election as disclosed by the learned Judge's Report; but while my hon. Friend gave the House some portions of the evidence, it is not possible to consider in all its fulness that evidence unless it is fully before the House, and even if it were, it would be impossible for this House to constitute itself the judge of that evidence and go behind the Report and the results founded on the evidence by the learned Judges whose responsible duty it was to try this Petition. I should like to recall to the recollection of the House the mode in which legislation has proceeded in questions of this kind. Under the old system preceding the Act of 1852, the House used by its own Committees to inform itself of what the facts of the case were, and upon the Report of that Committee it judged, reported, and decided upon the matter; and if the House came to the conclusion that the evidence in the case was such as to justify the imputation of the existence of widespread and general corruption in the borough, the Government of the day, on whom the responsible duty was imposed, under the direction of the House, proceeded to the next step, which was to bring in an Act for the disfranchisement

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ment of the borough. The Act of 1852 altered that machinery in some respects, for it provided that when by the joint Address of both Houses it was set out that a Committee of the House of Commons had reported that corrupt practices had, or that there was reason to believe that corrupt practices had, extensively prevailed in any constituency, and the House of Commons prayed Her Majesty to cause inquiry, then Her Majesty issued her Commission for the purpose of inquiry into the matters in question, and that Commission became the foundation of further action by Parliament. The House will recollect that under the more recent Acts the mode of procedure has been entirely changed; and now, instead of a Committee of the House having cast upon it the duty of inquiring into alleged corrupt practices, that duty is performed by the Judges of the land, and their report takes the place formerly occupied by the report of a Committee of this House. But I have to call the attention of the House to this fact, that both according to the old procedure, and under the Act of 1852 and the later Act of 1868, the foundation for any proceedings in the direction of the issue of a Commission must have been based upon the proved fact of the existence of general corruption, the words of the Statute being

"that there is reason to believe that corrupt practices have in fact, or that there is reason to believe that corrupt practices have in fact extensively prevailed in the borough."

My hon. Friend is now asking the House, who have not the evidence before them, and who, if they had the full evidence before them, are not, I venture to say, competent to judge of its effect in the same sense as the Judges whose responsible duty it was to do so—he is asking this House to arrive at a conclusion contrary to the conclusion arrived at by the Judges, and to ask this House to assert that in point of fact, although the Judges have not so found, that there was reason to believe that corrupt practices did extensively prevail. The view the Government takes of the matter is that this is not an Amendment which can be supported by the Government, and I have to point out that there is no case since the Act of 1868—I might go much farther back, and I think I might say

since the Act of 1852—in which this House has ever postponed the issue of a Writ because of allegations of corrupt practices, except in a case where there is an allegation of the extensive prevalence of such corrupt practices, and then only with a view to ulterior proceedings in the direction of the issue of a Commission of Inquiry. I, therefore, thought it was right to intervene in this Debate, and to say that, although my hon. Friend has thought it right to propose his Amendment, it is one which the Government cannot support.

*SIR RICHARD WEBSTER (Isle of Wight): I have to add very few words in consequence of the views expressed by the Attorney General on behalf of Her Majesty's Government. I do not think we have any right to find fault with or make any criticism of the Member for the Scotland Ward Division for having called the attention of the House to certain incidents in connection with the Rochester election petition. I do not know that I could have expressed, or should wish to express, my understanding of the law in regard to this matter in better or clearer terms than the Attorney General has used. I only desire to say this, that in the first place the interference of this House, whether based upon the Report of the old Committees or upon the Report of the Election Judges, has, so far as I know, never gone the length of interfering with the issue of a Writ unless there has been a distinct report that corrupt practices have extensively prevailed in the borough; and it is worthy of note in this case that the language to which the hon. Member referred to clearly indicates—whatever may be their criticism of certain practices—that neither of the learned Judges thought there had been extensive corruption in this particular case. I should be disposed to say this, adding my observations merely to what the learned Attorney General said, I believe the House has never for a great many years suspended the issue of a Writ unless prepared either to direct a prosecution or to order an inquiry or to direct a Bill to be brought in by the Government of the day with the view to the disfranchisement of the borough, and I think the general sense of the House would be, that while every Member of the House would be anxious that corrupt practices

at elections should be put down and the purity of elections secured, still upon the other hand it would be an undesirable and an unwise thing if disfranchisement of a borough should take place because an individual Member of the House might desire to criticise and to examine the evidence. I am glad to think that there is no difference between those of us who speak on the legal aspect of the case, and after what the learned Attorney General has said I trust the House will come to the conclusion that no reason whatever has been given for postponing the issue of the Writ.

Mr. W. M. HEALY (Louth, N.) : I think the fact is worthy of notice that the person selected for this corrupt borough is the son of the late Prime Minister. It is very instructive to find of all persons in the United Kingdom selected to take advantage of the expenditure of beer and money and other corrupt machinery that person was one who was, or supposed to be, one of the most trusted Members of the Tory Party, namely, Lord Cranbourne. That will be very instructive to us. I should have imagined that the late Prime Minister would have been most solicitous that anyone connected with himself should be kept aloof and apart from anything savouring of corruption. When we hear, as I suppose we shall, in a few days, some homily on the action of the priesthood in the county of Meath, I shall put this constant question—what about the sandwiches? I think it would be a most pertinent question, and it is not to the credit of the Tory Party with regard to a borough of this kind, that they should have put before the electors of this kingdom that Lord Cranbourne, the son of a gentleman who was recently the Prime Minister of this country, should be the proper person to take advantage of this corruption. I think the House and the country will take general note of the fact that the Tory Party has selected their most conspicuous figure-head to float in again on this sea of beer in this borough of Rochester. They would know how to appreciate in the proper manner the slanders directed against us in Ireland in regard to certain recommendations which were practically the recommendations that have been made in Tory churches and Presbyterian churches in the North of Ireland. I

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think the time will soon come when the House should reconsider the question of referring these elections to Judges. I think the House made a profound mistake when it ever surrendered to Judges the right of trying the case of its own Members. There are as honest men in this House to decide these questions as any Judges in the land; and I say furthermore, that after the decisions which we have had, especially where there has been differences of opinion, and in some cases where the Judges have gone in the very teeth of former decisions, that they give us cause to consider whether these Reports ought to be acted upon in all cases by the House, or whether the House should not revert to its ancient practice and order an independent investigation. When I am confronted in the Queen's Bench in Dublin with four ex-Attorney Generals of the Tory Government, and when I hear on the other hand men like Sir James Mathew attacked, I have grave doubts whether there are not men in this House quite as capable of exercising an independent opinion as any four ex-Attorney Generals of the right hon. Member for East Manchester. I do not believe that ermine is a specific against partiality. I have grave doubts on that point. I believe that when we put Judges into ermine they remain Tories or Liberals, just as they were all their lives, though they never were Nationalists. I think the case of Rochester, and especially the case of Montgomery, ought, if possible, induce the House on the first available opportunity to repeal this Act of 1868, which has been the cause of large expense, and which has resulted most unsatisfactorily, and that we should have Committees which may be open, no doubt, to the charges of partisanship, but they would be frankly and not hypocritically partisan, and when they gave their votes everybody would say "there are three to two," and so on, as the case may be; and they would not be able to invoke any sanctimonious pretence, that putting men into wigs and gowns robbed them of partiality.

Mr. PICTON (Leicester), said it would be a mistake to suppose that many of them were entirely satisfied with the condition of affairs as regards these election petitions. In this case they

were told that the Judges had reported substantially to this effect: that certain circumstances or facts which had come to light prevented their reporting that corruption had not extensively prevailed; but, on the other hand, they had not had evidence before them which would enable them to report positively that corruption had extensively prevailed. What struck him was this—that in bringing the case before the Judges the petitioners only desired to adduce as much evidence as would cause judgment to be given in their favour; that was to say, what would enable the Judges to decide that the election was void. They need not go farther. They had no need to prove that corruption extensively prevailed. It was a very expensive thing to conduct an Election Petition, and he supposed all parties were glad it should be as brief as possible. If, in the Rochester case, the matter had been carried further, and a thorough inquiry had been conducted, he could have little doubt from the evidence that had been adduced that a very large number of other incidents would have been proved, and it would have been seen that corruption extensively prevailed. So that they were in this position by the present mode of conducting election inquiries—that only sufficient evidence was adduced to enable the petitioners to prove their case. Corruption might pervade every purlieu of the town, but it would never be brought to light because it was not to the interest of the petitioners to bring it to light. This was a very unsatisfactory state of affairs, and he earnestly hoped the Government would endeavour somewhat to amend the law relating to elections.

Mr. MAC NEILL (Donegal, S.) wished to allude to one or two facts in connection with the Rochester Election Petition. It was proved and stated by both the Election Judges that the agent of the Rochester Constitutional Association and the agent of the Rochester Publicans' Association was one and the same individual. Here they saw the close connection between the Conservatives and beer when they went to the polls. Both Judges stated that the three Associations which, as they said in

America, were run in favour of the Tory Party—namely, the Constitutional Association, the Publicans' Association, and the Birthright Association, were mere machinery for corruption. But there was another expression in the judgment of one of the learned Judges, which was endorsed by the other. He said that although they would not find that general corruption extensively prevailed throughout the borough, they had the strongest suspicion that it did. One of the Judges stated he was sorry one branch of the case was not brought forward further, through some technicality, because particulars had not been given, a large period over which corruption was stated to have been exercised being thereby kept from the purview of the Judges. Some bogus voters were said to have been paid five shillings per day as canvassers, and one of the Judges said if they could only prove that, it would be a sorry job, not only for the agent who had so employed them, but also for the candidate himself. He was certain that both the present and the late Attorney General would agree with him that an Election Petitions Act which only gave to the Election Judges powers and functions of the old Committee to try Petitions under Sir Robert Peel's Act, and did not go any further, was not sufficient. What was the benefit of the inquiry given to them under the Act of 1868 if it were not further to elicit facts of which there was strong suspicion. The Judges had both agreed there was a case for strong suspicion in the present instance, although they had not sufficient evidence to enable them to report that corruption extensively prevailed. They gave up a good deal by the Election Act of 1868. They gave rights to Judges to hear cases when there were legitimate causes for inquiry, in order that in boroughs like Rochester, where these practices were known to extensively prevail, they might be checked and stopped.

SIR HENRY JAMES (Bury, Lancashire) said, he did not think, even if they did postpone the issue of this Writ, they could constitutionally grant any inquiry. They had long ago taken a course which prevented them very substantially from doing this. The Attorney General had stated the effect of the Act, and the only course now was, he (Sir Henry James)

believed for two electors to send in a Petition to the House, upon which Petition it would be in their power to issue a Commission. Upon the Report of the Judges, had they reason to believe that corrupt practices extensively prevailed? There was no evidence given to show that they did. If they did, they should be asked to take upon themselves the duty of reading this evidence, and stating whether a Commission should issue or not. He refused to entertain the idea that the House would be influenced by political feeling in a question of the kind. He would remind them of a case that arose just as soon as the Act was passed, and which came before the House on the issue of a Writ for Norwich. The Report was that corrupt practices extensively prevailed. There was a Motion that a Writ should issue, and it was passed, and on the question of a Commission it was shown that Parliament had no power over the matter. They had also the case of Wigan in 1882, and the decision given by Mr. Gathorne Hardy. In fact, the House in 1868 gave up its right to determine in these cases, and left the duty to the Judges. If they were to go beyond the Judges they would depart from a practice which Parliament had laid down. It was a matter of congratulation that House did not show itself disposed to do so in this case. There had not been in the slightest degree any evidence on its part that it intended to act otherwise than perfectly impartial in the matter. It seemed to him that the desire was that the House of Commons should remain impartial, and take no part in these matters.

MR. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.) said, he listened to the right hon. Gentleman who had just spoken, and he had listened to him with some surprise. One of the duties cast on a Judge was to report on the election; but where the election was voided, there was a second one—that of reporting on the evidence. If the Judges reported that corrupt or illegal practices extensively prevailed that voided the election. When the petitioner succeeded in his case, he had absolutely no inducement to go any further—first, on the ground of expense; and, second, on the ground of unpopularity, for in nine cases out of ten he was the unsuccessful candidate, and

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he was anxious to raise as little trouble for himself as possible. He would point out, also, that the moment the Judges had decided their power of examination was over. He had never known a case where the Judges had power to act as detectives—though some of them would like to do that; some of them were anxious to have the power. The duty of the House, then, was purely Ministerial; and, so far as inquiry into illegal practices was concerned, the House ought to provide every weapon for the purpose of discovering, for in his opinion it had not deprived itself of the right of holding inquiry. It was admitted that the Act of 1883 did not provide sufficient powers to bring certain sources of corrupt practices to light. The right hon. Gentleman admitted that, and yet he said that because the House asked the Judges to report upon this one subject, the House being seised with a knowledge that there had been a great miscarriage of justice, and seised with the knowledge of a great scandal, this grave scandal was to go unchecked and unpunished. That was a dangerous course. He did not think there was any point in the matter for the Select Committees. The action of those Committees had nothing to do with another tribunal which was insufficiently equipped for the purpose of discovering a certain state of facts. He disclaimed any intention of interfering with the Judges, and hoped the House would see its way to adopt the Amendment of his hon. Friend.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he was satisfied with the discussion that had taken place, and, with the permission of the House, he would withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Ordered, That Mr. Speaker do issue his Warrant to the Clerk of the Crown to make out a New Writ for the electing of a Member to serve in this present Parliament for the borough of Rochester, in the room of Horatio David Davies, esquire, whose election for the said borough has been declared void.

NEW WRIT.

For Pontefract, *v.* Honorable Rowland Winn, now Lord St. Oswald, called up to the House of Peers.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER
MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.MOTION FOR ADDRESS. [ADJOURNED
DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [31st January], "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, as followeth:—

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled, beg leave to thank Your Majesty for the Most Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—
(*Mr. Lambert.*)

Question again proposed.

Debate resumed.

***MR. CARSON** (Dublin University): I am not disposed to follow the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland very minutely through the mass of figures which he gave in relation to that country. But I find it hard to reconcile some of the facts stated by him with others which I shall briefly refer to. The reason I do not take the course of following him at any length is this: It has always been the case of the Party to which I have the honour to belong, that the recrudescence of crime in Ireland depends largely on the course the political agitators find it convenient to take at a particular moment. If these political agitators have decided that it is right to say that the government of Ireland is to be made impossible, then there will be a recrudescence of crime; but if, on the other hand, they have not, you may be perfectly certain that crime will decrease in the country. The right hon. Gentleman points out the fact that even this year rents are being better paid than heretofore, which shows that the payment of rent is dependent not on the state or condition of the tenant farmer, but on whether men like the hon. Member for East Mayo is prepared to say, "I know a man who can pay, but who won't pay, because I tell him not to pay." But I desire to mention one or two matters which require explanation, but which, as I shall show the House, have been absolutely unexplained by the right hon. Gentleman. While he quoted the

Charges of the Judges at the Winter Assizes he forgot the Charge of one Judge who, in the County of Leitrim, drew attention to the substantial increase in the more serious class of crime. He said he understood that bail cases had been sent forward in serious cases at the Winter Assizes, but he did not tell us that Her Majesty's Judges, in two out of the four circuits, drew attention to the fact that cases of serious crime—intimidation and the raiding of houses at night had not been sent forward as they ought to have been. There is one other case, too, that must have escaped his memory or his notice—the case of the Rev. Father Clarke, in the County of Meath, who was sent forward last July on a charge of doing grievous bodily harm to an old man voting in the district. Why did he not send him forward? Why, because it would be inconvenient to try him out of his own parish, and he will be kept there to be tried, as he is bound to be, in March. I desire to pass from these matters, and I believe the House will bear with me while I proceed with a few observations upon that grotesque performance, the Evicted Tenants Commission. I happened to be one of the counsel who attended upon the opening day of the sittings of the Commission. The right hon. Gentleman did me the honour of saying he should not refer to the urbanity of counsel on that occasion. Well, following the taste of the right hon. Gentleman, I shall abstain from referring to the urbanity of the Judge. But, Sir, it is not upon the urbanity of the counsel or the urbanity of the Judge that the serious question in relation to this Commission at all depends. In its conception, in its proceedings, up to the day it left Dublin, the whole thing was a monstrous pretence. Why did the right hon. Gentleman appoint the Commission at all? The right hon. Gentleman tells us he was anxious to heal up old sores, and to find a basis upon which these evicted tenants—these fraudulent evicted tenants—could be restored to their holdings. He tells us he does not like the *crambe repetita* of his own speeches. Perhaps he does not like the *crambe repetita* of his votes in this House. While he was casting about to accomplish this object the right hon. Gentleman must have forgotten that he voted last year in favour of Mr. O'Kelly's Bill for the

compulsory restoration of these tenants. I would also remind him that another Member of the Government—the First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Shaw Lefevre)—went down to a district in Ireland and made these promises to the tenantry on behalf of the Government should they prove victorious.

"There can be no doubt that within a month of such a victory every emergency man will have fled the country, and every bogus tenant will have resolved himself into his original clement, and agreements will be come to, if not voluntarily by some legislative process. Every tenant who has been evicted may confidently hope to be reinstated in his holding, and those who have suffered eviction from honourable motives will ever stand high in the memory of their own countrymen."

I want to know, in the face of that statement, and in the face of the vote given by the right hon. Gentleman himself, and I think also by the present Leader of the House, what was he casting about for when he thought fit to appoint this Commission, and what was the exact information he expected to get? I, therefore, venture to say that the right hon. Gentleman, when he comes forward and argues seriously before us that he wanted to heal up these disputes existing between landlords and tenants, is not giving us the real reason that existed for the appointment of this Commission, which was to avoid an ugly question coming forward, and which was to enable him to extricate the hon. Member for Meath and the hon. Member for Cork from the difficulty in which they had placed themselves by procuring that these tenants should be evicted. When the right hon. Gentleman did think fit to appoint this Commission I think the least he might have done was to try and appoint it with some of the externals of decency. The right hon. Gentleman—and I think it does him credit—did not follow the course last night, that he did at Newcastle. At Newcastle certain matters were not known which he has been since informed of, and he took it upon himself there to allege that the Commission as appointed was more of a landlords' Commission than a tenants' Commission. I must say he had not the indecency to repeat that statement in this House. What was the character he gave the Commission himself last night? I think he almost conceded that it was a partisan Commission. No

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doubt he did say that "two of the members were officials of the very highest competence, experience, and responsibility in connection with the land question in Ireland;" but one of these gentlemen he took care, by giving him an appointment, to remove on the second day they sat, and as regards the other gentleman of the "highest competence, experience, and responsibility in connection with the land question in Ireland," he found the conduct of the President so distasteful to the feelings of any honourable man that he had to withdraw on the third day of the sitting. Now, the right hon. Gentleman has, as far as he could, attempted to defend the remaining Commissioners. He made an elaborate defence of Mr. Redington. Mr. Redington, he says, has been misrepresented. He says that gentleman never did assert that the "landlords of Ireland were the worst enemies of their class and of their country." He made this remarkable correction. He said that Mr. Redington's words in reality were that the "landlords of Ireland who follow Lord Salisbury are the worst enemies of their class and of their country." I make the right hon. Gentleman a present of the correction. I shall be glad if he will point out to me one single landlord in Ireland who is not a follower of Lord Salisbury, except Mr. Redington himself, who has become a follower of the right hon. Gentleman since he sold every acre of land he possessed in Ireland. Now, there was one matter as to which I was exceedingly anxious to hear what the right hon. Gentleman would say, and that was the opening statement of Justice Mathew—a statement which I venture to think will not be defended in this House, and which, although there were many noble Lords who have been ornaments of the Bench in England present in the other House when it was challenged the other night, not one of them stood up to support. What was the opening statement? The learned President, who, to do him justice and to do the English Bench justice, took care to say that he was not acting as an English Judge, commenced his opening statement in this way—

"We must first, we very much regret, take the case of the Clamcarde estate. Urgent representations have been made to us that Parliament should be fully informed as to the

mode in which Lord Clanricarde has used the powers which the law has entrusted to him as a landlord. For the present, so far as we know, Lord Clanricarde stands alone. No other landlord makes common cause with him. Even at the eleventh hour he may see the wisdom of permitting us to extricate him from his position, which, it would seem, great as is his risk, no man need envy him If Lord Clanricarde in person refuses to attend and explain his conduct he must be prepared for the assumption that arises and the inference that is properly drawn where evidence is deliberately withheld."

The right hon. Gentleman truly said last night that he did not appoint this Commission to try the Irish landlords—I think he appointed them, Sir, to condemn the Irish landlords. But, Sir, I venture to characterise that opening statement of the President not only as scandalous, but as incompetent, and I shall tell you why. What was the foundation for this charge that was made in segregating the case of Lord Clanricarde, for whom I appeared at the Commission [*Ministerial cheers*] from that of the other landlords? Yes, I am not one of those counsel who selects his clients when they are on their trial. I am always quite willing to appear, to see that justice is done to any man. But what was the basis of the charge made against Lord Clanricarde? In a very humble way. I ventured to say that I appeared for the noble Lord, and that I did not understand why his absence from the Commission should be commented upon in this way, I was courteously told to sit down. But what turned out to be the fact? The President went on to say that Lord Clanricarde had been invited to attend, and that in an insulting way he had said that he would not attend. I think the House will be surprised to hear that, as a matter of fact, Lord Clanricarde was not invited to attend, and had not refused to attend. On the contrary, he instructed me to attend for him, and to examine him when he came before the Commission, to see that fair play was done to his case. Therefore, so far as the opening statement of the learned Judge—if I may call him a Judge—was concerned, I am glad that the right hon. Gentleman, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, has thought proper, by his silence, to show his condemnation of the performance of that gentleman. There is another serious question, and I should

certainly like to explain the view that I took of it at the time and the view that I take of it now. I mean the question of cross-examination. I never stated to the learned Judge that I thought there was an absolute right to cross-examination. At the very outset, when we were discussing procedure, I suggested to the learned Judge that, at all events, somebody ought to cross-examine the witnesses, and I suggested that a convenient course would be that the names of the witnesses to be examined on behalf of tenants should be submitted to the landlords in proper time, and that they should supply a brief to the Commission for the purpose of having certain questions put. I was told in answer to that, which seemed to me to be a practical suggestion, that I was looking for a grievance. Well, but ought a witness to be cross-examined, or ought he not? When the matter arose at a subsequent stage, with reference to the first witness, I asked to be allowed to cross-examine. Before lunch I was told that I might cross-examine. After lunch, I suppose wiser counsels prevailed, and I was not allowed to cross-examine. When I was refused the right to cross-examine I made what I think was a very moderate request to the learned President, and it was this: Having regard to the particular facts of the case, I asked would he allow me to state my reasons why I thought cross-examination was essential, and he said he would not. I, therefore never had an opportunity of stating to the learned President why I thought that cross-examination was essential, and I purpose now to state to this House the reason I was not allowed to give. The first witness examined certainly rather astonished me. I had had some experience of that witness. I was present in the Court on the occasion of the trial of "*Blunt v. Byrne*," which went on for eight days in the Superior Court before the Lord Chief Baron, whose charge, by the order of this House, has been laid on the Table. I saw this first witness called before the Commission sitting seven or eight days in the Court while the case to which I refer was being tried. I heard matters of the gravest responsibility proved against him in relation to the Clanricarde estate. I saw him challenged to go upon the table and stand the test of cross-exami-

nation, and I saw him refuse; and, whilst I make no accusation whatsoever against the witness, I think, at least, the House will say that, under these particular circumstances, and in relation to this identical estate, there were at least some grounds for sifting the honesty of the evidence. Some reference has been made by the hon. Member for North Armagh (Colonel Saunderson) to the speech of the first witness examined before the Commission. Let me read to the House what the Lord Chief Baron said with reference to that speech, and then the House will see whether the gallant Colonel and I myself are too persistent in endeavouring to bring this matter under the notice of the House. The Chief Baron said that—

"Upon the first night after the service of the processes another meeting was held, and John Roche, one of the leading spirits at Woodford, on the 23rd October, said the authorities had had their Balacava that day, but the people would have their Fontenoy another day, and thereupon the name of an unfortunate man was groaned at. Within a period of two more months—he did not know whether they considered it their Fontenoy or not—that unfortunate man was, without a moment's notice, sent before his Creator, and within half an hour of it becoming known that his body had been riddled with shots, his widow was publicly groaned at, and hooted through the streets of Woodford. Oh! what a lesson for moderation of language! Oh! what a lesson as to the effect of the exciting speeches made in Woodford on the 23rd September!"

But it was not simply in reference to these matters that I desired to cross-examine. The witness stated in his direct examination that if at a certain date Lord Clanricarde had given a reduction of 15 per cent. all the trouble would have been avoided. It had been proved before the Special Commission that at the very date at which the witness averred that 15 per cent. would have been accepted the witness himself had been chairman of a meeting, and had signed a resolution pledging all those present not to accept less than 50 per cent. for a reduction. Now, Sir, before the Special Commission the witness was confronted with that resolution. He was cross-examined as to it by the Attorney General of the late Government, and I merely mention this as one of a number of incidents. I want to know was that a material circumstance when you were finding out the right and wrong of these

evictions? But there was another matter in one of the things referred to before the Evicted Tenants Commission, and which I have no doubt we shall hear a great deal about from the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, and that was the cost of those evictions to the country. Well, the witness deposed to the great cost and expense incurred through resistance to the law and the Sheriff. On cross-examination before the Special Commission he admitted that he was at one of the most disgraceful scenes that ever took place in Ireland—the Scene at Sandy's Fort. The witness said that he was one of those who had been there to help in resisting the Sheriff in the eviction.

MR. ROCHE (Galway, E.): I have just come into the House, and I understand that the hon. Member is referring to me. I have to say that his interpretation of my evidence is totally inaccurate. I defy him to find out where I said I was there for the purpose of resisting. I said that I was present at the eviction—and I was proud to be present.

MR. CARSON: Exactly; the hon. Member was present, and proud to be present, at the evictions that were costing so much expense to the country. I make no charge against the hon. Member. I am not accusing him of resisting the eviction, but having regard to the fact that he was there, and proud of it, I suggest that at least I was entitled to put one question in cross-examination. But I will give one other instance, and this is the last I will refer to. The hon. Member was called to prove a case on behalf of the tenants as against a gentleman or a lady, I forget which, of the name of Lewis, and he had made a speech to Lewis's tenantry, in which he told them that they ought to throttle a Mr. Lewis until the glass eye fell out of his head.

MR. ROCHE: Mr. Speaker, I did not tell the tenantry to throttle him; but I told them that by adopting the Plan of Campaign they would adopt a means and method by which they would throttle him. And I admit that in the heat and excitement of the moment I did go so far as to say that by adopting that method—I was led away to an extent, and I did make use of the expression that by adhering loyally to their pledges they would throttle him, and I hoped

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they would not loose their grasp until the glass eye fell out of his head.

MR. CARSON: Well, I really will leave it to the House whether that was a matter upon which one might have been allowed to put a question to the witness. But, Sir, the important point of my argument is to come yet, and it is this, that all I have been stating as material for cross-examination was known to Mr. Justice Mathew, and he had it on his desk before him. While the learned President thought fit to make use of the direct evidence given before the Special Commission, for the purpose of proving a document, he never thought fit to ask one single question of the hon. Member of the several hundreds which had been put to him in cross-examination. Therefore it was that I did venture humbly to suggest to the learned President that I ought to be allowed, when he would not take the obligation upon himself, to sift to the furthest the evidence on which this House was to be asked to legislate. But, Sir, the Commissioners were only anxious to heap up the agony against Lord Clanricarde. There were many other matters that were not touched upon that seemed to me most material. This House has passed a large number of safeguards for the protection of tenants in Ireland. You have passed safeguards which render it impossible for landlords to evict tenants wholesale unless they wish to ruin themselves if the tenants are in the right. There are provisions in the Act of 1870 which would have enabled almost all the tenants on the Clanricarde property to bring before the Court any unjustifiable conduct on his part, and to have had compensation assessed, even where evicted for non-payment of rent, if Lord Clanricarde was in the wrong. There are also provisions in the Act of 1887 enabling the Court in certain cases, if judicial rents have not been fixed—as they were not in Lord Clanricarde's case—to stay the execution pending the fixing of those rents. I should like to know, before this House is called upon to pass additional legislation and to vote away public money, whether it would not be well to inquire why these tenants had not availed themselves of the Courts. Not one single question on any one of these points was

asked while I was there. Now I pass away from that matter, and I have explained, I think, the reasons why I ought to have been allowed to cross-examine. I rely upon no precedents, but as the right hon. Gentleman has mentioned them I may say that so far as we have been able to ascertain every single precedent that exists is in favour of allowing cross-examination, in Commissions under Vice-regal warrant. The right hon. Gentleman said last night there were seven one way and six the other in twenty-five years. But I asked him across the table whether in the cases where there had been no cross-examination it had been asked for and disallowed and he said he could not say. I am glad that he has not ventured to say in this House what he said at Newcastle—when he spoke away from the records of Dublin Castle. This is what he said—

“Well, then as to precedents I state without fear of contradiction that the procedure followed by Mr. Justice Mathew was in accordance with every precedent to be found, and that counsel have been allowed to intervene, if at all, only as friends of the Court and not to attack or protect witnesses. The whole of this clamour and uproar has been got up for party purposes.”

[“Hear, hear!”] Hon. Members may cheer that, but the Chief Secretary for Ireland did not venture to assert that last night. On the contrary, he admitted that the landlords were willing to attend and to give every information, and had not objected even to the constitution of the Commission. No, Sir; the right hon. Gentleman was strictly correct in that. The landlords did not object though they did protest that there was nobody to represent them on the Commission. They thought that even the body of Nationalists, as the right hon. Gentleman called them, would be able to take evidence—if they were not to form a judgment—and to submit that evidence fairly to the House for its consideration. All I can say is that while the right hon. Gentleman boasts that they were all Nationalists, I should not complain of the fact that they were all Nationalists if they had acted fairly; but it certainly is not likely that this body of Nationalists, if it is the best the right hon. Gentleman can obtain, will inspire much confidence in the Loyalists of Ireland as to the administration of the law in the future when we are blessed with this Home Rule scheme of the Government.

Now, Sir, I pass on to another question, upon which I venture to think the right hon. Gentleman gave the House but scant information—I mean the Gweedore prisoners. I was very much reminded by the speech of the right hon. Gentleman of a speech I heard at Maryborough, pronounced by the gentleman who is now the Attorney General for Ireland, in connection with the trial of those prisoners. What we challenge in this matter is, not the right hon. Gentleman's right to see that the clemency of the Crown is exercised, but that the exercise of the clemency of the Crown in the present case was not a *bonâ fide* exercise of the clemency of the Crown. The right hon. Gentleman says that he examined into the merits of the case; but I would remind the right hon. Gentleman that at the time when these trials took place, before he had any opportunity of examining into the merits, he went about the country from one place to another denouncing those trials and verdicts, saying that the verdicts were tainted; and when the right hon. Gentleman says that for the purpose of exercising the clemency of the Crown he examined into the merits of the case, I should like the House to note the judicial frame of mind of the right hon. Gentleman who had prejudged the matter three years previously. I was anxious to see what were the exact grounds on which the right hon. Gentleman would state that the clemency of the Crown was exercised in this case. I must say, having listened carefully to the right hon. Gentleman, I have not been able to follow him as to what those grounds were. Does the right hon. Gentleman say that there is any doubt of the guilt of those prisoners—of all or any of them? Was that the ground on which he went? I have always understood that the clemency of the Crown in overruling the constituted tribunal set up by Act of Parliament was not to be exercised unless on some special ground, either as regards failure of justice or by reason of some doubt being thrown on the guilt of the prisoners who have been incarcerated. But, Sir, in the present case the right hon. Gentleman will admit that the Judge who tried the case not only was perfectly satisfied with the verdict that was pronounced—[“No, no!”] Does the right hon. Gentleman dispute

that? Then I will read the words the Judge used in passing sentence—

“Every one concerned in the resistance to the police in the execution of their lawful duties is responsible in the eye of the law for murder if any policeman is slain in the discharge of his duty. And I had to lay down that law to the jury, and to explain to them the circumstances of provocation which the law recognised as sufficient to reduce the crime from murder to manslaughter, telling them that I was hardly able to discern myself—and, in fact, could not discern—any evidence upon which such mitigating circumstances of provocation could rest, but adding that there were matters in this case which might induce them to bring force and strain upon the evidence, so as to bring in a verdict for the lesser crime. They adopted the merciful view. Of their action I make no complaint; what they did I agree with; but I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that but for their mercy it would now be my duty to pronounce sentence of death upon you; and that the only mitigation you could expect would be to have that sentence changed from death to penal servitude for life.”

Not only does the Judge there approve of the verdict, but he commends the jury for having brought “force and strain upon the evidence so as to bring in a verdict for the lesser crime,” but for which they would have had to expiate the murder of that policeman by the penalty of death. Well, Sir, were these prisoners guilty, or is there any doubt of their guilt? The right hon. Gentleman said last night that there was some difficulty about the evidence as to identification, as to places and persons. But did the right hon. Gentleman forget that the prisoners had pleaded guilty? It strikes me as a curious feature in this case that we should be inquiring here not only into a case in which there was no miscarriage by the jury, but actually into a case where the prisoners themselves pleaded guilty. [Mr. JOHN MORLEY: Coll.] I do not know why the right hon. Member interrupts me, because he let out the other three as well as Coll. Well, but something was said as to the prisoners pleading guilty on the suggestion of counsel according to some arrangement or compact. Well, I must say that I do not think the counsel who defended them—the right hon. Gentleman who is now the Attorney General for Ireland and the hon. and learned Member for Louth—were at all the counsel who were likely to suggest to innocent men that they should plead guilty. But that this was not so is absolutely shown by the fact that the hon. and learned Member for

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Louth himself, speaking a few days afterwards as regards this very matter of the plea of guilty at a meeting of the National League in Dublin, said—

"It was said that counsel exercised their judgment wrongly because they recommended the prisoners to plead guilty. That statement was absolutely false. They gave no such recommendation. It was the law in felony cases that counsel could not plead guilty for a prisoner. Their action was to consider all the facts, and leave the defendants in the case to come to their own conclusions."

Therefore, you have it upon the statement of the hon. and learned Member that the act was a voluntary one on the part of the prisoners themselves. I cannot understand the point made by the right hon. Gentleman, in answer to the argument of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain), as to the evidence given by the Attorney General for Ireland and the hon. and learned Member for Louth (Mr. T. M. Healy) upon the hearing of the libel action. I think there is a strong contrast between the way in which those trials and verdicts were treated by the right hon. Gentleman when he was putting himself into a judicial frame of mind immediately after the trials, and that in which they were treated by the two eminent counsel who defended the prisoners at Maryborough. The hon. and learned Member for Louth was asked this question—

"In your opinion as counsel, knowing the strength of the Crown case and the strength of your own, were they getting off easy?"

How could that have relation to men who were being acquitted? It must have had relation to those who were being convicted. The hon. and learned Member said in reply—

"We originally believed that some of them would be convicted. I think, to use a popular phrase, they got off 'in a coach.'"

Now, is it suggested that the statement of the hon. and learned Member had not reference to the men who pleaded guilty?

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): I do not desire to intervene in this Debate, as I was counsel in the case. I have never spoken in any Debate respecting a case in which I have acted as counsel, and I do not propose to speak in this. But as the right hon. Gentleman asks me a question I will reply. I was put in

the witness box with reference to 24 men, and in my reply I was speaking of the whole body of men. According to my recollection of the whole of the men, all except four escaped without penal servitude. Gallagher, against whom there was the most terrible evidence, was left out by the Attorney General, while Ferry, about whom the evidence of the policeman was that he had danced on the man's head, was absolutely discharged. Others were discharged, and six got off with sentences of two or three months' imprisonment. Therefore, speaking of the entire body of 24 men who were originally indicted for murder, I said they got off "in a coach." I would add, having resisted this compromise, though for months I bore in silence the slander that I had been a party to it, that the compact which was entered into by the representatives of the Crown was not kept, and the men got monstrously severe sentences.

MR. CARSON: I do not know that the hon. and learned Gentleman has really given any answer on the point. The phrase he used is before the House. I do not wish to press it further than his explanation will allow, but it certainly does occur to me to be a strange thing that it should be suggested that the nature of the bargain or agreement with the prisoners' counsel was that, in consideration of men whom they knew to be absolutely guilty getting off, other prisoners whom they knew to be innocent should agree to plead guilty. I want to know, Where is the evidence which throws doubt upon the verdicts? There is absolutely none. The right hon. Gentleman says that he passed over his own Lord Chancellor in Ireland, who is well acquainted with the state and condition of Ireland, and he passed over his own Solicitor General in Ireland. He thought fit to erect in England a Court of Criminal Appeal from the sentences passed in the Superior Courts in Ireland. When the right hon. Gentleman tells us he found elements of doubt in the case, is it not a curious thing that the Lord Chancellor of Great Britain, speaking in the other House last night, said he did not impeach the original sentence? The right hon. Gentleman said he took into consideration the time and place, and also

the fact that none of the three men had been guilty of any physical injury to this unfortunate police constable.

MR. MORLEY: The actual murder.

MR. CARSON: Well, it is difficult to say when a number of blows are struck which of the men is the actual murderer. I do not know whether the right hon. Gentleman ever read the injuries inflicted on this unfortunate man. I will read them for him. One of the witnesses at the coroner's inquest on Inspector Martin said—

"There were four lacerated wounds, three inches, one, and one-and-a-half inches respectively in length, and the top and back part of the skull was completely smashed in. There were nine fragments of bone completely detached, and two portions driven into the substance of the brain. A large portion of the bones of the skull were almost detached. The bones of the nose were broken. There was a punctured wound on the left forehead, with extensive bruising. There was a bruise on the left cheek. There was a circular wound one inch and a half in diameter on the right elbow, and there was a contusion on the hip."

Well, I cannot tell the right hon. Gentleman which of these men it was who inflicted the wounds. That they were all there engaged in a common object which resulted in the death of this unfortunate constable is beyond doubt; and certainly the law will become ridiculous if it is to be suggested that there is to be any palliation, whether in the verdict of the jury, or in the exercise of the clemency of the Crown, because you have not been able to put your hand upon the man who inflicted the actual wound that caused death. I cannot at all agree with the right hon. Gentleman that, having regard to the time and place, there were any mitigating circumstances whatever. And even if there were, if he had read the judgment of the Judge who had tried the case he would have seen that every one of the elements in the case had been carefully weighed and considered in estimating the sentences. In his evidence given at the libel trial the Attorney General admitted that the reason why he had advised Father M'Fadden to plead guilty was, that the rev. gentleman had admitted to him that for three days previous to the occurrence he had been obstructing the police in the execution of this very warrant; and it had been proved that a few nights before the crowd which assembled ren-

dered it absolutely impossible for the police officer who had gone there to serve the warrant, to do his duty. If, by reason of the conduct of the person against whom the warrant was issued, by reason of the way in which he had tried to evade the police, and by reason of the way in which he had organised his parishioners, it was found impossible to execute the warrant on any day but a Sunday were the Government to be frustrated, was the warrant to be allowed to be set at naught, and was the rev. gentleman to be allowed to assert once more as he had frequently asserted during these troublesome times that "he was the law in Gweedore?" That the thing was premeditated is placed beyond all doubt, if you read some observations extracted from the speeches of the rev. gentleman himself. On the 19th July, 1887, he said—

"I expect to be arrested in a short time, and even if I be arrested I can console myself with the thought that within the four seas of Ireland there is not one priest deserves it more than I. I will treat any summons that is issued against me with the utmost contempt. I will not attend on such summons, and I will never divulge one word as to the Plan of Campaign."

On the 12th September he said—

"I will not appear upon their summons. Then they will issue a warrant for my arrest. Will they dare arrest me in Gweedore amongst my people?"

See how pathetic he is. He goes on—

"It would take the whole British Army to do it. There will be some blood spilt before they take me out of it."

The epithets of the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh (Colonel Saunderson) were indignantly heard by a section of the House yesterday. I am not myself in favour of using such strong epithets, which probably lead to no good result, but in the next paragraph I read I will ask the House to mark how carefully this minister of religion and charity was as to the epithet he thought fit to use towards the police. On the 16th January, 1888, he says—

"I do not agree with Father Stephens that the landlords are the only murderers. The police I regard as murderers, and they will have vengeance to fall on them in this world or in the next."

I ask the House whether if, after these statements of the rev. gentleman, there was blood spilt it was not through the organisation of the rev. gentleman. An

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hon. Member yesterday made a most brilliant speech in this House, and I believe what chiefly brought forth the cheers of hon. Members below the gangway on this side was his statement of his great regard and friendship for Father M'Fadden. After all the hon. Gentleman is quite entitled to make his own friends. It is purely a matter of taste. I have gone into these matters because I thought it was well that the House should know that in persisting in making the charge that this was not a case of *bona fide* exercise of the clemency of the Crown we desire to go upon facts which are unanswerable and unanswered by the right hon. Gentleman. The right hon. Member for West Birmingham asked for an assurance that the release of these prisoners was to be no indication of the policy of further releases. I attended carefully to the speech of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and although the right hon. Gentleman assailed my right hon. Friend with reference to several matters, he sat down without giving any answer whatever to that question. I have seen it stated in the papers that the right hon. Gentleman either has released or has in contemplation the release of a prisoner who was tried for having explosives in Tipperary during the outrages committed there while the Plan of Campaign was in full force. The sentence on this man was one of either seven or five years, and he has only been imprisoned one or two years at the outside. I want to know whether it is a fact that he is now to be released from prison. I can assure the right hon. Gentleman that we Irish Unionist Members are only too anxious to aid him in every way in carrying on the Government of Ireland, but I can also assure him that as surely as he abuses the powers that are entrusted to him, so surely will we upon every occasion, before the House and the country, call upon him to defend his action. The right hon. Gentleman says that he has not a magician's wand to bring peace and prosperity at once to Ireland. I should like to know what single act he has done during the six months he has been in office to increase the material prosperity of that country. I looked with anxiety in the Gracious Speech from the Throne for some indication of an intention on his part to ex-

tend the useful measures which had been set on foot by his predecessor my right hon. Friend the Leader of the Opposition, but I found that the only hope held out to Ireland was this miserable Home Rule Bill. And while the right hon. Gentleman knows that there is not the slightest chance of the Home Rule Bill becoming law until he and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Midlothian summon sufficient courage to put the issue before the country, he is not able to announce to the people of Ireland one single measure which he proposes in the interim to bring forward in this House for the material benefit of that country. This Home Rule policy has been before Ireland for the last six or seven years, and I should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman what progress he has made in that country towards bringing the different Parties together? Six years of so-called coercion under the right hon. Gentleman, six years in which we have had time to consider, as against it, his Home Rule policy, and what is the result? After the six years of coercion we Unionists for Ireland come back here stronger by five seats than we were, and I do ask the right hon. Gentleman, in all honesty and sincerity, in the interests of Ireland, if this policy is to be adhered to, not to keep the matter open one day longer than is necessary, and to take the verdict of the country upon the net issue. I have only, in conclusion, to say I feel under a deep obligation to the House for the manner in which it has received me.

MR. D. RANDELL (Glamorgan, Gower) said, that the part of the speech to which he wished to specially direct the attention of the House was of momentous importance to Wales—to Wales, which had been more loyal to the Liberal Party than any other section of the United Kingdom. Since the 1868 Election the Welsh Members had been practically a united Party, and all returned at the last Election—with two exceptions—were Liberal; they constituted a solid phalanx of Liberals pledged to support Her Majesty's Government. But whilst Wales was prepared to concede to Ireland the first claim, having regard to the long and great struggle which Irishmen had been engaged in asserting their nationality, they were very jealous of

calculate with certainty on the support of the Anti-Parnellite Members, who made it a condition of their allegiance that these tenants should be reinstated? The second condition on which they promised their support was that the dynamiters should be released. It seemed remarkable that the prerogative of mercy should be debased as it had been in this respect. The great quality of mercy was never intended to be used for political purposes; it was never intended to be almost prostituted for political objects. But even the release of some of the prisoners had not satisfied the people of Ireland, and there was an Amendment on the Paper calling for the release of the other dynamite prisoners—of men who were the most unmitigated scoundrels on the face of the earth; of men who sent dynamite in packages to railway stations in London with a fuse attached to them so arranged as to explode and injure men, women, and children when returning from their work. Surely men of that class were villains and demons of the worst kind. Were they to be released at the demand of the Irish section? Why, if one's own brother committed such a crime it would be felt that, instead of releasing him, he should be kept in prison all his life, so that he should not have another opportunity of so sinning. In addition to getting America to interfere on behalf of these men, the Parnellite and Anti-Parnellite Members were holding meetings all over Ireland to demand their release. He repeated that, as the Anti-Parnellites had not got what they demanded in respect of the release of the dynamiters and the reinstatement of the evicted tenants, the Government could not be quite sure of their support. Then he came to the Parnellite Party; it was a small Party, but it was a pugnacious body, and the hon. Member for Waterford, who led them, evinced no weakness in stating what he meant and what he wanted. What did he say was the price of the support of the Parnellite Party? He had distinctly laid it down that the Irish Parliament was to be supreme, that the veto of the Crown should be exercised by the Irish Ministers alone, and that Irish Members should still come over to this country and vote upon such questions as disestablishment and finance, and upon all subjects of importance. Was he going to have his own way? Was it

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certain he would support the Government unless he did get his own way? They knew it was only a year ago since the hon. Member for Waterford put this question to the Chancellor of the Exchequer when he sat on the Front Opposition Bench, and they knew that it so frightened the Chancellor of the Exchequer that he ran away. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, when speaking before the meeting of Parliament, said the Home Rule of Mr. Parnell was Fenian Home Rule, which he and the Liberal Party would never support. He (Mr. Bartley) wanted to ask whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer had given up his view in deference to the view of the hon. Member for Waterford? If so, he would have to settle with the hon. Member for Cardiff (Sir E. J. Reed) and those of his friends on his own side of the House; or was it that the hon. Member for Waterford had given up his scheme in deference to the Chancellor of the Exchequer? But until one or other of these questions was settled, it was clear that the Government could not depend for certain on the support of the Parnellites. Then there was another section—the section of the Anti-Parnellites, which was influenced by Mr. Davitt. Mr. Davitt had been employed recently in recommending magistrates in Ireland, which was a very peculiar thing when the antecedents of that gentleman were remembered. Mr. Davitt was an able man, and some said a conscientious man, and he might be expected back to the House again very soon. Mr. Davitt had taken the oath of allegiance already at the Table of the House, but he had taken an oath of allegiance elsewhere besides, and they had a right to ask whether he had given up being a sworn Fenian, whether he had given up demanding the absolute independence of Ireland, whether he had given up working with Devoy and other members of the Clan-na-Gael, who promoted the Land League of Ireland, and whether he was still a friend of the man Ford? He (Mr. Bartley) thought it was impossible for the Government to reckon on the support of Mr. Davitt and the support of his followers, unless this Ethiopian had changed his skin and the leopard his spots. Looking, therefore, at the measure of Home Rule, it was plain that the Government could not depend even on the support of the

Irish Members for its Irish scheme. But there were other questions on which the Government relied. They had put off the question of the disestablishment of the Welsh Church. Now they depended entirely for their majority on the 28 Welsh Members. They knew that a Welshman was a very stubborn and a very determined man. They had an example last Session of the determination of Welshmen when hon. Members from Wales, young enough to be grandchildren of the Prime Minister, set the Prime Minister at defiance, and all the efforts of the friends of the Prime Minister to subdue their insubordination were fruitless. The House, therefore, knew the price of the Welsh Members. Their support could only be got if they obtained the absolute disestablishment and disendowment of the Church in Wales. But were they going to have that? The Prime Minister had done his utmost to give the Welsh Members a sop. The Prime Minister was like the woman in the sledge, who threw out one of her children to the wolves hoping it would quieten them. He had thrown over the Welsh landlords, and it was extremely good of him to do that, because if he was not a Welsh landlord himself, he was very nearly one. But though the Welshmen were to have the three F's, or any number of F's, the price of Welsh support was the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church; and unless they got them, it would be impossible for the Government to reckon on the support of the 28 Members from Wales. Then there was another great question referred to in the Queen's Speech—the question of the liquor traffic. It was not certain that the Government would get the support of the Liquor Traffic Abolitionists. There were no less than 27 Members on the Government side of the House belonging to the North of England Temperance League. Was it certain that these men were going to support the Local Option measure of the Government? Their leader was the hon. Member for East Bradford (Mr. W. S. Caine), who was at one time a tremendous Unionist; but he had given up his views on that subject, and swallowed Home Rule. But why had he swallowed Home Rule? Because he wanted it advocated

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that nobody should be allowed to swallow a glass of beer. He and his friends would not be satisfied with Local Option. What they wanted was what the United Kingdom Alliance demanded—the power to prohibit the sale of alcohol in every district. It had been said that the Local Option Bill of the Government was to be a half measure; but in order to satisfy the Member for East Bradford, the Government must abolish the sale of alcohol, and in doing that they will have to settle with their own friends who were interested in the liquor traffic. Then there was the Nonconformist section to be reckoned with. The Nonconformist conscience was a troublesome element to the present Government; it played a very important part in the downfall of Mr. Parnell. But it should be remembered that two of the present Ministers of the Crown—the Attorney General and Lord Chancellor of Ireland—had been both supporters of Mr. Parnell. At the meeting held in Dublin after the divorce proceedings, the present hon. Member for Louth (Mr. T. M. Healy) said that they would never give up the leadership of the man who had, under unparalleled difficulties, done so much for Ireland. The present Attorney General for Ireland (The MacDermott) and the Lord Chancellor of Ireland (Mr. Walker) spoke at that meeting, and said nobody had any right to interfere in the question of Mr. Parnell's leadership but Irishmen. He (Mr. Bartley) wanted to know whether these two Members of the Government were Parnellites still? If they were Parnellites, the Nonconformist conscience would have to see to it; and if they were not Parnellites, they would have to reckon with their own followers in Ireland. Mr. Parnell was sent adrift after the result of the Divorce Court proceedings; but will the Nonconformist conscience allow to sit on the Government side of the House and support Government measures for social reforms a man who had been tried by his own Peers, and had been adjudicated in the same way as Mr. Parnell. That was a great question, and should come up again. It was a question of great importance to the country, and he did not think the Nonconformist conscience were so fickle or unreasonable as to

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swallow this camel after straining at a gnat. There was another section of the House which he called the "Discontented Brigade"; it was said to number 40. The hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) was the leader. The hon. Member for Northampton was not included in the Cabinet—he (Mr. Bartley) wished he had been included—and he wrote some remarkable letters about his exclusion. But he was not the only discontented man in the House; there were a large number on the Government side of the House who were also discontented. With a large amount of discontent in the House was it hopeful that all those vast measures in the Queen's Speech could ever be considered? Then the Scotch Members were said to be in revolt, but he did not think the revolt of the Scotch Radicals a very serious thing. On all these grounds, therefore, he thought it would require extreme measures to keep the Liberal Party from open revolt. He remembered that one section of the Party was soothed by tea parties in the afternoon, but the Prime Minister would have to go to tea parties without end in order to keep the entire Party quiet. One thing was certain—it was impossible to consider the Programme of legislation in the Queen's Speech as a practical Programme. It could not be considered, and it would not be considered. The only purpose it served was to raise false hopes, to help to keep the Government a little longer on the Benches opposite, and that in the coming Election that these attractive things might possibly win a few votes. It was impossible that the Government could last, and they knew perfectly that this Programme of legislation, which was so attractive to some persons, would very soon whittle down. It was never intended to be passed. It was merely propounded in the hope that it would catch votes.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): The hon. Gentleman the Member for Devonport (Mr. Morton) yesterday, at the commencement of his very able maiden speech, said that in his opinion anyone who called attention to matters of foreign policy at the present moment was impeding the march of domestic reform at home. I should have put it rather that if we engage in interventions

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and protectorates abroad at the present time we impede, the march of domestic policy at home. Whenever the heart of the nation is set upon Radical reforms it becomes the duty of every Radical to see, as far as he possibly can, that we do not drift into responsibilities abroad which may come in advance of these reforms at home. Now, Sir, I have always been one of those who have thought the House of Commons ought to have the same absolute control over questions of our foreign policy as our domestic matters. I do not think that any Treaties ought to be ratified, that any wars ought to be undertaken, that any protectorates ought to be assumed, and still less that any Charters giving sovereign rights to private companies ought to be given without the full absolute preliminary assent of the House of Commons. Mr. Speaker, I rejoiced when the Election took place and resulted in a Liberal victory; I rejoiced, not only because I anticipated that all those great reforms we desired would be carried, but also that an end would be put to the immoral continuity of Jingoism abroad. Sir, I am beginning to fear that I was a little anticipatory in my rejoicings. Be that as it may, whether the Liberal Party is in power or out of power I trust there will remain Members of this House who will never bow the knee to King Jingo, and will always protest against any of these acts abroad which cost vast amounts of money, and which in the end demand a vast expenditure of British blood. Before entering upon the subject on which I have given notice of Amendment, as I see the Prime Minister in his place I would like to ask him one or two questions on other matters of foreign affairs. I do not complain of what has recently occurred in Egypt. I think we are there to maintain order, and are bound to see what that species of order is, and have some control over it; I think if we have even a corporal's guard there it is a great advantage to the place; if we do not think the number of soldiers there sufficient, that they should be augmented; but, Sir, I was surprised to hear the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) say that in consequence of what had recently taken place in Egypt he hoped that the Government would inform

the French Government and inform the Khedive that we intended to remain there for an indefinite period, because Lord Cromer had reduced the position of the Khedive to what was practically a dummy position. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham thought he would improve the position by adding insult to injury in attacking the Khedive personally. My reading of what has recently taken place is that the Khedive and the people of Egypt are against our continued occupation. They have a laudable desire for national independence; they want Home Rule, precisely as the Irish want Home Rule, and to my thinking they ought to have it, just as the Irish ought to have it. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, as the Member for West Birmingham pointed out, did say in a speech delivered a year or two ago in Midlothian, "Our occupation was a source of weakness and a source of embarrassment." In 1892, I remember, on the Estimate for the number of men in the Army, I divided the House against the exact number that were in Egypt. I did that in order to put, as broadly as I could before the House, the question of evacuation. A very considerable number of Gentlemen on those (the Ministerial) Benches, the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary (Mr. John Morley)—I am not quite sure whether my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir W. Harcourt), but anyhow, many eminent Gentlemen voted with me, and every single Liberal voted with me on that subject. I think, therefore, we have a right to know what is doing at the present moment; whether any negotiations are taking place with a view to our evacuation of the country. I saw in the newspapers to-day a telegraphic report of a speech of a French Minister. It is conceived in the most conciliatory terms, and expressed the hope that we should enter into that conciliatory spirit in order to settle the period of our evacuation of the country. When Lord Salisbury came in in 1885 he at once initiated negotiations with the Sultan. In 1887 Lord Salisbury declared himself in favour of what is called the Wolff Treaty, and the only reason why that Treaty was not signed and we are in Egypt at the present was because the Sultan refused to sign it. I

really think, in view of all the declarations that have been made by eminent Members of the Liberal Party, that it would be a disgrace for the Liberal Party if they were to go out of power without having done something to bring to an end that evacuation which the Prime Minister said was a source of danger and embarrassment to us. I have no doubt the Liberal Party will remain in power during the natural term of the present Parliament, and I do not entertain a doubt that the next General Election will result in another six years for the Liberal Party. But still, accidents sometimes do happen in the best regulated families. Dissolution may come upon us like a thief in the night; therefore, I do trust the Government will not risk anything by delaying too long entering into some sort of negotiations in order to put an end to our evacuation. The other question I would ask the right hon. Gentleman concerns the Triple Alliance. The right hon. Gentleman will remember that during the last Parliament it was asserted in this House and in the newspapers that Lord Salisbury had given some sort of assurance to Italy as to in some way coming to her aid should she join the Triple Alliance, and if in consequence of joining that Alliance she found herself at war with France, because France wished to re-acquire Alsace and Lorraine. At that time I remember the right hon. Member for West Birmingham saying in the House that whether Lord Salisbury had given this assurance or not he has not informed the House of what he has done, and therefore we are in no way responsible. I should like now that the right hon. Gentleman as Prime Minister should make it clear to us that whatever assurances were given—if any were given by Lord Salisbury—that the Government is in no way responsible for them, that the Government does not recognise them; and in the event of Italy being involved in war with France owing to the action of Italy, she must protect her own coast, and take the consequences if she is beaten. I ask these questions in no spirit of hostility to the Prime Minister. In foreign politics I am Gladstonian, and I hope and trust the right hon. Gentleman will not himself turn his back upon that most excellent and respectable Party. Now I come to

the subject of my Amendment, and I may also say that my Amendment is a thoroughly Gladstonian Amendment. It refers to Uganda. I must go somewhat in detail into these matters, because the whole subject is very much a question of detail. Uganda, as the House knows, is a kingdom in Central Africa seven hundred miles from the coast, and separated from the coast by a tract partly deserted and partly inhabited by wild and savage tribes. It was discovered in 1862 by Speke, and in 1874 Mr. Stanley visited it. In 1877 certain Protestant missionaries went there, and they were speedily followed by Catholic missionaries. When Stanley went there, the King of the country was named Mtesa, an able and powerful Monarch who died in 1884, and he was succeeded first by one son and then by another, all heading different factions. But in 1890 the King was King Mwanga, who was the present monarch of the country. In 1890 Mwanga's Throne was in danger, and he made application to the East Africa Company in order to induce that company to give him their aid. This matter is somewhat important, because it has been vaguely asserted that the East Africa Company went there out of pure patriotism, and were urged, directly or indirectly, to go there by Lord Salisbury in order to prevent the Germans from going there. I will read to the House a statement issued by the Church Missionary Society—

"The critical condition of things made Mwanga and the Christians look for help to Mr. F. J. Jackson, of the Imperial British East Africa Company, who was heard to be in Usoga. They sent to him for assistance, and Mwanga accepted a flag sent by him as a token of alliance. The missionaries preserved a wholly neutral attitude in these negotiations; they simply, as Mr. Walker said, 'have told Mwanga the truth as far as we knew it, and have explained the meaning of the company's offer, and their flag which they have sent. We have done this not as 'political agents,' but merely as Mwanga's and the Christian party's friends, being, moreover, the only people in the land who could have done it. We have also been Mwanga's mouthpiece in writing to the company's agents, and we have done our best to give them a true account of the present state of the country.' In May, 1890, Messrs. Jackson and Gedge, of the I.B.E.A. Company, appeared in Rubaga (now called Mengo), and endeavoured to come to terms with Mwanga, the company to render help against the Mohammedans and Kabarega, and in return to receive the taxes of the country. Although

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supported by the Protestant, or rather English party, Mr. Jackson had to retire without effecting his object, and no control of the country was exercised by the company until December 29, 1890, when Captain Lugard arrived."

The House will see by the statement that the proposal was a purely business and commercial one on the part of the company. They were asked to go there and defend the Throne of King Muringa, in consideration of which they replied they must have the collection of the taxes of the country. As these modest proposals to collect the taxes of the country were refused these gentlemen, Messrs. Gedge and Jackson did not go there as representatives of the company. But in December of that year Captain Lugard arrived in the country. He was closely followed by a considerable force of Zanzibaris with breech-loaders, and two Maxim guns. I derive my knowledge of what took place from the Reports that had been presented to this House. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham said that I was in the habit of writing upon the subject of alluding to a private document. Sir, the document was not private. I will explain what it was. The right hon. Gentleman further said that Captain Lugard had altered his views since that document was written, and since he first came to the country. All I can say is that in the Blue Book to which we were obliged to refer for information, I find not only this Report which was written by Captain Lugard immediately on his arrival in the country, but I find that the Reports went on until August, 1891, and that Captain Lugard in no sort of way in subsequent Reports contradicts his statement in the first Report, except that he once says if the people of the country are industrious they might produce cereals and export them. The House will remember that in the last Parliament there was a Debate upon the proposal to vote £20,000 for the survey of the Mombasa Railway, and the present Chancellor of the Exchequer quoted largely during the Debate from this so-called private document, which was a Report of Captain Lugard to this company. That Report has appeared in "Africa, No. 4." The House will hardly believe that almost all the passages which were referred to by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to prove his case against this

railway, and against any intermeddling in Uganda, are absolutely suppressed from the Report. The Report was prefaced by a letter of the Company, and a more impudent letter, considering the Company asked Parliament last year to aid them in building the railway to this country, and would have us now take over the country—a more impudent act on the part of the Company than is shown by the letter never took place. The letter is as follows :—

"Sir, in view of the demand made in the House of Commons by some Members during the recent Debate on the Survey Vote, that the Reports to the Company by Captain Lugard should be laid upon the Table of the House, I am instructed to inform you that my Directors had no objection to that course being taken, provided the passages marked in red ink in the accompanying Reports are kept out."

Here this information was given us by the right hon. Gentleman who, fortunately for us, had, I think, been sent one of these Reports—one of these private documents. If he had not received it, and had not had an opportunity of reading out in the House from this private Report, we should have known nothing of the series of the most monstrous atrocities that had taken place in Uganda. I will return to what occurred after Captain Lugard's arrival in the country. A few days after his arrival he determined to make a Treaty with the King of Uganda. It is important to look at this Treaty, because, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer said last year, it will explain any possible right of the Company to exercise sway in the country, and is necessarily the keystone of any possible right that we may derive from the Company. The right hon. Gentleman the present Prime Minister said this Treaty was obtained by threats of compulsion, and I think, when I read what really Captain Lugard wrote respecting what he did, that the House will agree with the Prime Minister. This is how the Treaty was obtained—

"A warm discussion arose on many points. Then the chiefs were for signing, but the King held back, and giggled and fooled. He demanded time. I replied by rapping the table, and speaking loudly, said he must sign now. I threatened to leave the next day if he did not, and possibly to go to his enemies. I pointed out to him that he had lost the southern half of his kingdom to the Germans by his previous delay, and that he would lose more if he delayed now. He was, I think, scared at my

manner, and trembled very violently, and was on the point of signing, when a rabble with guns which crowded the doorway threatened, I understand, to shoot the first man who signed, shouting that they were setting their country. I had increased my Soudanese escort to 20 men, and they were drawn up on one side with fixed bayonets. Seeing that an immediate signature was hopeless, I said that to-morrow, being Christmas Day, we should not act on it, but the day following I must have his reply. On Christmas Day there was much excitement and dissension, and a fight seemed imminent; but late at night I heard that the Catholic chiefs had agreed to sign, and that the King would do so too. . . . No sooner had the Treaty been signed than the King began to repent of his act, and sent a paper to me to sign, stating that all the States therein named should be subject to Uganda, together with other stipulations of a vague kind. I declined to sign it, but made many explanations. Consequently, to the present day, I have managed to avoid another interview, and hope to do so until I have the Treaty well on its way to the coast."

MR. BURDETT-COUTTS: May I ask the hon. Gentleman what is the date of the Treaty he is referring to?

MR. LABOUCHERE: December, 1890. December the 26th or 27th.

MR. BURDETT-COUTTS: As the hon. Member probably knows, that was the first Treaty, and was obtained under exceptional circumstances.

MR. LABOUCHERE: Very.

MR. BURDETT-COUTTS: And there is a second Treaty with King Mwanga of a very different kind.

MR. LABOUCHERE: I will come to that. This shows how very eager they were to secure the presence of Captain Lugard. Captain Lugard said the heathen and lawless party, also the Catholics, were not well disposed, whilst the Protestants were bitterly disappointed when he signed. In fact, so far as I can see, except the Zanzibaris with fixed bayonets, there was not a single man in the country in favour of the Treaty. Well, Sir, not one of these extracts is contained in the Report of Captain Lugard to the Company that is submitted to the House of Commons. They were absolutely suppressed till now. The Report had not been submitted to the House of Commons, but according to this letter they were part of the passages in red ink, and I think the House can pretty well understand why they were suppressed. During the Mombasa Debate the Treaty itself was not known to the House. Since then Captain Lugard

has been careering about the country, saying everywhere that he acted as an English officer, and that he pledged the honour of England always to remain in Uganda. Of course he had no right to pledge it. The first article of the Treaty says—

"Acting solely on behalf of the British East Africa Company, with full powers to conclude and ratify the same on behalf of the Company."

Moreover, this Treaty, which was the only Treaty which was spoken of at the time we were asked to make the railroad, contains the following clause :—

"This Treaty shall be binding on both parties for a period of two years, after which it shall be renewable or subject to revision as the change of circumstances may require, so that this Treaty would have expired in 1892."

But I must call attention also to the language of this poor unfortunate savage King. He seemed to recognise himself that he was, as Captain Lugard suggests the people around him said, selling his country. He, when the Treaty was made, says this—

"An agreement we now make between the white man and ourselves; and I also, in my own person, King Mwanga, the Sultan, and all its territories, make another agreement,—namely, should another white man, greater than this one, come up afterwards, these words shall be wiped out, and we make another."

I do not know how we can in any sort of way be supposed to derive any right to interfere with the internal polity of Uganda with this Treaty extorted from the king by Captain Lugard. Captain Lugard having made the Treaty then erected a force. Having got his Zanzibaris with him he enlisted the riff-raff of the country left by Emin Pasha when he left it. I will give an example of how this man—whom we are all asked to admire—ruled in that country. I will take an extract from Captain Lugard's reply to the French Missionaries—

"Père Gaudibert told me at first that when they (the French missionaries) walked about, the Waganda used insulting words to them.... I said that, not only were they my guests, but I would not allow a European to be insulted by a Waganda. I told him that I would station a sentry close to where they walked, with orders that if any of the Fathers pointed to a man (for my men, not knowing Kuganka, were ignorant of anything that might be said) he should be seized. I said I would dearly like to catch a man, and begged Père Gaudibert to have one seized, that I might publicly flog him."

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That is how he carried on the government of the country. The Gentlemen from Ireland complain most justly of the way the late Government acted in Ireland with their Coercion Act, but I ask them what would they say if the Irish Secretary stated in this House that he would dearly like an Ulster Member, we will say, to seize hold of a Nationalist, as the right hon. Gentleman himself would like to publicly flog him. But it is only in Africa where monstrosities of this kind take place. Naturally the king and people did not like this species of rule. Captain Lugard descended, so far as they knew, from the skies, and inaugurated this system of government. A fight took place in the town against Captain Lugard. He calls it a rebellion. The establishment of the Catholic missionaries was looted, and the king and his subjects fled to an island. There is some difference in the statements of Captain Lugard and the French missionaries on the subject. I will not cite the account of the French missionaries, but I will cite the statement of the English missionaries. Here is Mr. Collins' account of it as given to a Reuter's agent at Zanzibar—

"When the Protestants heard the sharp rattle of the big guns they burst into rounds of cheering. A few minutes later we saw that the Catholic Mission station on Rubaga Hill was on fire, and that their new church was also ablaze, and we knew that our people had taken Rubaga. Captain Williams, in command of a large force of Soudanese and Baganda, left the fort for a spot on the lake shore opposite the island, which was only about the length of a rifle-shot distant. Captain Williams at once got his Maxim in position, and seeing this, the king's party tried to escape from the island in their canoes; but no sooner were the boats filled than they were sunk, one after the other, by the Maxim, and an immense number of the natives were drowned, going down in boatloads. King Mwanga himself managed to escape in a canoe, accompanied by the Catholic Bishop."

I am bound to say that Mr. Collins does not quite accept the accuracy of the statement of Reuter's agent, but in his denial he practically admits the main facts. He says—

"I was pressed for time, and could only give him my diary, and ask him to make some extracts. When I read the article in the paper I was surprised to find that the extracts had not been made verbatim, but that a considerable amount of colouring had been given in several places. This was the case in connection with the event you name. No such expressions

as 'going down in boatloads,' &c., occur in my diary; but I find that I have written that it was reported to me by native chiefs who were present on the occasion that several canoes were sunk, and a considerable number of natives drowned, and this I believe was the case."

I really do not see much distinction between the first statement and the amended statement. The King, of course, had no choice. This unfortunate King returned, and accepted the necessary facts that Captain Lugard, with his Maxim guns and breechloaders, was the absolute master of the situation. Then comes what I think the hon. Gentleman opposite alluded to as the new Treaty with King Mwanga. I do not see, as far as I can make out, that King Mwanga signed the Treaty himself; I think it was a chief. But in event the Treaty amounted to this: that Captain Lugard divided the country between the rival factions of Mahomedans, Catholics, and Protestants. When I use the word Protestant I would add that the word must not be understood as we understand Protestant, for Captain Lugard himself says it was a mere political name for one of the factions, and the word Protestant actually was not known until he came into the country. Now, Captain Lugard frequently said his action in Uganda obliged us to remain for ever there, that if the Company was not prepared to remain there the Imperial Government must take its place. But it is a remarkable fact that Captain Lugard himself did not take that view. When he was there he was prepared to throw over the Treaty and retire when he found it was not a paying speculation. Captain Lugard wrote to his company stating—

"It occurred to me that it might possibly be better to transfer the centre of European control and administration to a new position."

What is more, the company adopted this, and announced about the end of 1892 that they intended to withdraw from the country on the very practical ground that it did not pay them to remain there. They said they intended to withdraw from the country in July, 1893, and they would have done so had it not been for the Church Missionary Society, who came forward, and said they were anxious they should remain there another six months, and that if they would remain they would pay the cost of their re-

maining. The right hon. Member for West Birmingham says that Lord Salisbury intended to take over the country, and he seems to imply that that bound us to do so. I have carefully looked through the whole statement Lord Salisbury made, and I find no sort of sign or indication that he intended to take over the country. He was informed that the Company were going to withdraw in 1892, but he made no sign then, and did not say for a moment that if they withdrew the country would have to be taken over by the Imperial Government. He made no sign when the Church Missionary Society was going to provide the funds for the Company to remain there another six months, and he did not indicate at the end of the six months that he would be in favour of taking over the country. The Member for West Birmingham, in answer to some interlocutory question during his speech, said—

"Well, but remember that he intended to take over the country because he asked this House to give £20,000 for the survey of the country for the purpose of the railway."

I have gone over the Debate this morning, and have been unable to see one single word in it with reference to the question of taking over the country. A speech was made by the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, and speeches were made by other gentlemen, but I do not think the word Uganda was once mentioned. The grounds for giving the money were that we were bound by an arrangement made at the Brussels Conference to make a railway, because it was thought that a railway would tend to diminish in some way the Slave Trade. The first time that Lord Salisbury had an idea of taking over the country was, I gather from a letter in *The Times* newspaper, some time about September last, after the noble Lord had left Office. Some one wrote to Lord Salisbury inquiring what he had intended to do, and Lord Salisbury replied that he had always contemplated retaining the country. Now, I cannot really enter into Lord Salisbury's mind or the minds of anyone else. He may have contemplated retention or he may not; but when a man has occupied the position of Prime Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, we must not go by what

he contemplated in his own mind, but by his public words and acts, and there is no public word from Lord Salisbury which bound him to take over the country. The Prime Minister has suggested another reason why we might not have our responsibility involved. He dealt with the charter of the company, the terms of which he described as remarkable by reason of the largeness of the powers conferred on the Secretary of State for controlling the Company. It was perfectly true that there was an agreement with Germany that certain territory should be within the sphere of our influence. Germany was to go one way and we another, but no responsibility was to be involved. It was to be much like the arrangement made after the Fall of Sodom and Gomorrah between Abraham and Lot. Abraham went his way and Lot went another. They were responsible for nothing that occurred in regard to that. The agreement of 1888 was based upon existing arrangements with the Company, made by the Sultan of Zanzibar and the Sultan of Witu. It gave the Company no right to acquire territory by Treaties made with the sovereigns of the country, and there is a clause in the Treaty that these new Treaties must be approved by Her Majesty's Government, but the object of that clause, as far as I can understand, is to prevent anything which might be deemed unfair from being done under those Treaties. This particular Treaty was numbered 25, and I think there were upwards of 100 Treaties. No one could say that we were responsible for the Treaty, or that we approved of everything negotiated by the South Africa Company or the Borneo Company, and if we had no responsibility for those Treaties—the Treaties of those two companies—it cannot be said that any approval rendered us responsible for the Treaties of the East Africa Company. Now, this was the position of affairs when the Liberal Government came into power. We were not bound by any Treaty by the action of Lord Salisbury or by the Charter to interfere in any way. The Company announced that it was going to leave Uganda at the end of last year. The better course would have been to let well alone and allowed the Company to withdraw. But in Sep-

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tember a deputation from the Church Missionary Society waited upon Lord Rosebery, asking him to take over the country. His reply was somewhat ambiguous. Shortly afterwards a Cabinet Council was held. I do not know what occurred then, but I suppose the reply of Lord Rosebery was discussed. Then a circular was issued to the East Africa Company by Lord Rosebery, which, I presume, contained the intentions of the Government. Three months more were given to them for evacuation. The Company were told to evacuate the country on March 31st. Lord Rosebery said that his predecessor had accepted the principle of evacuation, and that continued occupation would be arduous and dangerous, if not impossible, in the present state of our relations. After this letter another deputation—it was from the Anti-Slavery Association—went to the Government and protested against the decision that had been arrived at. Lord Rosebery made a reply in which he appeared to separate himself from the decision of his colleagues, for in one sentence he spoke of "I" and in another of "we," and the noble Lord seemed to suggest that some agitation should take place in order that the decision of the Government should be altered. I defy any one to read that reply without coming to the conclusion that Lord Rosebery was urging agitation in favour of retention. One gentleman who was there subsequently told his friends the effect of Lord Rosebery's reply when he said at a meeting that

"Lord Rosebery's magnificent setting of this country's duty towards the poor nations of the earth with whom God had placed us in bond, made every one leave the country a better Englishman than he had entered it."

Then Captain Lugard went about the country, and the big drum was beaten. He went about saying that we would be disgraced if we did not take over the country. He not only contradicted his own Report, but contradicted in one speech what he said in another. ["No, no!"] I can show any Gentleman absolute contradictions, if you wish I shall go into details, but I do not want to detain the House. Well, in December last this agitation bore fruit; the Ministry did, apparently, reconsider its decision, and it was announced that a

Mission of Inquiry should be sent out. The gentleman selected was Sir Gerald Portal, a very able administrator, I believe, but a man of not absolutely independent judgment in this matter. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister said the other day that if Sir Gerald Portal was an advocate of annexation he did not know it. The following letter, dated Mombasa, September 14th, appeared in *The Times* from a gentleman who had received it from Sir Gerald Portal, and *The Times*, after some past experiences, was rather careful as to the letters it inserted, and have, I presume, authenticated it, and know the name of the author—

"I have come up here for a few days to do a lot of business in my dual capacity of Consul General and Her Majesty's Commissioner for the Interior. The question of Uganda is of vital importance. The Company say they are determined to go, in spite of their promises and treaties of protection to King Mwanga and all the Protestants and others. Lugard, Martin, missionaries, natives, and everyone who has come from there are unanimous in saying that the withdrawal of the English officers will be the certain signal for a general war and the inevitable massacre of Christians—a massacre such as the world has not seen for centuries."

The point is, that Sir Gerald Portal is not a man of independent character. Probably this was a private letter, but the mind of the writer was filled with the idea that they were bound to take over the whole country. This letter has been discussed in the newspapers, and given as one of the grounds why we should take over the country, and it was cited also in the Manifesto issued by the Church Missionary Society. If the Government wished for or wanted more information in September last, they should have sent out their Mission in that month. Then, at least, they would have had time to consider whether they ought to take over the country or not. But now the position is that Sir Gerald Portal will only arrive in Uganda on the 26th of March, and on the 31st of March the company will evacuate. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham asked last night what was going to take place between the period when the company was to evacuate the country and the time when Sir G. Portal's Report would be received. As the right hon. Gentleman said, in all probability that Report

will not be received until August or September next. It would then be unnecessary for the Government to write back to Sir Gerald Portal, for if he did take over the country, even provisionally, when the company left, then our responsibility would be actual, and it seems to me that if we once took over the country, though only temporarily, it would be exceedingly difficult to withdraw afterwards. As to the grounds on which it has been said by Captain Lugard and others at public meetings that we ought to take over the country, we are told, in the first place, that Uganda would be a great market for their goods, that it would raise large exports and would receive large imports from England. But Captain Lugard himself said on this point—

"As regards the value of Uganda to the company, I hold the opinion, which seems to me to be shared alike by the English and French missionaries, the Germans, and Messrs. Jackson and Gedge, that Uganda *per se* has been much overrated. At present there seem to be few or no products suitable for exportation except ivory, and that almost entirely comes from the tributary States. Nor can the country, I understand, supply much labour for the construction of outside works. The company should go further, to a place not divided up into factions or spoilt by the veneer of civilization, which has been the bane of Uganda."

Yet Captain Lugard and others have represented Uganda as a country flowing with milk and honey, and the single fact given by Captain Lugard to justify this is, that some chief asked him when he left to be good enough to send him some opera glasses and white donkeys. It is well known that the natives do not work hard in any part of the country. There is no such capacity for work in them to make the country productive. There is a slave population, it is true, and I can only say that, if this population raised crops to enable other persons to have opera glasses, the slave raised the crops and the slave master got the glasses. But the absurdity of the statement that Uganda would be a market for their goods is shown by the fact that the cost of carriage to send up goods from the coast is £300 a ton. This is a prohibitive rate, and there can be no such importation of goods into the country as was spoken of. We will be told that a railway is to be constructed to the country, but I cannot believe for a moment that it will be done. The present Chancellor of the Duchy of

Lancaster (Mr. Bryce) spoke on this matter in the course of the Mombasa Debate, and he said that it was absolutely impossible to make such a railway. The words of the right hon. Gentleman were—

"There were no means of obtaining indigenous free labour to make this railway. They would have to import coolies from India or Chinese, to make the railway or to make it by slave labour. The Committee would notice that the Government had but their case as an alternative to establishing garrisons and flying columns. It was clear that they should have to guard the railway when it was made. There were warlike tribes along the route, to whom the iron rails would be as valuable as a gold mine. Nothing less than a line of forts would be sufficient to protect this railway. They should have all the expense in addition to the construction. He should like to point also to the want of any jurisdiction. They had no jurisdiction in the territory except over British subjects. It seemed to him that the guarantee involved intervention, and that the involved annexation. They were now asked to take the first steps in annexation. There was no stopping place in the fatal descent."

The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister went further, and pointed out that if we were to make the railroad we should have no sort of legal jurisdiction over the tribes of the country through which it would pass; that any species of crime might be committed by them, and we should have no power to punish or prevent these crimes. In those circumstances I should like to know from the Government whether they are going to construct this railroad or not. It must cost about £3,000,000, and it would not pay working expenses, and would probably cost a sub-sidy of £300,000. Hon. Members oppositè will agree that if the Government are not going to make the railroad any intermeddling with the affairs of Uganda by them would be unwise and ridiculous. If they were going to construct it, they would have to eat their own words and do what last year they said was a monstrosity. It will be said that we are bound to make the railroad by the terms of the Brussels Conference, but this country is under no such responsibility. With regard to the statement by Captain Lugard that settlers might establish themselves in Uganda, the nature of the climate made this very improbable, if not impossible, especially when there were more attractive lands in the south—Mashoualand and elsewhere.

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The only "settlers" who will go to Uganda are those whom I cannot look upon as better than swindlers—those who would go out and dig a hole, declare there was gold in the hole, then bring out a Company and sell the hole to foolish and confiding British orphans and widows for, perhaps, one or two hundred thousand pounds. Then it is said by Captain Lugard that Uganda should be taken over on account of the slave trade. He has also said that the slave trade did not now exist in that country, but that there are a great many domestic slaves, and, as far as can be understood, these people would remain slaves under the ægis of the Government of Great Britain if the country were really taken over. What is the fact? It is that the only labour in the country is slave labour, and the East Africa Company make use of that for the conveyance of their goods from Uganda to the coast. It is held by some that those unfortunate people are permitted to work out their own salvation or freedom, but the system is very wrong—it is absurd, for the men are brought down from the coast by the slave dealer and sold, and what does it matter to the dealer whether they are purchased to work out their salvation or to continue in slavery? While the system lasts we will have slaves sent down the coast. Now, we have heard a great deal about the missionaries who went out to Uganda in 1877. I do not complain of them. It has been stated that 18 missionaries were murdered, but that is not so. Eighteen died in Uganda or going to it, but 15 of them died from illness brought on by the nature of the climate. Only three were killed, but not even one of them was killed as a missionary. Bishop Hannington was believed by the King to be an emissary from the Mahdi, and the two missionaries declared that they could not convince the King that the Bishop was not a Sheikh sent by the Mahdi to take the country. [*Laughter.*] Of course, Gentlemen laugh. They have been humbugged and fooled and cajoled during the last six months by persons who have been going about the country speaking on this question. Let them do as I did—go to the original sources for their information. I got this information from the statements of the Church Missionary Society. Well,

Bishop Hannington declined to wait outside the country. On the other hand, orders had been sent to prevent his advancing into the country. A conflict consequently ensued, and the Bishop was killed. The other two missionaries, who were most estimable men, were going up country, and while they were in the territory of some Chief a fugitive from justice got into the camp. They were actuated, no doubt, by the very best feelings, and they would not give him up when asked to do so. A fight ensued; a number of natives were killed, and the two missionaries themselves were killed. At present there are about 1,000 converts, so far as I can gather, who are members of the Church of England. We are told that a terrible massacre will take place if we withdraw from Uganda. Well, I have never seen any sort of evidence of it; but if it is so, surely it would be much better to instruct Sir Gerald Portal to pay for bringing away those 1,000 persons than to stop there. [Laughter.] Gentlemen laugh; but, surely, when it is a question either of taking a kingdom with 2,000,000 inhabitants in order to prevent 1,000 persons from being massacred or of bringing the 1,000 persons away, the more reasonable course is to bring them away. There is, however, no quarrel with the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society; the quarrel is with the Catholic missionaries. I think it was very unwise of the Church Missionary Society to explain the political duties of the Government in their Manifesto, to tell us it was a disgrace to England to withdraw, and to say that those who wished to withdraw have "petty and parochial minds." Mr. Speaker, I glory in the fact of having the "petty and parochial mind" which induces me to protest against such vast expenditure. I do not consider it to be our duty to annex a kingdom with 2,000,000 inhabitants in order to aid missionary labour. That sort of thing rather impedes than benefits missionary labour. What does Mr. Mackay, a most estimable and respectable missionary, say? He says—

"We are suspected of political aims, and are called spies and pioneers of invasion. Our people are believed to be won over to English rule, and to be false to their country."

I will also cite a very much higher authority upon the best way of converting Africans and other pagans than I am myself. Mr. Guinness Rogers, a leading member of the Nonconformist Body—

An hon. MEMBER: A Gladstonian Radical.

Mr. LABOUCHERE: Well, I remember complaining of him because he backed up my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister in his Soudan expedition, so that he cannot be suspected of being a man who is opposed to every species of African buccaneering. Writing in the *Nineteenth Century*, and contrasting Mr. Moffat with the missionaries of the Maxim Gun School, he says—

"To me that is the truer ideal of a missionary than the man who is full of large ideas of the mission of his country, ever speculating on the comparative merits of different lines of policy, sighing for British protection, and thus, with or without his own purpose, becoming continually involved in entangled controversies, which it should be his purpose rather to avoid."

America has missionaries in Africa, but if an American missionary were to go back into his own country and suggest that the United States should annex a country with a population of 2,000,000 in the centre of Africa in order to aid American missionary enterprise, he would certainly be removed to the nearest lunatic asylum. The Church Missionary Society is, of course, a Church of England Society, and I consider that this demand is the very last outcome of Church and State. Captain Lugard actually suggested that the King's son, who was a Catholic, should be brought to England, and educated as a Protestant. I myself admire missionaries like Moffat and Livingstone. They never started those Church and State doctrines. They never advocated annexations, and we must really go back to the time of Peter the Hermit and the Crusaders to realise what an extraordinary thing it is that people should advocate the sending of armed forces to foreign countries in order to aid missionary labour. The company was founded on the basis of commerce and philanthropy. It issued a prospectus in which people were asked to subscribe for shares, and were told they would in all probability get 8 per cent. for their money. Behind the 8 per cent.

there was the old trick of founders' shares, half of the profits of which was to go to the shareholders and half to the founders. Indeed, it was a sort of company that Mr. Bottomley might have put his name to and been proud of it. The company has a port at Mombasa, and is able to levy duties there. Naturally, they want the *Hinterland* to be opened out so that imports and exports may pass through Mombasa. They want us to sow, in order that they may reap. I can perfectly understand the position of the company, and, speaking of the commercial gentlemen, I think they are, from the Bottomley point of view, as wise as we should be foolish if we acceded to their proposal. Behind the company are the "Jingoes," the people who suffer from the disease of earth-hunger, and are under the impression that if any other country annexes any part of the globe that country is a disgrace to civilisation, but that we have a sacred and divine mission which imposes on us the duty of annexing wherever we can. I really believe that if the North Pole were discovered we should have hon. Gentlemen opposite immediately insisting on its annexation. People who do not agree with them are traitors, or have "petty and parochial minds." I can only say, Sir, that if some step is not taken to prevent these "Jingoes" carrying out their views, we shall get into trouble with every other country on the globe, and the British Empire will burst into fragments like a balloon that is blown up. Africa is now the great field for annexation. The "Jingoes" want to go up from South Africa first to the Zambesi, and then beyond it. In the north they want us to remain in possession of Egypt. I have no doubt they would admit that they had not any idea of our leaving Egypt. [An hon. MEMBER: Hear, hear!] Hear, hear! Then they want communications between Egypt and the Cape Colony, and in their idea Uganda is the key of the position. Hear what Captain Lugard says. He writes—

"If Uganda is to be held, a line of forts, with an organised system of defence, I look upon as a necessity, sooner or later, against the wave of Mahomedan fanaticism and power from the north, which is encroaching further and further south, and must sometime come into collision with the influences of European civilisation,

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which, happily for Africa, are spreading towards south, east, and west. When the two waves meet—Islam from the north, and British influence from the south and east—it will be of vital importance, not only to the territorial interests of the company, but to the cause of Christianity and of civilisation, that the company be found ready to meet force by force, complete and organised in itself up to its furthest frontier. Within the limits of this frontier would be enclosed a vast territory the development of which will tax the resources of the company to the uttermost, and, meanwhile, the battle can be fought out between the rival sects of the Mahdi and Sennousi, and an opportunity may then offer for any advantageous advance, when the forces of Islam are divided against themselves. I was informed by Dr. Shulhmann of the report that the forces of Sennousi are slowly advancing southwards sweeping all before them. They are hostile to the Mahdists, and are still more antagonistic than the latter to the white men and Christians. Their organisation and equipment are wonderful, and they have enormous stores of ammunition, breech-loading rifles, cannons, and steamers."

Lord Salisbury, as I understand it, is in favour of the retention of Uganda at present. There are a few Radicals, I suppose, in this House who are also in favour of its retention. There are always some weak Radicals. Lord Rosebery is, I take it, somewhat in favour of retention. The Tory Press—I do not know whether rightly or wrongly—has put forward Lord Rosebery as a sort of guardian of the honour of England against the "pernicious and unpatriotic designs," or Prime Minister (Mr. Gladstone), the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir W. Harcourt), the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. J. Morley), the Postmaster General (Mr. Arnold Morley), and most of the other gentlemen who sit upon the Treasury Bench. Sir Gerald Portal has been sent to Uganda, and unless he is told to evacuate the country the necessary result of his mission will be that Uganda will be annexed. I really must trouble the House with one further extract. I am very sorry to do so. It is from the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister in the Mombasa Debate, and it puts the case very clearly against our getting mixed up in the affairs of Uganda. The right hon. Gentleman said—

"Are you better off when you get into that country (Uganda)? Can you count upon friendship there? Is the King of that country friendly to you? Captain Lugard says we have

framed a Treaty with him. But he obtained that Treaty by threats and by compulsion. He admits that it was with the greatest difficulty that it was obtained, and that every effort was made by the wretched Sovereign who signed it to escape from it, and that the Sovereign will make any effort to escape from it in the future. But even Captain Lugard in that Treaty does not venture to include the slightest reference to the acquisition of land. Captain Lugard says that he effected his point by going into the country with extreme rapidity, and that it was the extreme rapidity of his movements that prevented the natives from getting out their troops to oppose him, as they had not time to do it. On whose friendship do you rely? The bulk of the country is inhabited by natives absolutely savage, but not, I believe, incapable of being stirred up by an alarm in respect of the land upon which they depend for their subsistence. Captain Lugard says that from the north there is a wave of onward Mahomedan progress, and another great tribe, called Unyoro, agreed with Uganda in its opposition to the English. It is a most singular thing that, according to this Report of Captain Lugard, almost with one exception, all these people who are at variance with one another, yet are agreed on being hostile to the admission of English troops. What is the exception? There are strong religious influences at work. There are Roman Catholic missionaries in this sphere of influence; and it appears that the East Africa Company takes upon itself to inform French missionaries where they may go, and where they may not go. They happen, however, to be a very powerful body, and between them and the Protestant missionaries, who are much fewer in number, there is rivalry, and the Protestant missionaries welcome our interference, hoping that it will be backed by force of arms; whilst the Roman Catholics, who are the large majority, are very averse to it. We are obliged to act upon presumptions, and all these presumptions converge to show that what you have to expect from the mass of population in this region of Africa is bitter and, generally speaking, united hostility."

Could anyone put the case more strongly? I apologise for having occupied the attention of the House so long. I have never concealed my view; I have always objected to all these Protectorates and all these annexations, and I mean to do so as long as I am in this House. I know it is said I am a false and base Englishman because I do not agree in these grand Imperial schemes of expansion. I am perfectly satisfied as an Englishman to look after the interests and well-being of the British Empire. I consider that is a large enough business. If people like to civilise Africa and to subscribe money for christianising any other part of the world let them subscribe to do it; I may do it myself; but when it comes to the money of the taxpayer, I consider that we ought to

take the beam out of our own eye—God knows we have many beams—before we wander about the globe taking the mote out of the eyes of Chinese and Africans. We have want and misery here; we have great labour questions, and if we have money to spend—it is money taken from the mass of the people—let it be spent on the well-being of the mass of the people. I know perfectly well that the Debate on the Address is not an opportune time to ask the House to divide, particularly when you are a supporter of the Government. I am not going to divide. I am perfectly willing to accept the responsibility of any division against the possibility or probability of annexation. But I am practical. I know a Supplementary Estimate will soon be brought in to cover the expenses of the Sir Gerald Portal's Mission, and if I divide on that I shall get a better Division. We must be strategical in these matters. My object is to prevent these annexations and to get as many people as possible to vote with me. In order, however, to concentrate the attention of the House on the question, I beg leave to move the Amendment which stands in my name.

Amendment proposed,

At the end of the Question, to add the words, "And humbly ventures to express the hope, that the Commissioner, who has been sent by Your Majesty to Uganda, will effect the evacuation of that country by the British East Africa Company, without any increase in Your Majesty's Imperial responsibilities."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

*MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: When I heard the ingenious argument by which my hon. Friend the Member for Northampton made good his proposition that it was not wise for him to divide, another question arose in my own mind, whether this argument ought not to have gone a little further, and to have suggested to him that this was not the proper occasion to move his Amendment. He expects there will be some Supplementary Vote upon which he will be largely supported, but surely he would have been much better supported upon the Supplementary Vote if he had reserved until that period the animated and interesting speech which he has favoured us with.

MR. LABOUCHERE: My speech is so long; this is only half of it.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: The statement that my hon. Friend has just made stirs in me another fear, and that is that, he having given us fair notice that when he makes his Motion upon some Vote still *in nubibus* he has another speech approaching two hours ready to be delivered, it will be in the power of every Member to determine for himself whether he will have the full fruition or whether he will omit a portion of the enjoyment. My hon. Friend will excuse me if I refer very shortly indeed to the matters, independent of Uganda in Africa, which he introduced into the discussion. I think I need only say, with regard to the Triple Alliance, that I am not aware that anything has occurred since the accession of the present Government to power which ought to give uneasiness either to him or to any Member of this House in respect of the Triple Alliance. With respect to Egypt, he asks us what are we doing there? My answer to that is simple. We are doing these two things: We are striving steadily to fulfil that absolute duty which is incumbent upon us of maintaining not only the external security, but the internal peace of the country so long as the British occupation lasts. And together with that we are endeavouring to prosecute or to restore, whichever you please, that system of thorough harmony and concord between the native Government and the occupying Power, which has been the basis of all our proceedings heretofore, and which has alone enabled the successive Governments to neutralise and qualify the inconveniences of a critical situation. My hon. Friend has referred to the language of the Government of the French Republic in the Chamber of that country. I cannot but observe the temperate and guarded and friendly language in which the Foreign Minister of France dealt with the subject. I do not doubt that the same spirit will continue to animate him and his colleagues and any French Administration which is likely to come into Office in the regulation of the relations, which are happily most friendly, and which might become most difficult were there a want of judgment in the steps taken upon either side. My hon. Friend, I think, signified that we,

having been in Office now for such a lengthened period, and having nothing to occupy our attention of any consequence at home in connection with the Session, ought to have made great progress with the settlement of foreign affairs. My hon. Friend appeared to think that it was our duty to initiate some correspondence or proceedings on the subject of the Egyptian occupation. On that matter I shall give no opinion which in any way may restrict our liberty of action for the future, either remote or immediate. But I would point out to my hon. Friend, in reference to the words which fell from me the other night, that it is not a very long period since we received from the Government of France a friendly inquiry as to the reception which we should be disposed to give to some overtures on their part for re-opening the negotiations which it is perfectly true to say never were entirely dropped by Lord Salisbury, and could not have been said to have passed out of existence at the time when the late Government resigned. Under these circumstances, I think, when we consider what has happened as to the internal politics of France during the last month or six weeks, my hon. Friend will feel that it would not have been very courteous or wise for us, after the friendly communications which had taken place, hastily to step in and take the new initiative in the matter without any menacing or embarrassing circumstances. So much for this subject. Now I pass to the main point of the speech of my hon. Friend. He has traversed a very wide field indeed, over which it is totally impossible for me to follow him. Let him recollect a fundamental proposition as determining our situation at the moment. It is this. No doubt, as he says, gentlemen have been careering through the country representing this subject from one point of view and another point of view, but those points of view are not the points of view from which it is possible to tender sound and weighty advice for the purpose of guiding the policy of England. It is very well, no doubt, that the British East Africa Company should be active, and should have its agents in activity, and should possess the public mind in its own interest, and on its own behalf with the views it is inclined to take. I recognise the difficulties of the position of the

Company, though I shall give no opinion whatever in regard to it or its proceedings at the present time. It is also most natural that those who are connected with the religious interests embarked in this portion of Africa should with earnestness, and even with enthusiasm, present their view, or points of view, to the country. But I must say I cannot help sympathising in some degree with the reference my hon. Friend has made to some statements of the Church Missionary Society, which I have read with great regret. For I very much indeed doubt whether observations of that kind upon the external policy of this country are observations which can wisely proceed from a strictly religious body, which has its own exclusive functions in the interest of the propagation of the Gospel.

SIR J. KENNAWAY (Devon, Honiton): May I be allowed to say—

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: My hon. Friend will have his opportunity later on in the discussion. There is one passage in the speech of my hon. Friend which I regret, and which I do not think he himself can be very well satisfied with. It was his reference to Lord Rosebery—it was his favourite reference to worthless passages in articles written for a momentary political Party purpose. My hon. Friend cannot have failed to remark the naturally enthusiastic approval with which that portion of his speech was received by all those whom he does not wish to cite as his political friends. My hon. Friend would form a very mean judgment of me if I were to treat those speculations as worthy of a single moment's notice. I pass from them to the main subject which is before us—a subject which we debated at length last year, and which we may very possibly have to debate again, but which at this moment it is not in our power to debate. We cannot enter fully into this question, and for what reason? Because, as we have stated frankly to the House, we are almost entirely destitute of such information in regard to the internal condition of Uganda and the transactions which have taken place there as alone could form a firm basis for us to stand upon in taking decisions, and announcing decisions, and recommending them to Parliament, which may deeply involve the interests of this country. I was struck

with the speech of my right hon. Friend the Member for West Birmingham when he said that he hoped that, whatever we did in this matter, we should not drift. I share that hope. We are determined, so far as depends on us, not to drift, and the best way of taking security against that condition of helpless drifting is to refuse steadily to act until we are in possession of the *data* which will supply us with the necessary information. Moreover, I think until we have acquired those *data* there will be little or no advantage in entering upon a discussion which must necessarily be loose and superficial. In the speech which my hon. Friend delivered last year there was a multitude of presumptions and difficulties in regard to which our information is not such as to enable us to convert them either one way or another into certainties. The general dicta of my hon. Friend command a great deal of my sympathy. The question is the application of general dicta to a particular case in a remote country with which the time of our communication is counted, not by days or weeks, but by months, and where the whole stock of information that we have, being scanty, is of a partial and unauthoritative nature. It is totally distinctive from such authority as alone Governments can recognise and act upon, and this tends to increase the responsibility which we should incur were we to take any premature steps in the matter. I wish to express as exactly as I can the full extent of the difference between my hon. Friend and myself at this moment. Into what forms this question may develop itself hereafter it is impossible for me to tell. The Speech from the Throne distinctly explained to the House and to the country that we have sent a Commissioner of great ability to Uganda for the purpose of inquiring into the best mode of dealing with the country and for the purpose of examining into its condition. My hon. Friend's position, I understand, is this: "Consider all the transactions in Uganda as being now, once for all, absolutely at an end; close the book; say this is *res acta*; whatever may happen, we have no more to do with it in any shape whatever; we have no more concern with Uganda than we have with Kamschatka." I do not think that I can go quite so far in that direction as my

hon. Friend. A Charter has been given to the East Africa Company. But that Charter, my hon. Friend says, involves nothing whatever, involves no possibilities of obligation or responsibility on the part of this Government. I am very far from saying that it involves facts of obligation or responsibility, but I do say that before we can adopt the sweeping negative of the hon. Member we have to judge that there are matters to be examined and ascertained. This Charter, as my hon. Friend is aware, confers on the East Africa Company powers to govern, to make Treaties, to discharge all those high functions, and likewise places the exercise of those powers, in terms extremely large, under the direct control of the Secretary of State. It is not, I think, an unreasonable proposition that we should have authentic information, not merely *ex parte*, but some authentic and responsible information as to the mode in which those governing powers, those Treaty-making powers, have been exercised, and as to the mode in which that authority to control has also been put in practice before we can form a complete and conclusive judgment on those questions. There is another point on which I ought perhaps to say a word. Some time after we came into Office we found that the French Government were disposed to advance claims on England, not absolute but contingent claims, on behalf of the Roman Catholic missionaries. The contention of the French Government, as I understand it, has been this: that if in the course of the deplorable proceedings—and those who predict massacre in certain contingencies ought to recollect that something which may be called massacre has been happening under arrangements made by other parties—that if it should appear that those missionaries, especially those French subjects, had grievously suffered through transactions in which the Company was the representing agent, and not by their own fault, we should acknowledge in some shape or other, subject to future definition and fuller examination, some obligation to make good any injury so sustained. Looking at the question on international grounds, we have not felt that we could at once say that there is no such responsibility. Does not my hon. Friend see that unless he is

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prepared to say, "You are totally wrong, and you ought to have said to the French Government, whatever the terms of the Charter may be, whatever the proceedings of the Company under the Charter may have been, we disclaim all responsibility, and you may go and ask for indemnity where you like, but do not come and ask it from us." Unless the hon. Member is prepared to go that length, he will see there are matters in Uganda which it is not only prudent, but absolutely necessary for us, as well as we can, to probe to the bottom in order to ascertain whether any responsibility, and if so what responsibility, has grown up out of any proceedings taken in this country, and if there be a debt of honour incumbent upon us—I am far from saying that there is such a debt—we should meet that debt and satisfy it in the spirit of honour which directs all the transactions of this country. As to the claim of the French Government, I do not think I am making a *tu quoque*. On the contrary; as far as I understand the matter, I am quoting a proceeding of our predecessors for the purpose of expressing approval of that proceeding. I believe that what we are now doing with regard to the subject at large is what Lord Salisbury has done with regard to this particular, and apparently now, but at the same time claim of the French Government in respect of the Roman Catholic missionaries, especially the French subjects. We learned—I think about two or three months after we had been in Office—that a gentleman of his ability, a young man, but, I believe, competent from his qualifications to do his work—Captain Macdonald—who had been sent to Uganda for the purpose of making a survey of the railway, had at a later period received instructions from Lord Salisbury desiring him, at a point midway between Uganda and Mombasa, to proceed up the country and examine into the conduct of the agents and officers of the Company and of all others concerned bearing on the question with regard to the damages which may or may not have been sustained by the French missionaries. The question was, whether we should acknowledge that proceeding of Captain Macdonald, or whether we were to ask Captain Macdonald to desist. We took up the proceedings of Lord

Salisbury, and Captain Macdonald was instructed to proceed to fulfil the task which Lord Salisbury had laid upon him. We have not yet received his Report, and I am not certain in how many days or weeks it will be received. But I refer to the point in order to show how many matters of delicacy and difficulty are involved in this subject, and how unwarrantable and inexcusable it would be if we were by premature action to prejudice our own liberty or that of the House or the country with regard to any portion of what seems to be, on the whole, a complicated question. Whatever the country may be—limited in its relations, in population, limited in the actual extent of the British interests connected with it, yet when they come to be taken with the religious and secular interests of all parties, and the unhappy condition of the Company, which, after having undertaken a great task, has been obliged to recede, a situation of great difficulty—our duty is to put ourselves in full possession of the facts before we allow ourselves to be driven to a premature conclusion, or by a premature and anticipatory discussion we do anything to prejudice the future. My right hon. Friend the Member for West Birmingham referred the other night to the policy of occupation or annexation. That is a policy I need not say which we have not proclaimed, and with respect to which we have done nothing whatever, direct or indirect, to prejudice the future or to prejudice our own liberty. My hon. Friend asks me what was the state of facts with regard to the railway? I believe the state of facts with regard to the railway is that a survey has been made, and that the first estimate has been doubled, which is the regular and normal state of affairs, and it would not perhaps be hazardous to predict that the second estimate may be followed by a further addition before we are done with it. Nothing whatever has taken place except the survey. My right hon. Friend, it appears to me, invites us to adopt this policy of occupation, which means annexation, even at the very moment when we ourselves are declaring we have not sufficient information, and that we have appointed a person, whom we think a competent and able Commissioner, in order to ascertain and examine what course is the best course

to take. My right hon. Friend appeared to be under the supposition that Sir G. Portal had gone to Uganda as Administrator of the country, and to exercise functions of government. There cannot be a more complete mistake.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN (Birmingham, W.): I understand that until March 31st the administration of the country is in the hands of the British East Africa Company, and all I asked was what was to take place after their administration ceased, and until the Government came to a final decision.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: I understood the point of the question was what was to take place in the country after Sir G. Portal's inquiry was at an end, and it appeared to me the right hon. Gentleman thought that Sir G. Portal was to administer the country in the meantime. Sir G. Portal has from us no such commission, and the withdrawal of Sir G. Portal will create no such vacuum. You may say we ought not to leave the country without some administration. Well, when that battle comes to be fought, we shall fight it in common in the same ranks as right hon. Gentlemen and noble Lords opposite. I do not deny that certain disadvantages may arise from an interval of that kind. I do not at all deny—I think it very possible—that Sir G. Portal may unofficially and gratuitously, so to speak, be of use in transactions that may arise here or there while he is in Uganda. But Sir G. Portal has no commission as Administrator. Neither is there any commission of administration to follow. If we had made Sir G. Portal the Administrator of the country, our inquiry would have been a pretence and a mockery, for we should have come to a foregone conclusion. That I hope will be clearly understood. [*Opposition laughter.*] Gentlemen opposite are merry upon the matter. They do not understand it. If my language has been deficient in perspicuity I shall endeavour to the best of my poor ability to make a further effort to meet their extreme needs in any quarter where it may be needed. My hon. Friend has moved an Amendment which, it appears to me, does not deserve his own support. I will give him my reasons. He has not stated in distinct terms his disapproval

of our sending a Commissioner to inquire and supply us with what I may call responsible information. If he had been bold enough to grapple with that proposition, and said—"It is no affair of yours at all; you have no more business to send a Commissioner to inquire into the facts of Uganda than into the facts of the icy barriers at the South Pole"—I could have understood his Amendment. It seems to me that by failing to disapprove of this determination of Her Majesty's Government to send a Commissioner my hon. Friend thinks the act is unassailable. Further than that, what does my hon. Friend say? He hopes that Sir G. Portal will effect the evacuation of that country by the British East Africa Company in such mode as not to increase the responsibilities of Her Majesty's Government. Now, I say that we have not sent Sir G. Portal to effect the evacuation of the country, and here I retaliate a little upon my hon. Friend. I carry the war into his camp. I say that if we had sent Sir G. Portal for the purpose of effecting this evacuation, of prompting, guiding, and controlling the measures of the British East Africa Company in the evacuation, we should by that fact, which my hon. Friend by his Amendment asks the House to adopt, greatly have increased the responsibilities of Her Majesty's Government. I commend that to my hon. Friend, for he is the man of all others who ought to vote against this Amendment. Sir G. Portal has been referred to in terms of honour so far as regards his ability and character, but in terms which I feel bound to repudiate so far as regards his opinions and prepossessions. My hon. Friend thinks, and virtually said, that the question now at issue is annexation. On our part I entirely repudiate that allegation. I say Sir G. Portal has gone freely in his own mind, as well as freely towards us, to examine into all the alternatives that may present themselves. These alternatives are more than one or two; but I do not intend to enter on them at this time. My hon. Friend says that the opinions of Sir G. Portal are known to be favourable to annexation. I stated the other night we did not know that my hon. Friend seems to have better means of knowing than we have. He

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says he can give us information, but he has not given us any. The information he has tendered is third or fourth hand information. I can only say that Sir Gerald Portal has himself sent a message to this country, and the terms in which he speaks of his information are incompatible with the idea that there is an atom of representation of his opinions in the reference of the hon. Member. Sir, I do not stand merely upon negative histories. Sir Gerald Portal has not been sent on this very important duty as a venture. He has been sent by a Government who before they sent him had been placed by him in full possession of his views—I mean of his general views, the general spirit with which he would approach the task—and it is because we were satisfied these were views which entitled him to confidence, and that he was the best man to give assistance in a most difficult task, that we selected him to discharge duties that must undoubtedly be difficult under all circumstances, and as to which any act of carelessness or of misjudgment would render almost hopeless. I apologise to the House that I cannot enter into the multitude of topics of a most interesting character that could be dealt with in a Debate of this kind, or that I cannot say anything to lead hon. Gentlemen to the point at which they can say, "Now we see our way; now we have clear ground before us, a well-defined path, and we have nothing to do but to travel along it." At the present moment I am obliged to speak on insufficient information. But I am able to say, in conclusion, that no one has shown that better steps could have been taken for the purpose of bringing our information to efficiency, and for the purpose of arriving at a most clear judgment in a difficult matter, without forming which we should not be justified in recommending a policy to the House.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR (Manchester, E.): I do not propose to intervene in the domestic quarrel between the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down and the hon. Member for Northampton; nor do I mean to make a speech on the subject of Uganda. But I do think it necessary, after what has fallen from the right hon. Gentleman, to press him upon a most important point which has been

pressed on him in this Debate, and on which, after all, he has returned no answer whatever, good, bad, or indifferent. The right hon. Gentleman is a master of safe phrases; phrases that can under no possible circumstances at any future time be turned against him; phrases the full meaning of which it is perhaps difficult to grasp at the moment, but which, whether easy or difficult to grasp, cannot by any ingenuity be brought home to him at any later stage of a controversy, or at any future development of the question we have to discuss. Now, the right hon. Gentleman was asked by myself on the first night of the Debate, and by the right hon. Member for Birmingham on the second night, what provision, if any, the Government contemplated making after Sir Gerald Portal's mission was accomplished. We are told in the Speech from the Throne that Sir Gerald Portal is to be supported by material force. He is to go up to this country, having behind him a force adequate to support the dignity of the Empire. He will make an inquiry lasting over weeks or months. When the inquiry comes to an end, and when Sir Gerald Portal returns to his duties at Zanzibar, what provision, if any, do the Government propose to make for the administration of the affairs of Uganda until they shall have had time to discuss and decide upon the permanent settlement which they propose to adopt in that country? That was the question that was asked. Has any answer been received to it? ["No."] Neither in the first speech which the right hon. Gentleman made upon this subject, nor in the second speech which he has just delivered, has he given any answer whatever to that question. He tries to shelter himself under theegis of the late Government, anxious, at all events, to show how carefully he follows out their policy. He has told us that when the late Government left Office they had no plan, and he leaves it to be inferred that that justifies him in having no plan himself. But the right hon. Gentleman should remember the dates affecting this case. Our desire with regard to Uganda was that it should be administered by the Company, and we really felt that it would be difficult to administer it by the Company or by anybody

else unless the railway was constructed, and we desired to see the railway constructed. That was an essential part of our policy. As I understand, the right hon. Gentleman does not commit himself to the railway, and, as far as he has alluded to the railway at all, he has alluded to it in disparaging terms, and therefore if he desires to retain any Imperial control over Uganda he evidently contemplates doing so without the assistance of a railway, a task which is undoubtedly one of great magnitude and difficulty. Our policy, at all events, was the railway and the Company. Shortly before we left Office it became quite clear that the Company could not carry on their duties—in fact, the Company declared that they could not carry on their duties—and we had no power to compel them to do so. A question was put to me on this subject on June 16th by a gentleman whose decease we all deeply regret—Sir W. Barttelot. On June 16th, which was the day on which the date of the Dissolution of Parliament was announced, I gave this answer—

"I have to say that I believe the Company have sent instructions to their agents to retire from Uganda at the end of the year. The Government have not, as I understand the matter, any power to compel them to stay, but it must be borne in mind that the withdrawal of the Company's officers by no means implies the abandonment of the country. . . .

I may remind my right hon. and gallant Friend that in our opinion the proper way to maintain our position in Uganda is to construct a railway to the eastern shore of Lake Victoria Nyanza; that the surveys are being rapidly proceeded with, and would so far seem to show that the prospect presents no engineering difficulties."

I was then asked by Colonel Barttelot whether he was to understand that it was the intention of the Government to maintain the sphere in which Uganda was situated, and I replied—"I apprehend there is no intention of altering the sphere of British influence." That was the policy of the late Government as stated on June 16th; and because of that date, which, as I said before, was the date of the Dissolution of Parliament immediately after the Company had announced their intention to depart, we produced no policy dealing with the country after the Company had left. Therefore, apparently, the right hon. Gentleman considers that he, after six

months of Office, is also absolved from having any policy upon this all-important question. Had we remained in Office until the present date, we should, of course, have made up our minds what policy was to be pursued, and we should be prepared to state to Parliament what that policy was. I fully allow that the right hon. Gentleman has a right—it is, perhaps, his duty—to send up Sir Gerald Portal to make investigations into the condition of Uganda and into the various policies which might, in his opinion, be with advantage pursued in that country. But that does not absolve the Government from endeavouring to make up their minds as to what they mean to do when this officer, who is sent up for purposes of investigation alone, leaves the country and comes back to report. What are you going to do in the interval between his making that Report and your making up your minds what to do upon it? That question has been put two or three times in clear and specific language to the Government. It was put by myself in the first place, it was put by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham in the second place, and it has been put by others speakers on this side of the House at a later stage of the Debate. No answer whatever, except what we have obtained from ambiguous utterances of the hon. Member below the Gangway, has been vouchsafed to us by the Government. Are we to infer from that silence that the Government have not yet made up their minds? Surely, that is the very drifting against which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham warned the Government, and against which the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister declared he was on his guard. And yet it appears that, with all these facts before them, and with all their knowledge of the difficulties of the situation, the Government are content to send out an armed investigator, and to make no preparations, no arrangements, and no forecast of the difficulties which are to ensue when that investigator shall have left the country. I do ask the Government to give us some indication both as to what their policy is when Sir G. Portal shall have left the country, and as to what are the instructions they have given to him in the meanwhile.

Mr. A. J. Balfour

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: You will see on Monday.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Is the Debate to close to-night, or to go over to-night? If it goes over to-night, the reply of the right hon. Gentleman that we shall see the instructions on Monday is a pertinent and relevant reply; but if the hon. Member below the Gangway is going to withdraw his Amendment to-night, and if we are to have no further means of questioning the Government on this legitimate and Constitutional opportunity, then we have a right to demand from one of the right hon. Gentleman's Colleagues who has not already spoken on the Amendment what is the general substance, the broad tenour, of the instructions given to Sir Gerald Portal, and what are the plans of the Government for dealing with the country when Sir Gerald Portal has left it.

*THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir W. HARCOURT, Derby): I think it extremely easy to answer the question of the right hon. Gentleman as to what course we shall take after Sir G. Portal has made the inquiries he is commissioned to make. That course depends upon what he reports to us. Either you are to inquire to some purpose or you are not. Are you going to determine before you receive that Report what you will do when the inquiry is made? It is impossible to conceive that you could take any other course.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not wish to interrupt, but that is exactly what I did not ask. I asked, What is to be done between the conclusion of Sir G. Portal's Mission and the time when you choose to make up your minds as to what is to be done? That is all I ask.

SIR W. HARCOURT: The right hon. Gentleman comes from north of the Tweed, and I will give him an answer after the manner of his own country and that is, by asking him a question. What did you intend to do to Uganda between the time when the Company had retired, which they were with your consent to do in December last, and the making of the railway? When you were asked in this House what your policy was in Uganda when the Company retired you said, "Our

policy is to make the railway." What where you going to do during the three or four years between the evacuation by the Company and the making of the railway? That is the thing you were asked. That question was put in June last to Lord Salisbury in the House of Lords, and he refused to give a reply. Now, the right hon. Gentleman has spoken of the relations of the late Government to the Company—he said that the Company could not hold its own. That is true. The Company gave notice to the late Government that they were going to evacuate last year—the first notice to evacuate, in fact, was given the year before. When these Papers are produced (and I am entitled to refer to them as they are going to be produced at once), the House will find that the late Government simply accepted the notice of evacuation without a single word to the Company, or to anyone, of what they were going to do when the Company left. They received a second notice in last May, intimating that the Company were going to evacuate on the 31st December. They accepted that notice in a simple letter, without any intimation that they were going to do anything, or what they were going to do on the evacuation. They left matters in that position when they quitted Office in August. The Company was going to evacuate on the 31st December. It takes three months to communicate with Uganda, and the position of the late Government was this, that they had made no provision for what was to take place when the Company left Uganda. That was the position they occupied. That is not the position we occupy. We were informed that there would be danger to the people in Uganda unless some precautions were taken in order to facilitate evacuation, and upon that information we requested the Company—a request the late Government never made—that they would continue occupation until the evacuation was safe. That is the difference between our conduct and theirs. They accepted evacuation without a word, without a measure, without a plan, without any intimation of what they were going to do, except that in four years' time a railway would be made to Uganda. These are gentlemen who come and ask

"What are your plans?" What were your plans? What did you contemplate was going to happen when the Company, whose proceedings you dismissed with the silence which I daresay they deserved, left Uganda? The Company said, "We are going," and the late Government said, "Then, good bye." They did not say—"What are you going to do when you leave, what is going to be the condition of the missions, or of the slave trade, or what is going to be the condition of anything at Uganda?" They simply said, "Take your departure," and nothing more. That is what you will find when you read these Papers. The Chancellor of the Exchequer shakes his head. [*Laughter.*] [The Chancellor of the Exchequer was here referring to Mr. Goschen who had been Chancellor of the Exchequer in the late Government.] Let him tell us what more there is in these Papers, and then we will judge by the Papers when they appear. Let him say whether there is a single word on the record which shows that when the late Government said "We accept your evacuation" they suggested for a moment anything in the nature of an interim occupation by themselves, or that they took any measure whatever for such an occupation. That is the position of the late Government. That is not the position we have taken up. We have made a provision up to March next in order that the dangers of evacuation in December should not accrue. The late Government made no such provision. We have made provision to inform ourselves as to the condition of Uganda, and until that information is given us we will not bind the country to any such policy as that which the late Government now pretend they had, and which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham wishes us to adopt. Let me correct myself. I stated that the late Government had said nothing more to the Company except that they should take their departure. There was one thing more, perhaps, and that was what the Chancellor of the Exchequer was thinking of. [*Renewed laughter and cries of "The late Chancellor of the Exchequer."*] The Company had proposed that they should leave arms behind them for their friends and a constant party to defend themselves

with, and the late Government said, "Don't leave your arms behind you for such a purpose."

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: Speaking for myself, I can honestly say I desire that this question, which at present, I believe, divides not only the two sides of the House but different Parties in the House, should not be treated as a Party question. I care very much more for what, at all events, I believe to be the true interests of the country than I care for any of Party game in the matter. And I confess that while I make absolutely no complaint of the tone and spirit of the argument and observations of my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister, I regret very much the recriminatory tone in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer has just spoken. I agree with the Prime Minister that the discussion which has been raised by the hon. Member for Northampton is a little premature. No doubt the Party in this House which the hon. Member for Northampton represents—and I am sorry he is not going to divide that we may see how numerous it is—has determined, without any fair information or inquiry, that Uganda ought to be immediately abandoned. Well, Sir, there is another Party in this House with which I have already identified myself, and which I believe is more numerous than the Party of the hon. Member for Northampton, which believes that it already has information enough to justify it in coming to the conclusion that Uganda ought to be retained. But between these two Parties we have the Party led by the Government, who tell us, in the words of the Prime Minister, that they are destitute—they frankly say, I admit, that they are destitute—of information which would form the basis of a safe judgment. We cannot get over that, and under these circumstances I do not see for a moment how we can dispute their right to make a full and careful inquiry in order that, with all knowledge in their possession, they may come to a right decision. I for my part make no complaint of the mission of Sir G. Portal. But the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby is entirely incorrect in imputing to me, as he did just now, that I desire to commit the Government prematurely to any policy one way or the other. They

Sir W. Harcourt

say they are ignorant; I cannot contradict them. I am perfectly willing that they should be educated. They have a perfect right to inform themselves upon the question, but they have no right to prejudge the matter, and that is what they are doing. Now we have the information we have vainly attempted to gain during the last two days' debates—we have the information from the mouth of the Prime Minister that they have made no preparation whatever for the state of things which will arise when the evacuation by the Company takes place. And what says the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He indulges in recriminatory language, and says "you," that is to say the late Government, "made no provision." Granted, for the sake of argument. Does that make it right? I contend that on the evidence we have it is perfectly clear the late Government would have made some provision. But, grant that they did not and were guilty of the inconceivable folly that the right hon. Member for Derby attributes to them of proceeding to make a railway at the expense of £3,000,000 through a country that might be hostile to a country, and taking no steps to secure peace in either country—grant that they were so foolish as that, does the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby mean to tell us he is going to be equally foolish? They are no longer responsible. You are. Now, let me again point out this state of the case. Here we have a Mission accompanied by some 220 armed men, composed of a few Englishmen and 200 natives, and if that force is considered adequate to protect the honour of England, I draw the conclusion that the protection of our interests in Uganda is not so difficult as the hon. Member for Northampton seems to think. I do not dispute that the Government have taken sufficient precautions to protect the Mission. The Mission will get to Uganda as the evacuation of the Company takes place. As long as the Mission remains in the country the country will be peaceable. I have no doubt that the force of 200 men, led by Sir Gerald Portal, with such armed forces as there are in the country, will be sufficient to preserve the peace of the country. But when Sir Gerald Portal comes home there must,

then, necessarily be an interval—it may be of many months ; it must, of necessity, be at least four months—during which there will be no such force in the country, and you may, as I said last night, have a massacre such as has not yet occurred in that country. The Prime Minister, who I do not think has been directly informed on this subject, said I referred to massacres, and appeared to argue that something that might be called a massacre had taken place in that country. There have been two battles in recent times, but I am assured by those who have the best right to speak on such matters, because they were present at the battles, that the loss of life, however much we may regret it, was comparatively trifling ; and if you look at the results which these battles secured, I believe the loss of life will be looked upon as inconsiderable. These battles have secured the absolute peace of the country. At the present time the country is perfectly safe under the advice and guidance of the officer who has been left in charge. Is all that to be destroyed when the evacuation takes place ? I am not putting this question in any hostile spirit, but I do ask again, is it possible that you are going to allow a state of anarchy, and possibly a public massacre, to ensue from the moment the Commissioner leaves the country ? If so, his report will be a dead letter, and any recommendation he may make for the retention of the country can then only be carried out by sending an enormous expedition to the country, at an immense cost.

MR. GOSCHEN (St. George's, Hanover Square) : I see no symptom of any right hon. Gentleman rising from the opposite Bench to answer the question put to the Government. One question is this—and I venture most humbly to put this point once more to right hon. Gentlemen opposite—will they, before this Debate closes, tell us whether Sir Gerald Portal has any instructions with regard to making any arrangements on his departure to secure the administration of the country, or for taking any measures necessary to secure the peace of the country when he departs.

SIR W. HARCOURT : I said that he will make his own arrangements.

MR. GOSCHEN : Then he has power to make arrangements for the interval ? Has he that power or not ?

SIR W. HARCOURT : I do not know what the interval is.

MR. GOSCHEN : The interval is the time between the time of his departure from Uganda and the time that the Government will make up its mind as to the course that must be taken in the matter, and what we wish to know is, Has Sir Gerald Portal got instructions which will enable him to make arrangements for the temporary administration of the country when he departs, and if the officers of the Company have then also left ? We hold in the strongest way that we have a right to an answer to that question. The Chancellor of the Exchequer is the last person who I should have thought would forget that he is in Office, and yet he retained to-night both the manner and doctrines of a Member in Opposition. He seemed to think that we were still in Office, and he once or twice called me the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He has charged me with indulging in *tu quoques*. But when he and his colleagues in the Government are responsible, is it enough to ask what we should have done if we were in Office ? Were we in Office we should have felt the responsibility. We now put it on the Government. Had the Chancellor of the Exchequer attended to the quotations that were read by my right hon. Friend (Mr. A. J. Balfour) he would have known that on the 16th of June my right hon. Friend distinctly announced to the House that the retirement of the Company did not mean, in the opinion of the Government, the abandonment of Uganda. Could a stronger declaration be made of the views and sentiments of the Government on the eve of a General Election ? I put it to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Would it have been right, under the circumstances, when a General Election was about to take place, to pledge the Government of the day to a more decided plan ? I think we should have been wrong if we at that time attempted to commit Parliament and the country to a course which we should not have been responsible for carrying out, and, therefore, we put no definite plan before the country in regard to Uganda. But every

phrase, every sentiment which we uttered, showed that we should have felt the immense responsibility entailed upon us at that time had we come back to power. The Government have increased their responsibility in this respect by the step—possibly the wise step—they have taken in sending Sir Gerald Portal to Uganda. Will the right hon. Gentleman tells us, is it the policy of the Government that Sir Gerald Portal should come away from Uganda, the Company having previously retired, and then allow events to take their course?

SIR W. HARCOURT: How can we tell you that?

MR. GOSCHEN: Well, you can tell us this. If Sir Gerald Portal believes that there is danger to the communities and to the missionaries, will he be empowered to leave his force there while he returns home to make his Report, and to make temporary arrangements with the authority of the Government for carrying out the administration of the country?

SIR W. HARCOURT: No doubt he will.

MR. GOSCHEN: The right hon. Gentleman says "No doubt he will." Then, at last, we have extracted information from the Government. Then this Debate has not been fruitless. I am glad the Government have given a free hand to Sir Gerald Portal. The right hon. Gentleman knows that the Debate has not been raised by us, and that we are anxious to support the policy of the Government in despatching Sir Gerald Portal to Uganda. We know now that after Sir G. Portal has left Uganda in order to make his Report, he has received powers from the Government to make arrangements for the temporary administration of the country.

SIR W. HARCOURT: I never said anything of the kind.

MR. GOSCHEN: I am anxious not to misrepresent the right hon. Gentleman. I think he said Sir Gerald Portal would have to make his own arrangements. Does the right hon. Gentleman admit those words?

*SIR W. HARCOURT: I understood the right hon. Gentleman to ask me whether, if the occasion arose when it would not be safe for Sir G. Portal

Mr. Goschen

to go away with his force, he would have the power to keep the force there for the purposes of safety. I said he had. That is a very different thing from making arrangements for the administration of the country.

MR. GOSCHEN: I do not in the least wish to press the Government, to whom we are grateful for the attitude they have taken in this matter, looking to their rather questionable antecedents; and we are only anxious that they should not, under the pressure of hon. Members below the Gangway, in any way diminish the influence of this action by any demands that might arise as to the position in Uganda before Sir G. Portal returns. There must be no misunderstanding on this point. I think those of us who take an interest in the security of the position in Uganda are entitled to a distinct declaration of policy of the Government in this matter. I understand—and I should be corrected if I am wrong—that Sir Gerald Portal has, however, not to take over the administration of the country, during the absence of the British officer, but to make the arrangements; that he has got distinct instructions in this direction—

"You are going on a Mission of Inquiry to Uganda. The Company have told us they propose leaving in a short time. That retirement of the company and your departure together might produce a disastrous effect upon the various parties in Uganda. Consequently, you have the power and the authority of the Government, and you will have the support of the Government, in making the necessary arrangements for the protection of all interests."

If the right hon. Gentleman or one of his colleagues can give us any assurance to that effect it will relieve the very considerable anxiety that oppresses many.

Motion made, and Question proposed,
"That the Debate be now adjourned."—
(*Mr. G. Wyndham.*)

Motion agreed to.

Debate adjourned till 7 o'clock next.

FOREIGN GOODS (M
(No. 2) BILL

SECOND R.

Order for Second R.

Motion made, and
"That the Bill be read
time."—(*Colonel*

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) : On a point of Order. Is this Bill printed ?

COLONEL HOWARD VINCENT : It is printed. It has been before the House several Sessions.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. MUNDELLA, Sheffield, Brightside) : I have not seen the Bill, and therefore cannot agree to the Second Reading. I do not believe the Bill has been delivered ; it certainly has not come into my hands.

COLONEL HOWARD VINCENT : It has not been delivered, but it has been in the Vote Office all the evening. The President of the Board of Trade is acquainted with its provisions, for it is the same Bill that has been before the House for the past four Sessions.

MR. CONYBEARE said, that not a single Member he knew of had seen the Bill. The very fact that the Bill of such a notorious Fair Trader as the hon. Member had been before the House for four Sessions, and had not been adopted, was sufficient to condemn it as worthless. He strongly suspected the Bill was sustained by the Protectionist heresy, and he would, therefore, oppose its Second Reading.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Second Reading be deferred till Monday next."

Motion agreed to.

MOTIONS.

VOTERS' REGISTRATION BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Henry Hobhouse, Bill to amend the Laws relating to the Registration of voters in England and Wales, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Henry Hobhouse, Mr. Albert Bright, Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. Bolitho, and

read first time. [Bill 145.]

58 (SCOTLAND)

† Cross, Bill
table Secu-
ght in by
Corbett,

[146.]

CORPORATE ASSOCIATIONS (PROPERTY) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Howell, Bill for the better securing their Property to Corporate Associations, and for preventing the alienation of their Funds, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Howell, Mr. Barrow, Mr. Beaufoy, Mr. Benn, Mr. Thomas Henry Bolton, Mr. Cremer, Mr. Frederick Frye, Mr. Montagu, Mr. Pickersgill, Mr. James Rowlands, Mr. James Stuart, and Mr. Stewart Wallace.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 147.]

TRADE UNION PROVIDENT FUNDS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Howell, Bill to exempt from Income Tax the invested funds of Trade Unions applied in payment of Provident Benefits, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Howell, Mr. Arch, Mr. Cremer, Mr. Fenwick, Mr. James Rowlands, and Mr. John Wilson (Mid-Durham).

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 148.]

CORONERS' ACT (1887) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Thomas Lewis, Bill to amend The Coroners' Act, 1887, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Thomas Lewis, Mr. Bryn Roberts, and Mr. Alfred Thomas.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 149.]

MERCHANDISE MARKS ACTS (1887 AND 1891) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Bernard Coleridge, Bill to amend the Merchandise Marks Acts, 1887 and 1891, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Bernard Coleridge, Mr. Henry J. Wilson, and Mr. Howell.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 150.]

LOCAL AUTHORITIES (VOTING AND QUALIFICATION) (NO. 2) BILL.

On Motion of Sir Charles Dilke, Bill to amend the system of Voting at Local Elections, and to abolish Property Qualifications for Local Authorities, ordered to be brought in by Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Francis Stevenson, Captain Fenwick, Mr. Caine, Mr. Hopwood, Mr. Jacoby, and Mr. Matthew Fowler.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 151.]

RIGHTS OF WAY (SCOTLAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Buchanan, Bill to confer on County Councils in Scotland the power of maintaining and protecting Rights of Way, and otherwise to amend the Law relating to Rights of Way in Scotland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Buchanan, Dr. Farquharson, Mr. Donald Crawford, Mr. Shireess Will, Mr. Thomas Shaw, Mr. Wason, and Captain Sinclair.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 152.]

HYPOTHEC BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Cameron Corbett, Bill to effect the complete abolition of the landlords' right of hypothec for rent in Scotland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Cameron Corbett, Mr. Lochrane, and Mr. Cross.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 153.]

LEASEHOLDERS ENFRANCHISEMENT

(IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Dr. Kenny, Bill for the Enfranchisement of Leaseholders in towns in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Dr. Kenny, Mr. Clancy, Mr. Timothy Harrington, Mr. Field, Mr. Hayden, and Mr. John Redmond.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 154.]

CROFTERS' HOLDINGS (SCOTLAND) ACT (1886) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Dr. Clark, Bill to amend the thirty-fourth section of The Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Act, 1886, ordered to be brought in by Dr. Clark, Mr. Angus Sutherland, Mr. Weir, Dr. MacGregor, and Mr. Macfarlane.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 155.]

POST OFFICE (ACQUISITION OF SITES) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Arnold Morley, Bill to enable Her Majesty's Postmaster General to acquire lands in London, Liverpool, and Leeds for the Public Service; and for other purposes, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Arnold Morley and Sir John Hibbert.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 156.]

BUILDING FEUS AND LEASES (SCOTLAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Donald Crawford, Bill to amend the Law relating to Feus and Leases for Building in Scotland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Donald Crawford, Mr. Munro Ferguson, and Mr. Philippe.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 157.]

DAY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Donald Crawford, Bill to make provision for the establishment of Day Industrial Schools in Scotland, and to amend the Education (Scotland) Acts, 1872 to 1883, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Donald Crawford, Mr. James Campbell, Mr. Buchanan, and Mr. Munro Ferguson.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 158.]

MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS ACT (1882)

AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Sir Albert Rollit, Bill to amend The Municipal Corporations Act, 1882, ordered to be brought in by Sir Albert Rollit, Sir Julian Goldsmid, Mr. Roe, Mr. Beckett, Mr. Brunner, and Mr. Morton.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 159.]

LOCAL AUTHORITIES (VOTING AND QUALIFICATION) (NO. 3) BILL.

On Motion of Sir Charles Dilke, Bill to amend the system of Voting at Local Elections, and to alter the Qualifications for Local Authorities, ordered to be brought in by Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. John Wilson (Mid-Durham), Mr. Thomas Bayley, Mr. Byles, Mr. Brunner, Mr. John Burns, and Mr. J. H. Wilson.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 160.]

LEGITIMATION OF CHILDREN BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Walter M'Laren, Bill to alter and amend the Law by Legitimizing Children born before marriage on the subsequent marriage of their parents, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Walter M'Laren, Mr. Neville, and Mr. Bowen Rowlands.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 161.]

STATUTORY RULES BILL.

On Motion of Sir Albert Rollit, Bill for the publication of Statutory Rules, ordered to be brought in by Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. Hobhouse, Mr. Whitmore, and Mr. Arthur O'Connor.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 162.]

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES BILL.

On Motion of Sir Albert Rollit, Bill to amend the Law relating to Weights and Measures, ordered to be brought in by Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. Roe, Mr. Brunner, Mr. Stanley Leighton, Sir Henry Roscoe, and Mr. Chance.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 163.]

ADJOURNMENT.

Resolved, That this House, at its rising, do adjourn till Monday next.—
(*Mr. Murjoribanks.*)

House adjourned at Twelve o'clock
till Monday nex'

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 6th February 1893.

Several Lords—Took the Oath.

UGANDA.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

***LORD BRASSEY** said, he desired to ask the noble Lord the Secretary for Foreign Affairs a question of which he had given him private notice. It related to the situation in Uganda. There had been a good deal of discussion on the subject, but he thought several points were still far from clear. He was sure the House and the country would be glad to have a statement from the Minister most directly concerned. Before putting the question, he wished to say, as an act of simple justice to the East Africa Company, with which he was originally connected, that their object throughout in all they had undertaken had been primarily to suppress the Slave Trade and to promote civilisation within the territory assigned to British influence in East Africa. He asked the noble Lord what steps Her Majesty's Ministers proposed to take to secure the peace of the country within the sphere of British influence in East Africa after the retirement of the British East Africa Company?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Earl of ROSEBURY): My Lords, I have no difficulty whatever in answering the very simple question put to me by my noble Friend. Sir Gerald Portal has proceeded to Uganda to make a Report, in his capacity as Commissioner, for the district within the sphere of British influence in East Africa, on the best method of dealing with that country. He has, under that Commission, which will be found in the African Paper No. IV. of last year, ample authority to do all that may be required in the condition of things which the question of my noble Friend has indicated. Perhaps it may make the matter clearer if I read the actual passage from the Instructions to which I have referred. The paragraph begins by speaking of what will be the duty of Sir Gerald Portal within the territories which are under the administration of the Company; and it proceeds—

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"Outside those territories"—and that will be the position of Uganda after the 31st March next—"your position will be independent; in that portion of your district you should endeavour, as far as your opportunities go, to make British influence felt by the natives, to maintain peace and order, to develop legitimate trade, to secure the safe circulation of traders and travellers, and, generally, without undue interference with tribal government and native habits and customs, to pave the way for conferring on the natives the benefits of civilisation, which, on the suppression of the evils of the Slave Trade, should accompany the revival of prosperity."

Further, I may add that under Paragraph 8 of the instructions for his present Mission, which I trust will be in your Lordships' hands this evening, he has a free hand to act as he thinks proper. It will be seen, therefore, that in his capacity as Commissioner he has ample authority, and he has also an ample staff to support that authority.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: Would the noble Lord tell us the number of that staff—whether he knows what force is with Sir Gerald Portal?

THE EARL OF ROSEBURY: He has about 230 Zanzibari troops; but under his Instructions he has full power to take over any forces belonging to the Company, and therefore he has a perfectly free hand in that matter. I think, as the noble Marquess has raised the point, it may be as well to say that in sending this Mission we were well aware that we were sending a Commissioner into the heart of Africa without any specific means of communication with him except of a precarious kind by messengers, who may take three months to reach him. We therefore felt it our duty—and I am sure your Lordships will agree that we were right—to give him as free a hand as possible to do what he thought fit under his commission as British Commissioner, pending the composition and preparation of his Report.

TRIAL BY JURY IN BENGAL.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

***LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY** asked the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India, whether he had sanctioned the abolition of trial by jury in seven districts of Bengal for 91 offences, including murder; and whether the subjects of European countries and citizens of the United States, accused of any of these offences, would lose jury trial? He said—

X

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

Judge of the 24 Pergunnahs to Mr. Lushington, Secretary of the Government of Bengal, in which he suggested that trial by jury should be extended to all the sections of the Penal Code and powers reserved to the Sessions Judge to hold any trial with assessors—

"I am of opinion, however, that trial by jury should be extended to all cases without reserve. The system is working very well, and I would much rather work with a jury than with assessors."

He would now give the opinion of the late Sir George Campbell, who, after having been Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, was for some years a Judge of the High Court of Calcutta, and finally Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, and who left India about 1876, and who in this country was a Radical, but who had been rather of an opposite frame of mind in India. After observing that—

"When unamalgamated classes are living together, trial by jury is sometimes not trial by Peers."

and that—

"When on an indigo question a native is tried by a jury of natives, or a European by a jury of Europeans, the impartial public may distrust the verdict as possibly more or less influenced by a class bias. Such a difficulty seemed to be felt not only in the Nuddler Sessions Court, but also in the Consular Courts of China and Japan."

He went on to write—

"On the other hand, I have a strong opinion, which is, I think, fully borne out by the Papers now before us, that if provision be made for exceptional cases, the use of juries is most valuable, both to improve and popularise the administration of justice, and as a means of socially and politically raising and educating the people. The experience which we have of the system in Bengal seems undoubtedly to show that it has succeeded beyond the most sanguine expectations. Therefore, I think that the proper remedy for the very few exceptional cases of wilful miscarriage which have occurred is to provide a special remedy for such cases, not to destroy or suspend the whole system either in all districts or in any district."

With regard to wilful miscarriage by juries, an English Judge told him a little time ago he had tried a case with a jury, at Allahabad, and that though the guilt of the prisoner was very clear the jury acquitted him. Some time after he met the foreman of that jury and asked him how they came to acquit that prisoner, and the answer was, "Because he was so badly defended." This case, however,

Lord Stanley of Alderley

would not tell for the Bengal Government, since all these jurors were Englishmen. The late Sir Rivers Thompson, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, has also left behind him a strong opinion in favour of juries. After observing that juries sometimes regarded themselves as Judges rather than as a jury empanelled to give a verdict upon the evidence, he wrote—

"The tenour of the above remarks will point, however, to one very favourable feature as regards the conduct of juries, and that is, that whatever liability to error there may be from their ignorance of their proper functions as jurors, the will and desire to do right and justice are very manifestly present. I can confirm this from my actual experience of the trials which have come before me. They are attentive throughout the trial to the whole proceedings; they deliberate most carefully when they have retired to consider their verdict, and have shown in many instances where points of law were involved, and they had, therefore, to depend entirely upon the directions of the Court, their anxiety not to be led into error by further applications for information on points of doubt and difficulty. I cannot, therefore, but express my satisfaction with the working of the system in the past year. The presence of a jury in criminal trials has been of essential assistance to myself, and I am convinced is regarded by the natives themselves as a safeguard against errors of judgment, and a guarantee that all the details in a case will be fully understood before any conclusion is formed. Whatever confidence a native may have in the strict and unswerving impartiality of the European Judge, I am not satisfied that he ever places the same reliance in his power to comprehend all the intricate details which are involved in a difficult case, where only natives are concerned; and it is just in these cases, especially where questions of caste and questions involving family disputes and native social life and manners are constantly arising, that a jury taken from the body of the community and intimately acquainted with the ordinary transactions of native life, are in the best position for giving most material assistance to the Court. I should be very sorry, therefore, if upon any considerations based upon less favourable Returns from other districts, it should be necessary to propose the general abolition of the system of trial by jury. I feel sure it will be a retrograde measure. . . . We shall find that the diffusion of the knowledge of the laws, in the practical administration of which they take so responsible a part, will produce a more intelligent attachment on the part of the natives to the Government under which they live."

It had been conceded on all hands that, whatever fitness there might be among the natives of India for the higher administrative posts, there were undoubtedly great numbers of them, and especially of Bengalis, who had filled judicial offices to the satisfaction of the Government; and if they were fitted for the high

office of Judge, why should they not, educated as they were, be fit for the office of jurors? There was another political reason which told against the action of the Bengal Government. It was said that about the same time that trial by jury was abolished in Bengal, the Emperor of Russia was also abolishing jury trials in Russia. It was an unfortunate coincidence that the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal had done that which might lead people in India to say that the Government of Russia was no worse than the Government of Bengal, or that the Government of Bengal was as bad as that of Russia, or to paraphrase the comparison made in Jamaica, and to say the Emperor of Russia and the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal are very much alike, especially the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. With regard to the statistics published in Bengal with the object of showing the failure of trial by jury, they showed a very small number of failures. They showed that in five years 1,489 cases were tried with the assistance of juries, of which 698 came under heads now withdrawn from juries. Out of these the Judge recorded his dissent from the verdict in 97 cases, or 13·8 per cent. In 62 cases, or 8·8 per cent., he referred the verdict to the High Court, under Section 307 of the Criminal Procedure Code; and in 34 cases, or 4·8 per cent., that Court revised or modified the finding of the jury. In the case of 791 cases which would still be triable by jury, the Judge differed only in 7·7 per cent. and referred only 4·1 per cent., while the High Court interfered with the verdict only in 13 cases, or 1·6 per cent., so that the practice of the Indian juries, or their acquittals, never approached the number of guilty men that it was proverbially said in England had better escape rather than that one innocent man should be condemned. Moreover, the percentage of convictions was much the same, whether the cases were tried with or without juries—in both cases about 65 per cent. Since the great meeting at Calcutta there appeared to be no doubt whether British-born subjects would or would not suffer by this notification and lose their right of trial by jury, though it had been asserted that Act 3 of 1884 placed them exactly in the same position as the natives. If they lost trial by jury they

would not like it, and as they retained it a wholesome check upon the administration of justice by civilian Judges would be lost. The opinion of counsel had been published to the effect that the subjects of European countries, such as France and Germany, and the citizens of the United States of America, would no longer be able to claim a jury. This opened a vista of future complications with those Governments. In conclusion, he must assume that the Secretary of State had not, and would not, sanction the retrograde step taken by the Bengal Government, which would be so opposed to his own principles and to those of his colleagues, and that he could not be guilty of the inconsistency which such sanction would involve after his noble Friend had advocated the admission of some mode of election for the Legislative Councils of India, when that Act was before the House. He would not detain their Lordships by referring in detail to his noble Friend's speech on March 6th, 1890, and he thanked them for the patient hearing they had given him.

THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL AND SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (The Earl of KIMBERLEY): The Orders referred to were issued by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, under powers vested in him by the Indian Criminal Code. They apply to subjects of European countries not being British subjects and to Americans. I am in communication with the Government of India upon the matter, and at their request I am waiting for a Despatch from them (which is on its way) before coming to a decision on the subject. My noble Friend has made a very interesting speech upon a subject of very great importance; but, in the circumstances I have explained, I am sure he will forgive me for not following him, because it would be extremely inconvenient that I should enter into the question at the present moment.

SWAZILAND.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF ONSLOW (in the absence of the Earl of BELMORE) asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies when he expected to be able, without public inconvenience, to lay upon the

Table any Papers relating to the affairs of Swaziland?

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (The Marquess of Ripon): My Lords, the last Papers relating to Swaziland which were laid before Parliament related to the occurrences of 1890, and they concluded at the time of the ratification of a Convention made in that year between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of the South African Republic. At the time of the conclusion of that Convention an undertaking was come to with the Government of the South African Republic, that at a period which is now rapidly approaching the British Government would be willing to receive from the South African Republic any representations which they might desire to make with respect to the administration of Swaziland, and to give them fair and considerate attention. That time being now approaching, Her Majesty's Government had felt it right, in fulfilment of the undertaking given by their predecessors, to empower the Governor of the Cape (Sir Henry Loch), if it should still be the desire, as I have every reason to believe it will be, of the Government of the South African Republic, to make representations to the Governor of the Cape upon this subject, to enter into communication with the President of that Republic. Under those circumstances, your Lordships will at once see that it would be impossible for me with propriety, on the near approach of negotiations with another Government, to lay before your Lordships the instructions which have been given to Sir Henry Loch for the conduct of those negotiations. Obviously that would be a course which would be likely to render those negotiations fruitless, or at all events much more difficult than they would otherwise be. Therefore, my Lords, I cannot undertake at present to lay those instructions upon the Table, but I have considered whether it would be in my power with propriety, as I am very anxious to give Parliament any information I can, to produce any Papers between the last Papers which were laid upon the Table between 1890 and the present time; but, my Lords, having carefully examined the matter, it appears to me that all that is material in those Papers is so intimately

connected with the negotiations which Sir Henry Loch is about to undertake, that it would not be desirable, and would place him in a less advantageous position than he would otherwise be in, if any of those Papers were at present to be laid before Parliament. Under those circumstances, I do not think that it is advisable that I should lay any Papers before the House.

LORD KNUTSFORD: I quite concur in what the noble Marquess has said, but I assume the House may trust to him to lay the Papers on the Table as soon as the opportunity presents itself consistently with the public interest.

THE MARQUESS OF RIPON: Certainly; that will be my earnest wish.

COMMITTEES OF THE HOUSE.

THE EARL OF MORLEY (CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES) moved the appointment of a Committee to select and propose to the House the names of the Five Lords to form a Select Committee for the consideration of each opposed Private Bill (Committee of Selection); and also that the Lords following with the Chairman of Committees, be named of the Committee:—

E. Lathom.	L. Colville of Culross.
V. Oxenbridge.	L. Kensington.

THE EARL OF MORLEY moved the appointment of the Standing Orders Committee; and also that the Lords following, with the Chairman of Committees, be named of the Committee:—

M. Bath.	L. Boyle.
E. Winchelsea and Nottingham.	(<i>E. Cork and Orrery.</i>)
E. Lauderdale.	L. Thurlow.
E. Lindsay.	L. Foxford.
E. Waldegrave.	(<i>E. Limerick.</i>)
E. Cardigan.	L. Colchester.
E. Belmore.	L. Wigan.
E. Harrowby.	(<i>E. Crawford and Balcarres.</i>)
E. Amherst.	L. Poltimore.
E. Camperdown.	L. Sudeley.
E. Wharnclyffe.	L. Belper.
E. Lathom.	L. Brougham and Vaux.
E. de Montalt.	L. Houghton.
V. Sidmouth.	L. Hartismere.
V. Gorlon.	(<i>L. Henniker.</i>)
(<i>E. Aberdeen.</i>)	L. Sandhurst.
V. Hardinge.	L. Fermanagh.
V. Oxenbridge.	(<i>E. Ernc.</i>)
L. Carrington.	L. Monk-Bretton.
(<i>L. Chamberlain.</i>)	L. Sudley.
L. de Ros.	(<i>E. Arran.</i>)
L. Clinton.	L. Northington.
L. Zouche of Haryngworth.	(<i>L. Henley.</i>)
L. Balfour of Burley.	L. Colville of Culross.
	L. Kensington.

The Earl of Onslow

THE EARL OF MORLEY moved the appointment of Select Committee on the House of Lords Offices; and also that the Lords following, with the Lord Chancellor, the Lord President, and the Chairman of Committees, be named of the Committee:—

D. Richmond.	E. de Montalt.
D. Saint Albans.	E. Cranbrook.
D. Devonshire.	E. Ancaster.
M. Breadalbane.	V. Hartling.
(<i>L. Steward.</i>)	V. Oxenbridge.
M. Salisbury.	V. Cross.
M. Bath.	L. Boyle.
M. Ripon.	(<i>E. Cork and Orrery.</i>)
E. Waldegrave.	L. Foxford.
E. Mount Edgcumbe.	(<i>E. Limerick.</i>)
E. Belmore.	L. Colchester.
E. Harrowby.	L. Ker.
E. Bradford.	(<i>M. Lothian.</i>)
E. Camperdown	L. Rowton.
E. Stratford.	L. Colville of Culross.
E. Lathom.	

THE EARL OF MORLEY moved That a Standing Committee be appointed for the consideration of such Public Bills as may be committed to it by the House.

THE EARL OF MORLEY moved the appointment of the Committee of Selection for the Standing Committee; and also that the Lords following, with the Chairman of Committees, be named of the Committee:—

E. Cowper.	L. Foxford.
E. Stanhope.	(<i>E. Limerick.</i>)
E. Cadogan.	L. Colville of Culross.
V. Oxenbridge.	L. Kensington.
L. Balfour.	

JUSTICES OF THE PEACE QUALIFICATION

AMENDMENT BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to amend the law with respect to the qualification of justices of the peace—Was presented by the Duke of St. Albans; read 1^a; and to be printed. (No. 5.)

PUBLIC AUTHORITIES PROTECTION BILL

[H.L.]

A Bill to generalise and amend certain statutory provisions for the protection of persons acting in the execution of statutory and other public duties—Was presented by the Lord Chancellor; read 1^a; and to be printed. (No. 6.)

BILLS OF SALE BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to amend and consolidate the law relating to bills of sale—Was presented by the Lord Chancellor; read 1^a; and to be printed. (No. 7.)

SALE OF GOODS BILL [H.L.]

A Bill for codifying the law relating to the sale of goods—Was presented by the Lord Chancellor; read 1^a; and to be printed. (No. 8.)

STATUTE LAW REVISION (NO. 1) BILL [H.L.]

A Bill for further promoting the revision of the Statute Law by repealing enactments which have ceased to be in force or have become unnecessary—Was presented by the Lord Chancellor; read 1^a; and to be printed. (No. 9.)

House adjourned at five minutes past Five o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 6th February 1893.

QUESTIONS.

OPIUM IN BRITISH NORTH BORNEO.

MR. CAINE (Bradford, E.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if it is true that the import of opium into the territory administered by the British North Borneo Company has increased in value from 19,289 dollars in 1885 to 61,293 dollars in 1890; that in the same period the import of spirits has increased from 14,478 dollars to 100,436 dollars; that the proportion of Europeans to Asiatics is in the proportion of 245 to 120,000; if so, what action does the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs propose to take to protect the Asiatic populations in this territory from demoralisation by these increasing imports of narcotics and intoxicants; and will he lay upon the Table of the House the Proclamation of the Company, No. 1, of 1891, restricting the sale of bhang?

*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir E. GREY, Northumberland, Berwick-on-Tweed): The figures are correctly stated in the question. I am informed, however, that the general imports (excluding opium and spirits) have also risen from 614,551 dollars to 1,856,360 dollars, and that the rise in opium and

spirits is due, not to any increased consumption by the natives, but to the fact that the Chinese population has grown from 2,000 in 1885 to 7,156 in 1890. The sale of opium and spirits is regulated in the Company's territory, on the same lines as in the Crown Colonies of Singapore and Hong Kong, and under the circumstances there does not seem to be any ground for interference on the part of the Secretary of State. I shall be happy to show the hon. Member a copy of the Proclamation as to the sale of bhang.

HOOK-SWINGING IN MADRAS.

MR. CAINE: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India if any steps have been taken by the Government of Madras to suppress the recent revival of public self-torture by religious enthusiasts; especially that of the hook-swinging festival which has recently been established at Sholovandan, and which actually took place there 9th June, 1892; if he is aware that a full account of this festival appeared in the *Madura Mail* of 11th June, 1892; and whether it is true, as stated in that report, that Surgeon Major F. C. Reeves was at Sholovandan to examine one Chinaman, the person who was to undergo the hook-swinging, with a view to pronouncing him physically fit for the purpose; is Surgeon Major Reeves in the service of the Indian Government; and is it usual for Government servants to assist at such ceremonies?

*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (MR. GEORGE RUSSELL, North Beds.): The Government of Madras, while strongly disapproving of the practice of hook-swinging, have not thought it expedient to prohibit it, but they have for many years pursued with success the policy of discouraging it. The recent revival of the practice in the district of Madura has engaged the attention of the Secretary of State, and the Governments of India and Madras, with whom the subject is now under consideration. (2.) The Secretary of State has not seen the report in the *Madura Mail*, and has no information as to the alleged action of Surgeon Major Reeves, but he will make inquiry on the subject. (3.) Surgeon Major Reeves is in the service of the Government of India. (4.) The Secretary of State has

no reason to suppose that Government servants are present on such occasions, unless with the object of maintaining order and securing compliance with the law.

THE CLERICAL ESTABLISHMENT AT THE WAR OFFICE.

MR. COHEN (Islington, E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether his attention has been called to the fact that during the last 16 years no promotion has been made from the Second to the First Division of the Clerical Establishment of the War Office; and whether, having regard to the recommendations contained in paragraphs 11 and 118 of the second Report of the Ridley Commission, and to the presence of some 170 Second Division Clerks who are eligible for such promotion, under the conditions of their service, provision can now be made for filling vacancies in the First Division by promotion from the Second Division, instead of by direct appointment outside the service?

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, Stirling Burghs): Yes, Sir; my attention has been drawn to the fact stated in the first paragraph of the hon. Member's question, and I have given careful consideration to the position of the Second Division clerks in the War Office. I think the hon. Member is mistaken in the inference he appears to draw from paragraphs 11 and 118 of the Commissioners' Report, and he will find an opinion plainly expressed by them in paragraphs 53 and 54, which is directly opposed to that inference. The present condition of the War Office establishment is, I fear, not favourable to any immediate prospect of special selections from the Second Division for appointment to the First. The number of First Division clerks is still largely in excess of our requirements. That excess is in course of reduction, and the only addition that can be justified at present is the occasional introduction by open competition into the First Division of one or two younger men, in order to secure among its members the gradation of age which is necessary for the efficiency of such a body.

MR. A. O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether there are not several clerks in the Second Class at the War Office who

have already been recommended by their superior officers for promotion to the First Division?

*MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN : I am not aware of that fact, but I believe there are some who are qualified for the duties that might be entrusted to them. I have, however, explained the reasons why, in the present condition of the War Office, it is practically impossible for us to exercise that power of exceptional selection which the Commissioners recommend shall be occasionally exercised.

CLARE COUNTY INFIRMARY.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.) : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Government will give facilities for the passing of an Act to place the Clare County Infirmary under popular control, in the same way as "The Galway Hospital Act, 1892," placed the Galway Infirmary under the control of an elected Board?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. J. MORLEY, Newcastle-upon-Tyne) : The case of the Galway Infirmary was exceptional. A deadlock had arisen, and the infirmary was practically dying out. This necessitated the exceptional legislation referred to. No such exceptional circumstances exist in the case of the Clare Infirmary, and it would not, therefore, be practicable to consider its case apart from the other infirmaries in Ireland.

CROWN AND SESSIONAL CROWN SOLICITORS IN IRELAND.

CAPTAIN M'CALMONT (Antrim, E.) : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether, acting on the Report of a Committee in 1883, it was decided that, as opportunity offered, the offices of Crown and Sessional Crown Solicitor in Ireland should be amalgamated, and whether the then Law Officers of the Crown drew up rules for such amalgamation; whether the rules have been strictly adhered to since; why these rules have been departed from on the death of the late Sessional Crown Solicitor for Antrim; and what extra expense is incurred by the departure from the rules?

COLONEL WARING (Down, N.) : I may also at the same time ask the Chief Secretary if he will explain why, although in consequence of the Report of a Committee in 1883 it was resolved that, as vacancies occurred, the offices of Crown Solicitor and Sessional Crown Solicitor should be amalgamated, and rules were then drawn up to carry out such arrangement which have been (except in the recent case of the county of Antrim) observed ever since, the practice has been departed from on the occurrence of the late vacancy in the King's County, when Mr. Thomas Mitchell, Sessional Crown Solicitor, was passed over and a fresh appointment made to the superior office; were there any, and what, objections to Mr. Mitchell; and what additional expense will be involved by this fresh departure?

MR. J. MORLEY [The reply of the right hon. Gentleman was inaudible in the Reporters' Gallery.]

CAPTAIN M'CALMONT : May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether a rule was not laid down in 1883, by which, when the Crown or Sessional Crown Solicitor was over 65 years of age, it was directed the amalgamation of the offices should not take place?

AN HON. MEMBER : And was not that recommendation followed by a Treasury Minute?

MR. J. MORLEY : I will inquire.

CAPTAIN M'CALMONT : May I ask if the gentleman appointed for the County Antrim is the person who acted as election agent for the hon. Member for Kerry?

MR. J. MORLEY : I really do not know.

MR. SEXTON (Kerry, N.) : I should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman if I interfered in any way with this appointment?

MR. J. MORLEY : The hon. Member certainly did not interfere.

AN HON. MEMBER : In connection with this matter, may I ask if the right hon. Gentleman is aware that the former solicitor who occupied the office of Crown Solicitor for Antrim is 71 years of age, and that he was consequently over the age, and that made it impossible to amalgamate the two offices?

MR. J. MORLEY : May I appeal to you, Mr. Speaker, whether notice ought not to be given of these questions?

MR. SPEAKER: I must say that most of the supplementary questions put on this matter ought to have been given notice of.

ANTRIM DISTRICT LUNATIC ASYLUM.

CAPTAIN M'CALMONT: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland how long Mr. A. Hamill has been a Governor of the District Lunatic Asylum for Antrim; how many meetings of the Board have there been in the last three years; how many of these meetings has Mr. Hamill attended; and what was the reason for his recent removal from the Board?

MR. J. MORLEY: The gentleman referred to was not appointed by the Lord Lieutenant to be a Governor of Antrim Asylum for 1893 by reason of personal considerations, but on the general grounds on which His Excellency acted in constituting the Asylum Boards for 1893, which I have already fully explained to the House.

MR. W. JOHNSTON (Belfast, S.): Will the right hon. Gentleman say whether the gentleman named was passed over because he was a Unionist, although he was also a Roman Catholic?

MR. SEXTON: Was the gentleman named recommended by other local bodies?

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! These are supplemental questions of which notice ought to be given.

PENALTIES ON ANTI-VACCINATIONISTS.

MR. PICTON (Leicester): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to the Fifth Report of the Royal Commission on Vaccination, dated April 21st, 1892; whether he has observed that this Report was signed by every member of the Commission; and whether he is prepared to carry out the recommendations of the Report by amending the Law so as to abolish repeated penalties in respect of the non-vaccination of the same child, and to secure that persons imprisoned for non-payment of vaccination fines shall not be subjected to the treatment awarded to criminals?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. Asquith, East Fife): I propose

course of a few days, to introduce a Bill to give effect to the unanimous recommendations of the Royal Commission.

NAVAL PENSIONS.

MR. BOUSFIELD (Hackney, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether, in or about the year 1855, a Proclamation was issued stating in effect that all five years' men who volunteered for 10 years would become entitled under certain conditions to a pension of 6d. per day; whether he can lay upon the Table of the House a Copy of such Proclamation; and whether the terms of such Proclamation, as to grant of pensions, have been adhered to by the Admiralty in all cases; and, if not, on what principle have pensions been refused to those entitled to them under the terms of the Proclamation?

***THE CIVIL LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. E. ROBERTSON, Dundee):** No such Proclamation can be traced, but the hon. and learned Member perhaps refers to a Fleet Circular of June 14, 1853, in which a passage occurs that the Admiralty reserve to themselves a discretionary power of awarding pensions of 6d. a day after 10 years' service, to all men in or who may hereafter enter the Navy, whenever their Lordships may think proper to do so. This discretionary power has been very rarely exercised.

RICHMOND PARK.

SIR RICHARD TEMPLE (Surrey, Kingston): I beg to ask the First Commissioner of Works whether anything can be done to give the public better access to Richmond Park through the Clarence and Priory Lanes, which materially shorten the distance for persons coming from London?

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (Mr. G. J. SHAW LEE, Bradford, W. Yorks.): The road to Clarence Gate is a public road, and till lately the property of a person who has recently passed into the hands of Mr. Hugh. I have been to the road, and the Local Authority. This

will be a very good arrangement, and as soon as the road is open Clarence Gate will be opened.

CATHOLIC SOLDIERS IN IRELAND.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.) : I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he can state the number of Catholic soldiers in Ireland ; the number of Catholic teachers in Army schools in that country ; the number of Catholic children in Army schools in Ireland ?

***MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN** : The Returns show that, including the men on the permanent staff of the Militia, there are 7,000 Catholic soldiers in Ireland. As far as is known, there are five schoolmasters, 10 schoolmistresses, and 15 pupil teachers and monitresses teaching in the Army schools in Ireland who are Catholics. The religious persuasion of assistant teachers and soldier assistants is not known ; some, however, of the latter are specially selected as being Catholics. The number of Catholic children attending the schools is not known.

KILRUSH WORKING MEN'S CLUB.

MR. DANE (Fermanagh, N.) : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to a report contained in *The Times* of the 12th January, 1893, of a resolution passed at the Kilrush Working Men's Club (the Rev. Father Scanlan presiding), protesting against the way in which the police force of that town has been managed for some time, and the consequent increase of riots and outrages ; and whether any, and what, steps have been taken to put an end to this state of affairs ?

MR. J. MORLEY : My attention was drawn to the resolution referred to some days previously to the newspaper report mentioned in the question, and adequate notice has been taken of the conduct of responsible police officials on the subject. I may add that the occurrences referred to were the immediate cause of the strike which took place on the night of the 31st last, and that no further serious outrage has since been committed at Kilrush. The Sergeant of the Militia is primarily to blame for the disturbance of the night of 31st December, and the Discharge of the Magistrate

exonerated him from blame in connection with the occurrences, has been transferred to another station.

PLEURO-PNEUMONIA.

MR. CHAPLIN (Lincolnshire, Sleaford) : I beg to ask the President of the Board of Agriculture whether several cases of pleuro-pneumonia have been detected amongst animals landed from the United States of America in this country since the month of July ; and if he can state the total number of animals which were slaughtered by order of the Board of Agriculture in connection with the imports of Canadian cattle, amongst whom pleuro-pneumonia was discovered in October last, the number of different places, and the localities at which the slaughter was effected, and the amount paid in compensation ?

***MR. LENG** (Dundee) : At the same time, I will ask the right hon. Gentleman whether his attention has been directed to the serious injury which will be inflicted on the agriculturists in several large districts in Scotland if the importation of cattle for feeding purposes from Canada should be prohibited during the coming season ; whether he has received any representations from the Dominion Government as to the non-existence of pleuro-pneumonia in Canadian cattle ; and whether he can yet indicate what course the Board of Agriculture is likely to take on the subject ? I may also ask him in how many of the Canadian cattle slaughtered in Scotland pleuro-pneumonia was detected ; and whether the right hon. Gentleman is aware that eminent veterinary surgeons were divided in opinion, and that some asserted that such animals were not affected by that disease but by another which was not contagious ?

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE (Mr. H. GARDNER, Essex, Saffron Walden) : In reply to the first paragraph of the question of the right hon. Gentleman, I have to say that since July last 41 cases of pleuro-pneumonia, forming part of 18 different cargoes, have been discovered amongst cattle imported from the United States. With regard to Canada, the number of cattle slaughtered by order of the Board of Agriculture, in consequence of the discovery of pleuro-pneumonia amongst two cargoes imported from Montreal in October last,

was 1,394. These cattle had been traced to 79 different places in the Counties of Aberdeen, Banff, Elgin, Fife, Forfar, Kincardine, Perth and Ross. The amount paid in compensation was £18,130, but against this must be set a sum of £8,664 received for the carcasses, &c. Four diseased animals in all were discovered amongst those imported, a fifth being a home-bred animal, which had been in contact with one of the beasts brought from Canada. Doubts were expressed by veterinarians and others in Scotland as to whether the disease detected was contagious pleuro-pneumonia, but the verdict pronounced by my own professional advisers was unanimous and unhesitating. Immediately upon the discovery of the diseased animals inquiries were instituted by the Canadian Government, and I was assured that after the most exhaustive examination in every part of the country not a single case of pleuro-pneumonia was found to exist. I could not, however, resist the conclusion—although I confess I arrived at it with the greatest regret and reluctance—that the arrival of the diseased animals indicated either the existence of some centre of disease in Canada unknown to the authorities there, or some deficiency in the law relating to the importation of cattle into the Dominion, and this being so, I had no alternative under the Statute but to withdraw the privilege of free entry. I am aware of the strong desire felt in some districts of Scotland that the privilege should be restored, and I should be very glad to find myself able to give effect to those wishes. I cannot say, however, that there is as yet any such material alteration in the position as would justify me in doing so, but I shall give my most attentive consideration to any further representations on the subject which may reach me, either from the Canadian Government or elsewhere.

POLICE VOTES.

MR. WEBSTER (St. Pancras, E.) : I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he is aware that at several of the older police stations in the Metropolis the sleeping dormitories are not divided into compartments, and that the constables occupying them were, at the last Registration Courts, struck off the Register of Voters, and thereby disfranchised; and whe-

Mr. H. Gardner

ther he will take steps to remedy this for the convenience of the men, and also for enabling them to exercise the franchise to which they are entitled?

MR. ASQUITH : It is a fact that at the older police stations, which include some of the most important in the Metropolis, the dormitories are not divided into compartments. I am not aware to what extent the claims of constables to vote have been disallowed on this ground; but I am informed that the Revising Barrister at Hammersmith allowed the claims of 35 policemen, who slept in common rooms at the Hammersmith station-house, to be put on the Register in respect of a £10 occupation qualification. In all the new stations the men have separate cubicles, and the same arrangement is adopted in the older ones as they are from time to time rebuilt. But I cannot sanction the expenditure of public money in the making of structural alterations, which are not needed for reasons of administrative convenience or efficiency, for the sole purpose of increasing the number of Parliamentary voters.

ADVERTISING IN UNIFORM.

MR. WEBSTER : I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether his attention has been called to the fact that a custom has recently sprung up for men, in the employ of advertising firms, to parade in streets wearing the uniform of the various branches of Her Majesty's Army; and whether steps can be taken to prevent this form of advertising?

*MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN : We have no power to prevent civilians from dressing in travesties of military uniforms, but precautions are taken that disused Army uniforms shall not be worn. The contractors to whom disused Army clothing is sold are bound by their contracts not to resell it in the United Kingdom, unless so altered as no longer to be recognisable.

MR. WEBSTER : Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that in consequence of men being seen parading the streets of London in French military uniforms, the French Ambassador protested, and that in consequence the practice of degrading French uniforms was discontinued. Will not the right hon. Gentleman interfere in a like manner to protect English uniforms?

MR. HANBURY (Preston) : Are the contractors under penalties for infringement of the contracts in this respect ?

*MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN : I must ask for notice of that question. I was not aware of any protest as to the French uniforms, but I may remind the hon. Member that I am only responsible for British uniforms.

SCHOOL FEES IN IRELAND.

DR. KENNY (Dublin, College Green) : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in view of the loss of income sustained by the national teachers of Ireland, owing to the abolition of school fees, it is the intention of the Government to so increase the capitation grant as to make good the loss in income of which the teachers complain ?

MR. J. MORLEY : The Irish Education Act of 1892 provides £210,000 a year as a school grant, payable on the condition that in schools where the average rate of school fees received in the year 1891 was not in excess of 6s. per pupil in average attendance school fees shall be abolished. In any school, however, that had an average rate of school fees in excess of 6s. fees may still be charged, in so far that the average rate shall not in future be greater than the excess in 1891 over the 6s. per pupil. The total school fees, including the excess rate, received by the teachers in 1891 was £98,000, and in view of the amount of the school grant, which not only compensates for that possible loss, but adds £112,000, it is not possible to understand the reference in the question to loss of income. The capitation grant is only one of the forms in which under the Act the school grant is payable to each teacher.

THE IRISH NATIONAL TEACHERS' PENSION FUND.

DR. KENNY : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether there is any truth in the rumours that a deficiency has been found to exist in the Pension Fund of the national teachers of Ireland ; if so, what is the amount of said deficiency, and how has it arisen ; and whether the Government intend to make provision to meet it ?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Sir J. T. HIBBERT, Oldham) : Perhaps my hon. Friend will allow me to answer the question. The Report of the actuaries upon the Pension Fund of the national teachers in Ireland has been recently received and is under the consideration of the Treasury. When a decision is arrived at we shall be prepared to communicate it to the House.

DR. KENNY : Will the Report state how the deficiency has arisen ?

SIR J. T. HIBBERT : Yes ; it will go into that fully.

ALLEGED SCHOOL BOYCOTTING AT NEWMARKET-ON-FERGUS.

*MR. DANE : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the statement made by *The Times* Irish correspondent in the issue of that newspaper of the 2nd instant, that the national school at Newmarket-on-Fergus is at present being boycotted, owing to the refusal of the teacher to expel the son of an evicted farm caretaker ; that the children attending the school, to the number of 90, left in a body, and that their parents have intimated their intention of not allowing them to return until the caretaker's son has been expelled ; and, if such report be accurate, what steps Her Majesty's Government intend taking in the matter ?

MR. J. MORLEY : The school referred to is not at present boycotted, although I am informed by the constabulary that on the 24th and 25th ult. the pupils, or nearly all of them, withdrew from the school because of the attendance of the children of a caretaker, who, however, were not expelled from it.

MOMBASA-VICTORIA RAILWAY.

MR. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) : I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether all the Reports from Captain Macdonald, R.E., relating to the survey of the Mombasa-Victoria Railway, have now been received at the Foreign Office ; and whether they will be included amongst the Papers relating to Uganda which are to be laid upon the Table ; and, if not, whether it would be possible

to present all Captain Macdonald's Reports upon the railway survey together in one Blue Book?

*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir E. GREY, Northumberland, Berwick): The latest Report, which is the only one not yet presented to Parliament, is included in the Papers distributed to-day.

KERCKHOVEN'S EXPEDITION.

MR. J. W. LOWTHER: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he is in a position to give any information with respect to the expedition of the Congo Free State, under Lieutenant Van der Kerckhoven, which was reported to have entered the British sphere of influence in the neighbourhood of Wadelai; and whether the expedition still remains within the limits of the British sphere of influence, or whether it has returned?

*SIR E. GREY: We have been unable to obtain any reliable information as to the nature, objects, or results of this expedition. We do not know whether it ever entered the British sphere, nor, if it did so, whether it has advanced or retreated.

DAUGHTERS OF DECEASED BENGAL CIVIL SERVANTS.

MR. MACFARLANE (Argyll): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India if a Memorial has been received from the daughters of deceased Bengal Civil servants complaining that the pensions to which they are entitled of £100 a year in England are reduced when they reside in India to the equivalent of about £45, or 720 rupees; and if he can inform the House upon what principle and for what reason ladies residing with relations in India are deprived of more than half the pension paid for by their fathers?

*MR. GEORGE RUSSELL: The answer to the first question is, Yes. In reply to the second question, I have to inform the hon. Member that under the Rules of the Bengal Civil Fund there have been ever since 1804 two rates of pension for the daughters of deceased subscribers—namely, 720 rupees for residents in India and £100 for residents in Europe. It is upon these rates that the subscriptions of

deceased members have been calculated; and if either rate were to be raised the pensioners would be receiving more than has been paid for by their fathers, and the excess would have to be provided at the cost of the Indian taxpayer.

MR. MACFARLANE: In consequence of the hon. Gentleman's answer, I beg to give notice that I shall call attention to this matter in Committee.

SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM.

MR. WHITMORE (Chelsea): I beg to ask the First Commissioner of Works what has caused the delay in the erection of the new buildings for the South Kensington Museum, and when it is proposed to proceed with their erection?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: The new buildings at South Kensington involve a very large outlay of money—about £400,000—and in view of the many other public buildings in progress, which will cause a great increase to the Building Vote for the next financial year, the Chancellor of the Exchequer has found himself unable to include any amount for that year for the commencement of the South Kensington extensions.

MR. WHITMORE: But were not designs for the new buildings accepted?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I believe that the plans have been approved and are being worked out by the architect.

THE LABOUR DEPARTMENT.

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick's): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade upon what basis it is intended to form the proposed Department of Labour, and whether workers would be adequately represented thereon; and if it will include Ireland?

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. MUNDELLA, Sheffield, Brightside): The full particulars asked for will be set forth in a Memorandum which will be laid on the Table of the House.

CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION BOARDS.

MR. FIELD: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether the Government intend to promote the establishment of Conciliation and Arbitration Boards; and, if so, is it intended to secure some representation of labour on those Boards?

Mr. J. W. Lowther

MR. MUNDELLA : The answer to both questions is in the affirmative. Notices already appear on the Paper.

THE TRANSIT OF IRISH CATTLE.

MR. FIELD : I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether, in view of the many serious and continuous complaints respecting the condition of live stock caused by cross-Channel transit, it is the intention of the Board of Trade to inquire into the present system, and propose a remedy ?

***MR. PARKER SMITH** (Lanark, Partick) : May I ask whether, seeing that it is difficult to ascertain whether the injury to these animals occurs in Ireland or when at sea, the right hon. Gentleman will, in any enquiry, secure the co-operation of the Irish Departments concerned ?

MR. GARDNER : I am aware that complaints have at various times been made with regard to the arrangements for the transit of cattle from Ireland to Great Britain, but from the fact that no representations have recently reached me on the subject I had hoped that some improvement had taken place. The matter is one of considerable difficulty, but so far as lies within our power we are taking steps to remedy some of the more obvious evils, and I am considering whether further legislation on the subject is feasible. I need scarcely say that I shall be happy to receive and to consider any further information on the subject with which it may be in the power of the hon. Member to supply me. In reply to the hon. Member for Partick, if he will give notice of his question I will endeavour to answer it.

HOUSING THE WORKING CLASSES AT MULLINGAR.

MR. TUIE (Westmeath, N.) : I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he is aware that the Irish Board of Works have refused a loan to the Mullingar Town Commissioners for the erection of houses for the working classes under "The Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890," on the ground that the Commissioners are not an Urban Sanitary Authority ; and whether, having regard to the fact that Section 99 of said Act empowers any Town Commissioners, existing for paving, lighting, and cleansing, to take advantage of the Act, he will

direct the Board of Works to re-consider their decision in the matter ?

SIR J. T. HIBBERT : I am afraid I cannot add anything to the answer given by my Predecessor to a similar question on the 30th May, 1892, to the effect that the Board of Works are advised that they have no power to do what is asked. It is open to the Commissioners to apply to the Local Government Board to be constituted an Urban Sanitary Authority, under Section 7 of the Public Health Act.

BANKRUPTCY ABUSES.

MR. T. H. BOLTON (St. Pancras, N.) : I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether his attention has been called to a leading article in the *Daily Chronicle* of the 17th January last with reference to certain alleged abuses connected with the sale of parcels of book debts by Official Receivers in Bankruptcy ; and whether he will inquire into the matter, with a view to prevent such abuses in future ?

MR. MUNDELLA : My attention has been called to the article in question, and the matter is having my careful consideration. I shall be glad to have information of any specific instances in which it is alleged that undue hardship has arisen to debtors from the sale of book debts. Meantime, I am considering what steps can be taken to prevent the power of sale being used oppressively.

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE.

MR. FENWICK (Northumberland, Wansbeck) : I beg to ask the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education whether he is aware of the fact that children cannot be employed in coal mines until they have reached the age of 12, and that since the 1st of January of this year they cannot be employed in factories and workshops as half-timers until they are 11 years of age, but may, according to existing bye-laws, leave school at 10 if the requisite standard is passed, and whether the Education Department propose to take any steps to remedy this state of things ?

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Mr. A. H. Acland, York, W.R., Rotherham) : The facts mentioned in the question indicate a state of the law as to school attendance which is far from being satis-

factory, and to which attention has been called in many quarters, especially by the Trades Union Congress, with whose Parliamentary Committee the hon. Member is so closely connected. The law on the subject is complicated, and the remedies suggested, now that individual examination of standard children is no longer the rule, are somewhat various. I have already arranged for the appointment of a small Committee, with one representative from the Home Office, one from the Education Department, and one from the Labour Department of the Board of Trade, which will set out clearly the state of facts in its bearing on school attendance and child labour, and will also report on the exact conditions now in force in certain foreign countries which are much in advance of us in this matter. Their Report will be laid before the House. Meantime, in view of the Factory Act Clause mentioned in the question, which came into force on January 1st last, it would probably be well to lay down at once that no child under 11 shall be totally exempt from school attendance, whatever standard it may have passed. This is a very small step in advance; but as I imagine the House would be willing to take it immediately, I shall be prepared to introduce a Bill for the purpose.

MR. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.): Will the Report be presented to the House?

MR. ACLAND: Yes, Sir.

NEW LINE TO KYLEAKIN.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland whether the Government have agreed to grant a subsidy to the Highland Railway Company towards the cost of extending their line from Strome Ferry to Kyleakin; and, if so, whether the grant will be made upon the condition that the pier at Kyleakin shall not become the private property of the Highland Railway Company; upon what conditions generally the grant will be made; and whether, having regard to the great need of railway communication in the West Highlands, the Government will make a grant in aid of railway extensions to Ullapool and Aultbea?

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (Sir G. TREVELYAN, Glasgow, Bridgeton): The grant of £45,000 to

Mr. A. H. Acland

the Highland Railway Company, towards the cost of extending their line from Strome Ferry to Kyleakin, has been made on the condition that the money shall be paid on the line and pier being opened for traffic; and that, whilst the pier will be deemed part of the undertaking of the company, it will be subject to the provisions of that company's Bill as passed by Parliament. I am now in communication with the Board of Trade about the regulations which should be adopted with regard to the pier. The Treasury has not sanctioned any other grant in aid except that on account of the Kyleakin extension and pier.

IRISH LIGHTS.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin, N.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade what was the amount of the fund accumulated by the Dublin Ballast Board, when the control of that body passed in 1854 into English hands; and whether the fund referred to, although an Irish fund, was appropriated by the Board of Trade to the uses of the United Kingdom; and, if so, by virtue of what enactment?

MR. MUNDELLA: By an Act of 1853, the funds and revenues of Trinity House, the Commissioners of Northern Lighthouses, and the Port of Dublin Corporation, were, together with certain fees received by the Board of Trade, amalgamated and formed into the Mercantile Marine Fund. The net amount contributed to the fund by the Port of Dublin Corporation was some £78,924. The Mercantile Marine Fund, which is only responsible for the maintenance of general passing lights, took over the duty of completing the construction as well as the maintenance of certain Irish local lights. The cost of completing these local lights amounted to some £20,000, and the net cost of maintenance, after deducting the dues received, to some £3,780 a year.

LABOURERS' COTTAGES IN IRELAND.

MR. CLANCY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state the number of labourers' cottages in respect of which schemes have been adopted by the Boards of Guardians in the various Poor Law Unions of the County of Dublin, but which have not yet been erected; the dates on which the schemes referred to

were respectively adopted; and the explanation of the delay that has occurred in carrying the schemes into execution? I will also ask the right hon. Gentleman at the same time whether his attention has been directed to the delays incident to the working of the Labourers' Acts in Ireland; and whether he will take into his favourable consideration the propriety of giving facilities to a measure designed to put an end to those delays, if introduced by a private Member, or of introducing such a measure himself in the course of the present Session?

MR. J. MORLEY: I am informed by the Local Government Board that the number of cottages referred to is 120, and that the schemes were made by the Guardians in July and August of last year and, in respect of one division of the North Dublin Union, so late as January last. After the adoption of a scheme, the Acts; require other preliminaries to be gone through by the the Board of Guardians before the scheme, can be submitted for the approval of the Local Government Board, *e.g.*, advertisements have to be published, notices served on the owners and occupiers of the lands affected by the scheme. All this takes about three months. In the case of the Celbridge Union, although the scheme was made by the Guardians in July last, it has not yet been lodged with the Local Government Board, and in other cases in which schemes have been received by the Local Government Board dates have already been fixed for the holding of the necessary inquiries by their Inspectors. This latter observation applies to the schemes for Balrothery Union, and for two of the divisions of the North Dublin Union.

MR. CLANCY: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether, as these delays often extend to a year and a-half or two years, he will consider the propriety of amending the law?

MR. J. MORLEY: The delay more often than not is due to the Boards of Guardians rather than to the Local Government Board.

MR. T. HARRINGTON (Dublin, Harbour): Will the right hon. Gentleman say whether the scheme for the North Dublin Union was not adopted by the Guardians, whether the occupier of the land offered no opposition, and that the delay in advertising the scheme is

not due to the Local Government Board and the Board of Works?

MR. J. MORLEY: I have not the particulars, but I will inquire.

SWINE FEVER.

MR. EDWARD STANLEY (Lancashire, S.E., West Houghton): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Agriculture whether, having regard to the fact that pleuro-pneumonia has been so successfully dealt with and so largely diminished under the Act of 1890, he has any intention of introducing a Bill to enable the Board of Agriculture to deal with swine fever in the same manner?

MR. GARDNER: The conditions under which swine fever is contracted and spread are not identical with those which exist in the case of pleuro-pneumonia, and any measure for effectively dealing therewith would necessarily differ in several important respects from the Act to which the hon. Member refers. I am, however, very anxious to ascertain whether any more effective measures can be adopted for the prevention and extirpation of this disease, and I have accordingly arranged for the appointment of a Departmental Committee to consider the whole subject. Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice has consented to act as Chairman of that Committee, and I hope that the inquiry will not be a very long one.

THE IRISH COMMISSION OF THE PEACE.

MR. KNOX (Cavan, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will consent to the Return relating to the Commission of the Peace in Ireland on the Paper for this day?

MR. J. MORLEY: The Government have no objection to this Return.

THE NATIONAL BOARD OF EDUCATION IN IRELAND.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will lay upon the Table of the House a Copy of the Minutes of the National Board of Education in Ireland, having relation to the changes recently proposed to be made in the national system of education, with a Copy of the Correspondence.

dence between the Lord Lieutenant and the Secretary of the Board?

MR. J. MORLEY: As I said on Friday, subject to the approval of the National Board, the Correspondence will be laid on the Table.

DR. MCBRIDE'S ESTATE.

CAPTAIN DONELAN (Cork, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland what is the cause of the delay in advancing the purchase-money of the estate of Dr. McBride, Dungourney, County Cork, the sale of which, to the tenants, under the Ashbourne Act, was sanctioned nearly three years ago?

MR. J. MORLEY: The Land Commissioners report that the cause of delay is that the solicitor for the vendor failed to take the necessary steps to complete the sales, and that upon his being served on the 4th ult. with a notice that the cases would be dismissed for delay, he lodged the final schedule of incumbrances and the draft vesting orders. It rests with him to complete the proceedings and obtain the advances.

THE WRECK OF THE *EMILY*.

COLONEL WARING (Down, N.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he will lay on the Table of the House the Report of the Officer of the Commissioners of Irish Lights, who was sent by the Commissioners early last year to inspect the wreck of the *Emily* lying on Briggs Reef, off Groomsport, reported as a serious danger to the Groomsport lifeboat crew, and also to the local fishermen, in the discharge of their duties?

MR. MUNDELLA: If the hon. Member desires to move for the Report to which he refers, I shall offer no objection.

THE FALKLAND ISLANDS.

MR. MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies whether any steps have been, or will be, taken on the falling in of leases under which lands are held from the Crown in the Falkland Islands, to facilitate the purchase of these lands on reasonable terms by the inhabitants of the islands?

Mr. T. W. Russell

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. S. BUXTON, Tower Hamlets, Poplar): The Law Officers of the Crown advised that, on the falling in of Crown leases in the Falkland Islands, the lessees are entitled to a renewal of their leases for 21 years, unless the land is required for sale or for public purposes. The Secretary of State had, therefore, no power to modify the terms of the leases. But the Governor of the Falkland Islands has been instructed, if he is satisfied that there is a real demand for the purchase of land on the part of inhabitants of the colony, to reserve and put up for sale by auction suitable portions of land of which the leases have fallen in, with due consideration to all the interests involved.

THE RELEASE OF IRISH PRISONERS.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland the names, sentences, and offences of the prisoners released under the late Government, and the number of years they would still have had to serve?

MR. J. MORLEY: I would ask the hon. Member to defer this question until Thursday next, as the collection of the information required entails local inquiry and care in its preparation.

PIECE WORK IN GOVERNMENT DOCKYARDS.

MR. KEARLEY (Devonport): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether he is aware that in consequence of the reductions made in November last in the piece work prices paid to riveters and drillers in Devonport Dockyard, that each week since such reductions several men have been unable to earn sufficient to cover their weekly wages, and in consequence have been checked sums ranging from 1s. to 10s. per week; and whether he will advise the Admiralty to at once revert to the scale previously in force, and to refund to each workman such sums as have been deducted, so that he may not suffer a loss caused by the present scale of remuneration?

***MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON:** This question is one that affects all the dockyards, and from Returns obtained it appears the reduction in the piece-work rates has operated in a different degree at the various

yards. The matter is one which has been inquired into by myself and the Secretary to the Admiralty when recently taking evidence from the workmen, and I would ask my hon. Friend not to press his question pending a decision being arrived at on the general questions connected with the pay of the workmen.

THE ESSEX FISHING GROUNDS.

MAJOR RASCH (Essex, S.E.) : I beg to ask the Civil Lord of the Admiralty whether he is aware that mud, old iron, and rubbish are being daily discharged on to the Essex fishing grounds from Admiralty lighters off Sheerness, and whether he can state when this nuisance will be abated?

***MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON :** As the hon. Member has already been informed, steps have been taken to investigate the grievance of which he complains. A Report has just been received from Commander Tizard and Mr. Fryer, of the Board of Trade, who have held the investigation, and this Report will receive the early consideration of the Admiralty.

THE CONSUMPTION OF OPIUM IN INDIA.

MR. CAINE : I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India if he is aware that by a Resolution, September 25th, 1891, No. 4033, the Government of India

"Prohibited the smoking or the consumption of opium and its preparations in any other form on the premises ;"

that in Clause 6 of the Resolution His Excellency the Governor General points out that

"The adoption of this measure involves the risk of unlicensed places being established,"

trusts that

"Local Governments will adopt the preventive measures best calculated to minimise this risk,"

and expresses the hope that

"The orders should be brought into force everywhere on the first opportunity";

has the India Office received from the Government of the North West Provinces and Oudh a copy of a Circular headed "Confidential, No. 1 of 1892, D. 26," issued by T. Stoker, Esquire, Civil Service Commissioner of Excise, North

West Provinces, to all the Commissioners and Collectors of the North West Provinces and Oudh, stating that it is the opinion of the Board of Revenue that it is not altogether advisable that opium smoking dens should be suppressed, that—

"The known conditions of opium smoking render the maintenance of some common place for the consumption of the drug an almost absolute necessity, and no effort should be made to suppress such places, as it is better that they should be known, and thus be liable to supervision";

on what date did the Confidential Circular reach the India Office; and is it the custom for Provincial Governments in India to set aside, by Confidential Circulars to Commissioners and Collectors, the Gazetted Resolutions of the Viceroy and his Council?

***MR. GEORGE RUSSELL :** The passages quoted by my hon. Friend from the Blue Book of January, 1892, on the "Consumption of Opium in India," are given with practical accuracy. The Circular to which he refers has not been received from India. On the 23rd of November last my hon. Friend called my attention to the matter, and on the 25th of that month a letter was sent to the Government of India asking for information respecting it. No reply has yet been received. The answer to the last question is, No.

ALLEGED INSOLVENT IRISH UNIONS.

MR. DANE : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Poor Law Unions of Killarney and Skibbereen are in a financially insolvent condition; and whether, having regard to the previous history of those Poor Law Unions, it is the intention of the Government, through the Local Government Board for Ireland, to dissolve the present Boards and appoint Vice Guardians?

MR. J. MORLEY : The Local Government Board report that the Skibbereen Union cannot be regarded as insolvent, and that in Killarney Union, owing to the unsatisfactory progress made by the collectors, the Guardians have largely overdrawn their account with their treasurer. The Local Government Board do not consider that the circumstances of either Union are such at present as to render it necessary to take the

step indicated in the last paragraph of the question.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): Would it not be advisable, seeing the distress now prevalent, for the Board of Works to advance the necessary moneys to these unions free of interest?

MR. J. MORLEY: That requires consideration.

BRADLEY GREEN POST OFFICE.

MR. BILL (Staffordshire, Leek): I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether he has considered the Memorial recently presented to him by some of the inhabitants of Bradley Green, against the removal of the post office from the High Street; whether he is aware that the newly appointed Postmaster in that town is the local Liberal agent; and whether it is in accordance with the regulations of the Postal Service for Postmasters to take an active part in local politics?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. A. MORLEY, Nottingham, E.): I have received the memorial to which the hon. Member refers, and I have also received a numerously signed memorial in support of the proposed removal of the post office at Bradley Green. From the information at present afforded me, the position of the new Sub-Postmaster's premises appears to me to be sufficiently central to satisfy the requirements of the Department and the convenience of the public. I was not aware that the new Sub-Postmaster at Bradley Green was the local Liberal agent; but if he be so, he will have to give up the agency, Post Office servants, and especially Postmasters, being precluded by the regulations from taking an active part in politics.

ARMY PAY.

COLONEL BRIDGEMAN (Bolton): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether there is any intention of assimilating the system of conducting the finances of the Army serving in England to that which prevails in India, in which country the actual cost of distributing the pay and auditing the accounts is much more economically done, although the number of the troops is considerably larger?

***MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN**: The Army pay system has been recently reviewed, and the station organization

has been adopted with a saving of £20,000 a year. The conditions of the Army in India, which includes so many native troops, being entirely different from those of the Army at home, it is doubtful whether any advantage would follow from an attempt to assimilate their pay systems so closely as the hon. and gallant Member suggests.

THE STRANORLAR AND GLENTIES RAILWAY.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he has any objection to lay upon the Table a copy of the contract between the Irish Board of Works and the contractors for the Stranorlar and Glenties Railway?

SIR J. T. HIBBERT: I think it would be inconvenient to lay the contract in question upon the Table; but if my hon. Friend desires information on any particular point in connection with it, and will communicate with me, I will do my best to satisfy him.

SCOTCH PRIVATE BILL LEGISLATION.

MR. HOZIER (Lanark, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland whether the Government propose to deal, this Session, with the question of Private Bill Legislation for Scotland?

SIR G. TREVELYAN: The Government, having regard to the work they have already on hand, do not see a prospect at present of dealing with Private Bill Legislation for Scotland. If there proves to be a very general concert of opinion among Scottish Members, which would enable a Bill on the question to be virtually an unopposed measure, the Government would be glad to favourably consider the matter.

BELFAST AND THE IRISH LIGHTS BOARD.

MR. WOLFF (Belfast, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in consultation with the Board of Trade regarding the appointment of a representative of the Dublin Corporation on the Irish Lights Board, he will also take into consideration the claims of Belfast to be similarly represented by a member of the Harbour Board?

Mr. J. Morley

DR. KENNY : I may also ask the Chief Secretary whether his attention has been directed to a letter addressed by the High Sheriff of Dublin to the Dublin Corporation regarding the exclusion of the official representatives of the Dublin Corporation from the Committees of the Irish Lights Board ; whether he has received from the Corporation of Dublin a communication regarding the representation of the Dublin Corporation upon the constitution of the Irish Lights Board ; and whether it is the intention of the Irish Government to consult with the Board of Trade with a view to giving effect to the suggestions of the Dublin Corporation ?

MR. J. MORLEY : So far as I am aware, neither the Irish Government nor the Board of Trade have a voice in the constitution of the Irish Lights Board, which is regulated by statute, nor in the constitution of their committees.

THE NEWFOUNDLAND FISHERIES.

SIR CHARLES DILKE (Forest of Dean) : I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether, looking to the long period of time which has passed since it was agreed to by the late Government, the arbitration in respect of one point of difference between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of France, referring to the Newfoundland Fisheries, may now be considered at an end, and whether, before again promising the French Government to introduce legislation, Her Majesty's Government will take the House into its confidence ?

***THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS** (Sir E. GREY, Northumberland, Berwick) : The agreement for arbitration was entered into by the French Government on the invitation of Her Majesty's late Government, and we have no reason to believe that the Government of France consider the engagement to be at an end. In fact, the matter has been more than once pressed on the attention of the British Government by that of France, and as lately as the end of May last year.

SWAZILAND.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS (Liverpool, E. Toxteth) : I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, under the provisions

of the Convention of 1890, which expires this year, notice has been given, either by the Transvaal Government or by Her Majesty's Government, under Article 9 of that Convention, to terminate the existing arrangement relative to the Government of Swaziland ; and, if so, whether he will state if Her Majesty's Government is now negotiating with the President of the Transvaal Republic for the cession of Swaziland to that Republic, with absolute jurisdiction over all European and Native affairs ?

MR. BUXTON : Notice of termination of the Convention can be given at any time up to May 8th next. No such notice has been given on either side, nor is it the intention of Her Majesty's Government to give any such notice. But they have authorised Sir Henry Loch to intimate to the President that, if the South African Republic so desire, they are willing that he should go into conference with the President, in accordance with the understanding between the late Government and the South African Republic, in order that the arrangement of 1890 should be re-considered.

BARON H. DE WORMS : With reference to the answer given by the Under Secretary, I wish to ask him whether he is aware that under the Convention of 1890 the joint government was to continue for three years, and not be terminated after the expiration of three years unless six months' previous notice were given by either party ; and, further, if he is aware that the Convention was signed by President Kruger and presented to the Volksraad on August 4th, 1890, and that, therefore, six months' notice expired this month ?

MR. BUXTON : I must ask notice of the question ?

THE DOWNPATRICK RIFLE RANGE.

MR. JOHNSTON : I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he has received a memorial from the Downpatrick Town Commissioners in reference to the annual training of the 5th Battalion Royal Irish Rifles, which for many years has taken place at Saul Camp, near Downpatrick ; and whether, in view of the facts that the excellent conduct of the regiment has given great satisfaction to the Military Authorities and to the townspeople, and that a suitable rifle range is available for the

Battalion, he will favourably consider the memorial, and approve of the annual training of the Battalion taking place, as formerly, in the neighbourhood of the county town, as its removal would entail expense, and cause serious injury to Downpatrick?

***MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN :** The memorial from Downpatrick has been received. The rifle range at Downpatrick is reported to be open to objection, and, apart from this fact, the regiment has not been trained at the Curragh since 1876, and the General Commanding in Ireland is anxious that it should have the advantage of instruction at that camp.

THE CHRISTIAN BROTHERS' SCHOOLS.

COLONEL NOLAN : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if, in lately refusing to confirm the new rule of the National Education Board, His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant assigned any reason for denying to the Christian Brothers this opportunity of coming under the Board; and, if so, would he now state the reasons assigned?

MR. J. MORLEY : I think the best answer to this question will be found in the correspondence which will be published.

COLONEL NOLAN : When?

MR. J. MORLEY : I will put it on the Table as soon as possible.

LONDONDERRY BARRACKS.

MR. ROSS (Londonderry) : I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War what is the cause of the delay in erecting the additional buildings to the Barracks in Londonderry, required for the purposes of Regimental Headquarters?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN : There has been some delay in this matter, but it is now being advanced as rapidly as possible.

SKIBBEREEN POST OFFICE.

MR. EDWARD BARRY (Cork, S.) : I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether he is aware that the old post office in Skibbereen, County Cork, was burned; and whether the present accommodation is inadequate and insufficient; and, if so, what steps will be taken to provide the place with suitable postal accommodation?

Mr. Johnston

MR. A. MORLEY : I am aware that the post office at Skibbereen was burnt in May last, and, as stated by my Predecessor in June last, the present temporary accommodation is admittedly inadequate. In May last the Town Commissioners proposed to erect suitable premises to be rented by the Postmaster, and authority was obtained for raising the allowance for office rent to enable him to accept the offer. Difficulties, however, have arisen, and I understand that the Commissioners are to decide at a meeting to-day whether they will carry out their offer.

SCOTCH PRISONS CLERICAL STAFF.

MR. GRÆME WHITELAW (Lanark, N.W.) : I beg to ask the Secretary for Scotland if he has received the Report following the Independent Further Inquiry, instituted by the Marquess of Lothian in August last, into the claims of the Clerical Staff in Scotch Prisons; and, if so, if he has submitted it with his recommendations to the Treasury for settlement; and, if not, will he say for what reason the Report has been so long delayed, and when a settlement may be expected?

SIR G. TREVELYAN : On the requisition of the Scottish Office the services of Mr. Duncan, Store Accountant, English Prison Department, were last August placed temporarily at its disposal to investigate the claims of the Clerical Staff of the Scotch Prisons. Mr. Duncan began his inquiry, but at the end of September was obliged to return to his duties in London before he had finished. This occasioned considerable delay, and it was not until January 26th that Mr. Duncan sent in his Report. It is now under the consideration of this Office, and it will be disposed of in a few days.

WEXFORD POST OFFICE.

MR. THOMAS HEALY (Wexford, N.) : I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether the arrangements for the building of the new post office in Wexford are completed; and, if so, when the work is expected to be begun?

MR. A. MORLEY : The purchase of the site for the new Crown Post Office at Wexford has been completed, and the building plans are being prepared.

TYPE-WRITERS.

MR. THOMAS HEALY : I beg to ask the First Commissioner of Works if he will provide a supply of type-writing instruments for the use of Members of this House, and set apart a room for their use ?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE : I shall be glad, if possible, to meet the hon. Member's wishes if he will communicate with me.

TRIAL BY JURY IN BENGAL.

MR. PAUL (Edinburgh, S.) : I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether the Indian Government consulted the Secretary of State for India before restricting the right to trial by jury in eight districts of Bengal ?

*MR. GEORGE RUSSELL : The answer is, "No."

THE CASE OF MR. SANKEY.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN (Worcester, E.) : I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to the case of Mr. Sankey, who was summoned to appear before the Justices of the Kings Heath Petty Sessional Division, on December 16th last, for having a chimney on fire ; whether he is aware that Mr. Sankey was represented by his clerk and his solicitor, who were prepared to admit the offence and pay any fine which might be imposed, but the Magistrates refused to adjudicate in the absence of Mr. Sankey, and issued a warrant for his arrest ; and whether, in so doing, the Magistrates were acting in accordance with the general practice in such cases ; and, if not, whether he will direct the attention of the Magistrates to the usual method of dealing with these cases ?

MR. ASQUITH : My attention has been called to the case. It is true that a clerk appeared prepared to admit the offence and pay a fine. The Magistrates declined to adjudicate in Mr. Sankey's absence, and issued a warrant of arrest. After the warrant had been issued the clerk retained a solicitor, but the Magistrates declined to re-open the case. The question of the issue of a warrant in summary cases is a matter for the discretion of the Magistrates ; but I am advised that it is not usual in the Metropolitan Police Court

District, in the case of a summons, for an offence punishable by a small fine, for a warrant to be applied for or granted when a person not a solicitor appears for the defendant and offers to pay the fine. As a matter of discretion I concur in this view.

MR. A. CHAMBERLAIN : Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the Magistrates issued the warrant because they were advised they could not act otherwise. Under these circumstances, will he communicate his opinion to them ?

MR. ASQUITH : I think it will be sufficient for the Magistrates to read in the Press the answer I have given the hon. Gentleman.

DONEGAL MILITIA.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR : I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether a memorial from the inhabitants of Lifford has been received by him relating to the question of billeting the Donegal Militia (5th Battalion Enniskillen Fusiliers) ; and, if so, whether he has decided upon billeting the regiment this year, or putting it under canvas ?

*MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN : I have not received the memorial referred to. According to present arrangements, the battalion will be encamped at Lifford. There are so many objections to billeting troops during training that the practice is avoided whenever possible ; and there is good camping ground available at Lifford.

AN ULSTER SPEECH AT RAPHOE.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been directed to the language reported in the *Derry Sentinel* of Tuesday, 31st January, to have been used at a meeting held in Raphoe on Monday last by Mr. John S. Weir, J.P., as follows :—

"Let it be made known that the Loyalists of Ulster relied on the men of Belfast to strike the note at the proper time and unfurl the flag, and call upon their fellow Loyalists to arm. (*Loud cheers.*)"

And whether he will consider the propriety of bringing the same under the notice of the Lord Chancellor ?

MR. M'CARTAN (Down, S.) : Does any one in the North of Ireland attach any importance to these speeches ?

MR. J. MORLEY : I have sent the extract to the Lord Chancellor. I should say he would not think it worth while to take any notice of it.

WELSH COMMISSIONERS OF INCOME TAX.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTS : I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he is aware that the only Commissioners of Income Tax in the district of Cerrig-y-druiddion, Denbighshire, are the rectors of the four neighbouring parishes, namely, Cerrig-y-druiddion, Penherrelas, Llangwm, and Llanfihangel, and that this circumstance causes great dissatisfaction in the locality; whether there are other persons resident in the district duly qualified to act as Commissioners; and whether, in view of these facts, he will take steps to secure an alteration in the composition of the Commission referred to?

***THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Sir J. T. HIBBERT, Oldham) :** The clergymen referred to in the question are on the list of Income Tax Commissioners for the Division to which the parishes named belong, but the Board of Inland Revenue are not aware whether they are the only Commissioners. Inquiry is being made on the subject. The appointment of Income Tax Commissioners is entirely in the competence of the Land Tax Commissioners of the county, who are appointed by Parliament. If, however, inquiry shows the existence of the state of things suggested by the question, the Board of Inland Revenue would feel bound to address a communication to the Land Tax Commissioners on the subject.

THE LABOUR DEPARTMENT.

MR. HOWELL : I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether it is his intention to lay upon the Table of this House a statement as to the organisation and constitution of the new Labour Department, together with the appointments in connection therewith; and whether he can state a time when such a Memorandum will be available for Members of this House?

MR. MUNDELLA : I propose, when all the arrangements are complete, to lay a Memorandum on the Table of the House, giving all the particulars de-

sired by the hon. Member. The Memorandum will be ready immediately after Easter.

OLD AGE PENSIONS.

MR. HOWELL : I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he can state to the House the names of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the question of Old Age Pensions in connection with Poor Law relief; and whether he can state to the House the terms of Reference to that Commission?

MR. CLANCY : May I inquire also whether the Commission will extend its inquiry to Ireland, and whether Ireland will be represented on the Commission?

***THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. H. H. FOWLER, Wolverhampton, E.) :** The names of the Commissioners have already appeared in the public newspapers. The terms of the Reference are to consider whether any alterations in the system of Poor Law relief are desirable in the case of persons whose destitution is caused by incapacity to work or old age, and whether assistance can be otherwise afforded. The intention of the Commission was that the inquiry should be confined to the case of England and Wales.

MR. CLANCY : Will the Government re-consider their decision not to include Ireland?

MR. H. H. FOWLER : The Commission has been completed, and it is already in working order.

DOG FIGHTING IN A PUBLIC-HOUSE.

MR. HOWELL : I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether his attention has been called to the case of dog fighting, reported in the newspapers of Friday, February 3rd, which was brought before the Worship Street Police Court; and whether some further steps will be taken to deprive the landlord of the house and the house itself of the licence, for such cruelty to animals?

MR. ASQUITH : I have instructed the police to bring the matter before the Licensing Justices when application is made for the renewal of this man's licence.

GREENWICH HOSPITAL.

MR. KEARLEY : I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether his attention has been called to the statement made in this House by the right hon. Member for the Ealing Division of Middlesex on the 9th June last year, when he was First Lord of the Admiralty, in which, on behalf of the late Government, he promised to give effect to the recommendations of the Select Committee on Old Age Pensions, at Greenwich Hospital ; and whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to introduce a Bill this Session to carry out the promise therein contained ?

ADMIRAL FIELD (Eastbourne) : I had given notice of a similar question for Thursday, and I wish to ask whether it is in accordance with the usual feeling of courtesy that when one hon. Member has given notice of a question, and allowed the Government time to make full inquiry, another should anticipate his question by giving a similar notice within 24 hours ?

MR. KEARLEY : I was not aware that the hon. and gallant Gentleman had given notice of a question on the subject. This is the first time I have heard it.

ADMIRAL FIELD : It was in the Votes on Friday morning.

***MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON** : My hon. Friend was good enough some weeks ago to call my attention to the statement of the noble Lord. The matter is now engaging the careful consideration of the Admiralty, and I cannot make any further statement now.

THE REDEMPTION OF TITHE RENT CHARGE.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS BEACH (Bristol, W.) : I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to propose any legislation this Session for the purpose of carrying out the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Redemption of Tithe Rent Charge ?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE, Edinburgh, Midlothian) : Her Majesty's Government do not feel disposed, under the circumstances, to project any legislation on this subject. In consequence of the great pressure of subjects upon their con-

sideration, they could not hold out any hope of entering into such an undertaking during the present Session.

THE TUBERCULOSIS COMMISSION.

MR. KNOWLES (Salford, W.) : I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board if he can state the probable date of the Report of the Royal Commission on Tuberculosis ?

***MR. H. H. FOWLER** : I stated on Friday that the Report had not yet been received.

VICEREGAL COMMISSION.

MR. CARSON (Dublin University) : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to state in how many cases cross-examination has been allowed, and in how many disallowed, in proceedings before Viceregal Commissions in Ireland, when the evidence was taken in public during the past 50 years ?

MR. J. MORLEY : Since 1849 cross-examination appears to have been allowed, so far as we can make out, in 12 cases out of 19. Cross-examination is not known to have taken place in the remaining cases.

MR. CARSON : Was cross-examination refused in any of the other cases ?

MR. J. MORLEY : I have no information upon that point. It is not known to have taken place.

MR. PAUL : May I ask whether, apart from a Statutory Commission, to which power is given by Parliament, there is any difference between a Royal and Viceregal Commission, except a purely formal one in the matter of issue ; one being issued in the name of the Queen, and the other in the name of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland ?

MR. J. MORLEY : I think my hon. Friend is perfectly right. There is no difference except a purely formal one in the matter of issue.

UGANDA.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN (Birmingham, W.) : I gave notice of a question to the Prime Minister for to-day, but, as I gathered that his speech on Friday night contained an answer to that question, I asked that it should be withdrawn from the Paper. I understand, however, that my right hon. Friend wishes that it should be put, and I therefore beg to ask

him what arrangements have been made for the preservation of the peace in Uganda in the interval between the time of Sir Gerald Portal's Report and the decision of the Government on the question of the retention of the country?

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: I am obliged to my right hon. Friend for putting this question, because now for the first time, instead of speaking from memory, with a liability to a certain degree of error, the House has full documents before it which contain statements that must be regarded as authoritative. The House is aware, from the Speech from the Throne, that Sir G. Portal has undertaken the important charge which was named in the Queen's Speech, he being already Her Majesty's Commissioner for the British sphere of influence, lying to the north of the German sphere of influence. He therefore has, it may be said, a double title in this matter which comes within the cognisance of the House. In the former capacity he has received instructions from Lord Rosebery, which will be found at pages 50 and 51 of the Papers circulated this morning. The part that is material, perhaps, for the present subject is paragraph 8 of that Instruction, which runs as follows:—

"A Mission to Central Africa cannot, of course, be conducted according to ordinary precedent. The infrequency and difficulty of communication may require a latitude beyond what is usual, and in intrusting to you these important duties Her Majesty's Government reckon with full confidence on your meeting with firmness and caution every occasion that may arise."

That is the Instruction to Sir G. Portal as charged with the present inquiry. But we have already received—in a document that has been for some time before the House, but which may have escaped the memory of the House—a very full statement of the powers which accrue to him in his capacity as Commissioner in the sphere of influence. That document will be found at pages 1 to 3 of the Papers "Africa No. 4" of 1892, and the passage which I will read to the House, because I think it contains the pith of the matter, is on page 2. It is a rather long paragraph, of which the first part refers to the conduct of Sir G. Portal in the districts where the Company is now in the full exercise of its functions, and that I need not read. It will only distract the

attention of the House, inasmuch as the arrival of Sir G. Portal can only take place on the eve of the withdrawal of the Company and its evacuation of the country. The sixth line of that paragraph contains the material Instruction with respect to the territories where the Company is not in active operation, and it runs thus—

"You should endeavour, so far as your opportunities go, to make British influence felt by the natives, to maintain peace and order, to develop legitimate trade, to secure the safe circulation of traders and travellers, and generally, without undue interference with tribal government and native habits and customs, to pave the way for conferring on the natives the benefits of civilisation, which on the suppression of the evils of the Slave Trade should accompany the revival of prosperity."

Of course, those Instructions by Lord Salisbury were given without any special reference to the present special function; but those are powers that are still in full operation, and which nothing has been or can be done either to restrain or to alter in any manner. I think, therefore, it will be seen, first of all, that in his capacity with respect to the present inquiry, which was mentioned in the Speech from the Throne, Sir Gerald Portal has a large discretion under the Instructions that have been given to him. It will also be seen that in his capacity as Commissioner he has ample authority to make whatever arrangements he may find in the exercise of wisdom and prudence to be necessary and to be within his power, so far as regards the time when he is in Uganda himself, or—if he should think fit or should find it necessary to leave Uganda—to make an arrangement which will operate during his absence. I wish to make an apology to my hon. Friend the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) and to the House for one expression I used on Friday, speaking from memory, which was not quite accurate. I said Sir G. Portal would busy himself with respect to the peace and order and well-being of Uganda, and I said he would do it "unofficially." That was certainly not an accurate expression, because for the moment I seemed to have overlooked, and did overlook, the fact that as Commissioner he was in possession of powers which would enable him officially to exercise legitimate influence and to exert himself with reference to the peace and good order of the country.

Mr. J. Chamberlain

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether we are to understand that Sir Gerald Portal will not increase in any sort of way Imperial responsibility by any intermixture in the tribal government of Uganda, or by assuming any governmental functions for the Imperial Government until his Report is before us?

*MR. BURDETT COUTTS (Westminster): May I put another question to the right hon. Gentleman in order that we should better and more accurately understand what Sir Gerald Portal's powers are in reference to the safety of lives that are valued in this country in Uganda? I will put to him a case if I may—If the Mahomedans, who are now overhanging the country, attack the King, is Sir Gerald Portal empowered by force of arms to resist that attack? If the two factions attack each other, is Sir Gerald Portal empowered by force of arms to intervene to maintain peace?

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: In answer to the two questions that have been put to me, I must say in regard to that put by my hon. Friend the Member for Northampton that, in my opinion, I took the safest and wisest course in reading to the House fully and amply the documents that are really authoritative—the documents which will be for the guidance of Sir Gerald Portal in the important function that he has in Uganda. Any opinion of mine in regard to these documents is evidently an opinion given in this country and not within hearing of Sir Gerald Portal, who is two or three months off, if I am to define the distance by time, and, consequently, is an opinion only. As I have said, our object and desire undoubtedly is, as appears from the documents, to ask Sir Gerald Portal to report on matters of the utmost importance. We desire him to approach that question with a perfectly free discretion, and therefore there ought not to be intercepted any intermediate engagement of any sort. With regard to the question of the hon. Member opposite, the hon. Member raises a supposititious case which may or may not come under the consideration of Sir Gerald Portal. If it does, come under his consideration Sir Gerald Portal will have all the local knowledge, all the information, and all the advice of those around him in order to enable him to form a judgment upon

it. The hon. Member asks me to form a judgment upon that question, and give it to him now in the House of Commons. I must say I am not prepared to undertake that task.

SIR GEORGE BADEN-POWELL (Liverpool, Kirkdale): I wish to ask whether, in the opinion of the Government, Sir Gerald Portal has a sufficient force with him to carry out, if necessary, his powers as Her Majesty's High Commissioner in East Africa?

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: We are of opinion that the force Sir Gerald Portal has with him is amply sufficient for the purpose for which he has gone out.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR (Manchester, E.): I have no reason to complain of the general statement of the right hon. Gentleman. I want to put a question which will not be put in a controversial tone. The right hon. Gentleman has stated that very full powers have been given to Sir Gerald Portal; and that included in these powers are powers to make arrangements in the country after he himself shall have left. I would ask the right hon. Gentleman whether, as he has given such full Instructions to Sir Gerald Portal during the time he is to be there, it would not be well if it were possible to suggest to him specifically that he should have in view the making of those arrangements which he is empowered to make should he think fit?

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: I make no complaint whatever of the tone and terms in which the right hon. Gentleman has put his question; I think it is a very fair question. But I own, if he puts it to me, my opinion is that it would be safer for us, standing as we do at the distance at which we find ourselves, to leave that matter in the discretion of Sir Gerald Portal, who is aware of the objects that we have in view, rather than to send him Instructions which, however carefully framed, might, under possible circumstances, be found to limit his discretion, and therefore to interfere with the objects in view.

ILLITERATE VOTERS AT THE MEATH ELECTION.

MR. R. G. WEBSTER: I beg to ask the Home Secretary whether he can now inform the House the number of illiter-

ates who voted at the North Meath and South Meath election, at the late General Election?

MR. ASQUITH: I have now obtained these figures. I find that there voted at the General Election for North Meath 1,127 illiterates and for South Meath 1,023.

DISTRAINT BY NIGHT IN IRELAND.

MR. CARSON: I wish to ask the Chief Secretary for Ireland if he will state to the House in what counties in Ireland the seizures by night under civil bill process, referred to in his speech on Thursday, are alleged to have been executed?

MR. J. MORLEY: The following are the counties in which police protection was afforded by the late Government for seizures, or attempted seizures, under civil bill decrees by night:—Kilkenny, King's County, the two Ridings of Galway, the two Ridings of Cork, both Ridings of Tipperary, Roscommon, Kerry, Limerick, and Waterford.

MR. CARSON: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman if he will supply me with the names of cases in some of these counties, say Limerick, as I am assured—

MR. J. MORLEY: I must ask for notice if further information is required.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Will the right hon. Gentleman supply the facts by Return, including in each case the date, the name of the Sheriff, and the name of the Attorney General who sanctioned the seizure; and also whether any prosecutions followed under the Coercion Government in reference to these seizures for re taking possession or otherwise?

MR. J. MORLEY: I should have to consider very carefully the propriety of giving such a Return as that mentioned by my hon. and learned Friend, because the consequences might be very serious.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [31st January], "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, as followeth:—

Mr. R. G. Webster

• Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled, beg leave to thank Your Majesty for the Most Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—*(Mr. Lambert.)*

And which Amendment was—

At the end of the Question to add the words, "And humbly ventures to express the hope that the Commissioner, who has been sent by Your Majesty to Uganda, will effect the evacuation of that country by the British East Africa Company, without any increase in Your Majesty's Imperial responsibilities."—*(Mr. Labouchere.)*

Question again proposed, "That those words be there added."

Debate resumed.

*SIR J. H. KENNAWAY (Devon, Honiton) said, he thought it well, now that the Instructions to Sir Gerald Portal had been ascertained, to turn their attention towards the general question of Uganda, and the points raised by the hon. Member for Northampton. They must, he was sure, all sympathise with the hon. Member who, having devoted his whole attention to placing the Government in power, now found the Government supporting the policy of Lord Salisbury. It was not to be wondered at that he felt himself left in the lurch. For an hour and a-half last Friday he endeavoured to put forward his "anti-Jingo" policy, as he called it, but the wheels of his chariot rolled more heavily than usual, because he knew well that the feelings of this country and of this House were against him. He took them through the history of Uganda, and he went back to very ancient history indeed—namely, to the history of Abraham. In regard to the latter, he got very much out of his depth, and it was to be hoped his facts as to Uganda were more correct. The hon. Member's indictment of the Company was like flogging a dead horse, for the Company would very shortly be out of Uganda. But when it was judged by posterity, it would be said that it had acted on broad lines of policy, and very beneficially as regards the abolition of slavery. He would specially point to the Proclamation of 1890, in which the Company said that all tribes in the interior, who had placed themselves by Treaty under the protection

of the Company, were to be a free people and incapable of being held in slavery. They would also see, on reference to the Papers presented to this House, that in the Treaty with King Mwanga of March, 1892, the importation and exportation of slaves was prohibited.

He now came to the question with which he was more especially connected, and which has been raised in this Debate both by the Mover of this Amendment and by the right hon. Gentleman, in regard to the line taken by the Church Missionary Society, which he had the honour to represent. Exception was taken to the action of the Church Missionary Society in bringing the Uganda question as it did before the Foreign Minister and before the country in October last, and it was said that the Society sought to explain to the Liberal Party their duty; and the right hon. Gentleman said the Society made unsuitable and unwise observations in regard to the external policy of this country. This question as to missionaries had been of late so much concerned with the foreign policy of this country that he would ask the indulgence of the House for a few moments in regard to it. It was not his place there, nor would it be suitable, to indicate the importance of missionary work. There had been a great change in the feeling of the country in regard to this matter. The missionaries were regarded as very dangerous individuals at one time, and were kept out of our Indian dominions for a time. But there had been a great change in recent years, and this century had been called the century of missions. What was their condition when they went abroad in regard to the Government? It was clear that when they were pursuing their operations, whether in India or the Colonies, they had the same right to protection as all other British subjects. When they went outside the Queen's dominions they did so clearly at their own hazard; they could not then expect troops to guard them or expeditions to extricate them. This had been clearly laid down by Bishop Tucker and Bishop Smythies. Whenever the Church Missionary Society had approached the Government before now, it had been on the ground that certain Treaty rights had been infringed, whereby the rights or liberty of missionaries or their converts had been interfered with,

and, therefore, there was a clear right to call for the interposition of the Government. But in the present case there were circumstances which made the case a very special one, and which, therefore, had justified some departure from the usual practice. He would like to point out what the history of the question was. Fifteen years ago their missionaries entered Uganda, carrying their lives in their hands, neither looking for nor expecting any protection. They lived there for 13 years tolerated under the government of the country, such as it was. They carried on their work; they made converts; many of them laid down their lives either by pestilence or sword; and many of their converts suffered cruel tortures and death rather than abandon the religion they had embraced. But two years ago the situation was entirely changed, first by the Anglo-German Agreement and then by the advent of the British East Africa Company. They found the country divided into various factions—French, English, and Mahomedans—each fighting for their own hand, and the result was that the British Resident had to interfere, and the old system was swept away, as it was no longer possible for the Protestant missionaries to maintain the impartial attitude they had held before. They naturally supported the British Resident, and by doing so incurred the hatred of the other parties in the State. Within a very short time it was announced that the British East Africa Company were no longer able to maintain their occupation of the country, and it was seen at once that the withdrawal of the controlling power would mean anarchy and bloodshed and a recrudescence of slavery. In October, 1891, it was represented that for a sum of £40,000 the Company would maintain their occupation for another year, giving time possibly for some other arrangement to be made. Of that £40,000, the sum of £16,000 was contributed in a very short time by the friends of the Church Missionary Society, the remainder being subscribed privately by friends of the Company, thus ensuring another year's continued occupation. That brought them to the autumn of 1892. For two or three months in that year, which constituted a critical period in the history of Uganda, they had been engaged in the delights of a contested election; and

used for this purpose, and a deadly blow thus struck at the Slave Trade. As to the question what Uganda was worth to us commercially, there was not much trade at present, but it was a country of great possibilities. They wanted new markets in Uganda, and Captain Lugard told them that if the country was occupied and settled, a large trade would result, and Mr. Stanley took the same view. There was already a demand for imported goods. There were hundreds of millions of acres capable of producing cotton, rice, coffee, gum, &c., and they had evidence of the increase in trade in South Africa under a settled Government. They had not yet seen the Report of the expedition for the survey of the railway. The question of the cost was, he believed, greatly exaggerated, and other difficulties urged against the retention of the country would be found to be greatly over-estimated. For instance, the difficulties in the way of making the railway, because of the alleged hostility of the tribes, would be found altogether to disappear. At the same time, it would have to be considered whether the country was ripe for this or whether the suggestion of Mr. Mackay for the construction of rough tramways to the great lakes and centres of population might not be a wiser step to take than to build a railway. They had clear ground for asking the Government to resist this Amendment and to recognise the existence in the country of a strong feeling that Uganda wanted their protection and should not be abandoned. They had a warning in the Soudan, where they allowed barbarism to triumph and re-establish itself over a country, the Government of which we had practically assumed. He hoped that a parallel to that would not be found in Uganda, whence they hoped to strike a deadly blow at the Slave Trade, and gradually deliver a message of peace and freedom to a large part of Central Africa.

*MR. A. C. MORTON (Peterborough) said, while he was aware of the ability and zeal with which the missionaries did their work, he was of opinion that the missionary question had nothing to do with the situation in Uganda. Were they to lay down the principle that they should send their troops to support missionaries in every country? Would Germany or France or Switzerland adopt

such a policy? Let them send missionaries to the East End of London, where they were more required than in Africa—or let them send them to Ireland. The missionaries, he thought, got on much better without the troops. He was aware that the missionaries were being placed in the front at meetings in this country—they were the only respectable thing they had to place in the front—and there was some feeling in this country in regard to assisting Missions and missionaries, but to hear the Tory Party going against slavery reminded him of Satan reproving sin or of the pot calling the kettle black. Not only had the Tory Party been in favour of slavery everywhere, but in favour of keeping every class except their own in this country in slavery. The democracy, fortunately, had now driven them away from that idea. He was astonished to find the Tory Party going against slavery. It was only as short time back as 1864 that they were in favour of founding in America an Empire whose corner-stone was to be slavery. Captain Lugard did not claim that he represented this country in Africa. The fact was, he was lent to the Company, was paid by the Company, and had nothing to do with the government of this country, and he (Mr. Morton) challenged anybody to prove otherwise. It was objectionable that we should allow these captains and colonels who were working for certain companies to go out and use their titles as conferring upon them authority to act for the country. The use of the titles was calculated to make people believe that they were acting for the British Government; and it would be a much better policy if in the future officers acting for company-mongers should not use their titles. Now one or two words about the Amendment as brought forward by his hon. Friend the Member for Northampton. He admired his courage in bringing it forward, seeing that he was a friend and supporter of the Party now in power. He said that as a Radical, and he declared that he was glad the Member for Northampton had brought the Amendment forward. The right hon. Gentleman the Premier had said that this was not an appropriate time to bring it forward. He desired most respectfully to differ altogether from the right hon. Gentleman.

Sir J. H. Kennaway

This appeared to him a most appropriate time to bring it forward. If he brought it forward five or six months hence when the Government were committed, that would not be a proper time for doing so, because it might then be said that it was too late. It was the duty of those who objected to the retention of Uganda to bring the matter before the Government and before this House on the first opportunity. The hon. Gentleman had therefore only done his duty in bringing forward this matter before the Government and the House now. He agreed with him in not taking a Division on this occasion; but if he were to go to a Division, he (Mr. Morton) should have pleasure in voting with him; and if he raised the question of expense on the Estimates, he would vote with him; and he felt bound to say that if the Member for Northampton did not raise the question on the Estimates, he (Mr. Morton) would, and he would, of course, take a vote upon it. His reason was that they as Radicals, representing the Radicals who were the majority of the people of this country, ought to let the Government know their opinion on the question of Uganda. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham had said he had most friendly intentions towards the Government, but he wanted to know what was to be done in the interval between the time the Company would leave Uganda on the 31st of March and the time the Government would decide what to do? That was all very well; but he (Mr. Morton) would like to know why he did not raise the same question last year when they were considering the Railway Survey Vote? Not only was it known at that time that the Company must leave the country—the then Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs shakes his head—but the then Government told them that the reason they proposed the grant of £20,000 at all was that the Company had no money—he remembered the circumstances well, and knew that the position was as he stated. He would like to know if the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham made any inquiries of the then Tory Government, and if his inquiries were not now directed to doing the present Government as much harm as possible? He said the policy advocated

by the other side was most objectionable. The Africans had as much right to come here and take our country as we had to take theirs. We were told last year that the policy was not to build a railway, but to make a survey and get information. They were now told that the Company was going to leave Uganda on March 31st., but they retained the Port of Mombasa; they retained some rights along the coast from Zanzibar beyond Mombasa—some ten miles inland; and the idea seemed to be that we were to take possession of the country, and that the Company would be allowed to tax everything coming in under a prior Treaty that they had with the Sultan of Zanzibar. It was said we might have to buy out the Company—a transaction which would involve an outlay estimated at from £600,000 to £3,000,000. Therefore, the object of the Company was to get a large sum of money out of the people of this country. They were told the other night by the Member for West Birmingham that the Government were drifting. He was bound to say he thought they were drifting—this policy was one of drifting. If the House rose, and if they had Jingoism in the Cabinet, as he feared there were, they would continue drifting. The Premier criticised the Member for Northampton because he did not object to the inquiry in this matter, but only to the appointment of Sir Gerald Portal. The Member for Northampton did not object to inquiry because it was too late to do so; but, practically, he objected to everything that had been done—everything, whether in the shape of making inquiries or of taking possession of the country, everything that was done without getting the previous consent of the House of Commons, which was a very good policy and the policy the Government would be compelled to take some day, so that a majority of the House might decide the question before the doing of anything at all. They wanted to discuss all Treaties before they were made. He thought he remembered that that used to be advocated in Midlothian. They knew but little about the railway, but it was calculated that, as far as it might be necessary to make it at the present time, it would cost £3,000,000. That estimate was not made by any railway contractor or engineer, and he therefore estimated

that they would require about double the amount, say £5,000,000 or £6,000,000, to make a railway over this 700 miles of country. As far as he could find out, Uganda was worth little or nothing for emigration. Captain Lugard practically said it was of no use for colonisation purposes. If it could be used as Australasia and America had been, we might do well to find an outlet there for our surplus population, especially as that population would create a trade of their own. He would like to remind the Government that although one Missionary Society and a few of the Anti-Slavery Party were supporting this policy of annexation, not a single Liberal or Radical Society in the country had passed a resolution in favour of the retention of Uganda. The City of London Liberal Association had held a meeting on the subject, but could not carry a vote, and that was the only Liberal Association that had attempted to pass any resolution on the matter, and as an amendment had been carried against the vote, he might say that that Association was against this policy. The Liberals, therefore, were against the policy to which he referred. The Radical Party had placed the present Government in power, and it was to them the Government must look for their support. The Radical Party objected to the Jingo policy altogether. They objected to the expenditure of money in such a cause. If they had got any money to spare, or any missionaries to spare, send them to the East End of London. They were more badly-needed there than in Africa, and they were likely to do more good in that quarter. If they had any money to spare it was wanted here at home. They had already more responsibility in connection with foreign affairs than they could properly attend to. Money, as he said, was wanted at home. It was wanted in the agricultural interest—it was wanted at a low rate of interest, and the agriculturists would be glad to get it. If they wanted to spend money on railways, let them spend it in this country. If the Government gave way to the Jingo—of whom, as he had said, he found there were a few in the Cabinet—they would have nothing to do with it. In that case it would not be backed by the Radical Party. They wanted the Government to apply their

Mr. A. C. Morton

energies to carrying on a better system of government in this country—and especially in Ireland—and so enable the people to live better and happier than they did at the present time. He could not vote for the Amendment, as it was not going to be pressed; but he would vote in that direction whenever he had an opportunity.

*MR. BURDETT-COUTTS (Westminster) said: On Friday night the hon. Member who opened this Debate made a bitter, and, as I shall endeavour to show, a most unjust attack, upon the East Africa Company, of which, most unfortunately for its own interests I admit, I happen to be the only representative in this House. I will ask the indulgence of the House to enable me to reply to these attacks, and also to make some remarks upon the general situation. First, however, I hope the hon. Member will allow me to congratulate him upon having found the early opportunity afforded by his Amendment on this question of driving in the wedge between two sections at least of his Party—the “petty parochial” section to which he boasts of belonging, and that portion, which I trust is a large one, who have some regard for the realisation and fulfilment by this country of its Imperial obligations. On Friday night we listened to a very full exposition of the views of the “petty parochial” school. I think it well that we should hear something of the other section of the Party, which is led by Lord Rosebery. I will confine myself to the question at issue, and will quote the words of Lord Rosebery, speaking of Uganda in some of the aspects which the hon. Member for Northampton had in view. Lord Rosebery said—

“We, that is I, view it (Uganda District) as a country of great possibilities, as the key perhaps of Central Africa, as commanding the Nile Basin, as a field recently of heroic enterprise, as a land that has been watered by the blood of our saints and martyrs, and I for one, as a Scotchman, can never be indifferent to a land which witnessed the heroic exploits of Alexander Mackay, that Christian Bazar, whose reputation will always be dear, not only in his own immediate northern country, but throughout the Empire at large.”

Now, Sir, we have the hon. Member for Northampton and we have Lord Rosebery on this question. What we want to know, and what we ask, at this

juncture, for the sake of great interests which we believe to be at stake, which of the two is the Gladstonian? With regard to Sir Gerald Portal's Instruction I put a question to the right hon. Gentleman opposite, which, it is quite true, was hypothetical in form, but which contained the germ of the whole position, and indicated the scope and character of the danger which the people in Uganda are liable to. The plain answer to that question, whether Sir Gerald Portal was empowered to defend the country by force of arms against external and internal dangers, would tend to allay the great anxiety that is now felt in many quarters, and would give the House an exact definition of his powers in respect to it. The right hon. Gentleman said that he was not able to form a judgment as to circumstances which had not arisen. I did not ask for that. I asked what Sir Gerald Portal's powers were, whether he has sufficient powers to meet such a case? The hon. Member for Northampton has attacked the Company on the ground of certain incidents with which its name has been connected; with one which occurred in the centre of Africa, at a distance, so far as communication is concerned, of many months from headquarters, and amidst circumstances which, of course, could not be known to the Directors, which even the agent connected with those incidents could not foresee. In order to describe those and other circumstances so as to fit in with his own view, the hon. Member has made unfairly-chosen extracts, and has suppressed essential facts bearing on the arguments he has laid before the House—facts which, as he is both industrious and watchful, and has evidently devoted much time to the subject, I cannot believe were unknown to him. The hon. Member says that our general policy has been one of land-hunger; or, I think his expression was, that we were "afflicted with that disease." Before dealing with the connection which the hon. Member has assumed between this so-called policy of ours and Uganda, I should like to say a word on the subject generally, as it is connected with Treaty-making, and particularly as the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister stated that one object of Sir Gerald Portal's Mission was to inquire into the way we

had exercised our Treaty-making powers. Sir, at the time of what I may call the scramble for East Africa amongst the European Powers, this Company, by its existence—in the earlier days by the fact that it was in embryo and ready to take a footing in these territories, and subsequently by the fact that it was there—afforded a justification for the claims of England to a share of that country, which the respective Governments of that time gladly welcomed. It is more true to say that Her Majesty's Government used the Company as an instrument for the delimitation of boundaries than that we drew the Government on to larger and wider responsibilities. The policy of Treaty-making, followed up by effective occupation, has been undertaken by the Company, with the continued knowledge and sanction of the Government, and every Treaty we have made has been submitted to the Foreign Office. It has been a political policy, and in that aspect it belongs not only to the Company, but to the British Government. It has been what I may call the substantive part as distinguished from the Diplomatic part of negotiations which aimed at the acquisition of a portion of East Africa for England. I am aware that the hon. Gentleman does not approve of this policy of acquisition; but there are a vast number of people in this country who do approve of it. Lord Granville, Lord Rosebery, Lord Salisbury approved of it. And the part we have played in it has given enormous assistance to those Foreign Ministers in carrying out that policy. It is in that light we claim that we have acted largely in the national interest. We played our part in securing that the British flag should remain on the East Coast of Africa; that instead of having no port from Aden to Natal, the finest harbours on that coast should form a rendezvous for the British Fleet; that the old-established trade of thousands of our Indian fellow-subjects settled there should be saved from passing under the control of a foreign Power; that at a moment when an iron band of Prohibition Duties was drawn around Africa by every other Power, we opened a free highway into that country for the products of English manufacture. When we were hemmed in on both sides, North and South, by Ger-

many, our position between justified the claim of the Government that Germany should confine itself to the South and leave the North to us; and in this connection I may say that so far from our evincing "land-hunger" while the Sultan of Zanzibar conceded to us the whole of the northern ports up to Warshek, we were content with the boundary of the Juba River and Kismayu, giving up 400 miles of what had been conceded to us to Italy. When the doctrine of the *Hinterland* was accepted, the fact that the Company *de facto* formed a base upon the coast substantiated England's claim to this very country of Uganda. I am speaking of it in its widest sense, as including the Great Lake, the key of the Nile Basin, the heart of the trade of Central Africa, and the link in the chain of communication from the Cape to Alexandria, for over the strip between Victoria Nyanza and Tanganyika, which does not belong to us, free communication of every kind is secured by the General Act of the Berlin Conference and by the Treaty between Great Britain and Germany. The acquisition of the whole of these territories for England opened the way to the head waters of the Nile and to the Equatorial Provinces which belonged to Egypt. This was the road to the Equatorial Provinces which General Gordon always advocated as the best, and as best for the effective development of those regions. But, Sir, these are all parts of a political or national policy; and whatever we have gained ourselves—which, pecuniarily speaking, is as yet nothing—it is impossible to deny that the larger portion of our capital has gone in helping to secure these national interests, as represented by a territory nearly equal in area to British India. The hon. Gentleman has twitted us with the word "philanthropy." Let me state here that all we claim is that in our relations with those unhappy peoples we have conducted our enterprise with a due regard to that love of peace, conciliation, freedom, and humanity which this country would desire to see in all dealings with native or savage tribes; and that we have done our utmost to carry out that great policy of Anti-Slavery, in the prosecution of which England has sacrificed so much money and so many noble lives. Sir, when we

Mr. Burdett-Coutts

took possession of the territory on the coast it was a moment when discontent, disorder, rebellion, and bloodshed were rife amongst our German neighbours. The cry of "death to the white man" was rising along the coast. Here, next door, separated only by an imaginary line, our Commissioner, Mr. Mackenzie, took possession, and by tact, conciliation, and justice, established the most friendly relations with the native tribes—relations which, in the districts at any rate, where things are more under the direct control of the Company, have never since been disturbed. And, Sir, with regard to slavery. The hon. Gentleman said that we used slave-labour in our caravans, and he said that "nothing but slave labour existed there." This latter is not the case; hundreds of free men come to our caravans. The caravans are made up mostly from Zanzibar porters. Slavery does exist in Zanzibar by law; we have no power to stop it. What is our course—the only course open to us to secure the freedom of these slaves who come from outside our territories? We pay the men and not the master.

MR. LABOUCHERE: The men have to pay the money to their masters.

MR. BURDETT-COUTTS: Certainly not; we pay the man and not the master; but we have a fixed arrangement that the slave shall be entitled to purchase his freedom at a fixed and comparatively small sum, out of the wages he receives from us. It is a humane and practical provision, and the only one possible for us to make. With regard to slavery amongst the tribes under our control, the Company has provided for carrying out this Anti-Slavery policy by its Proclamation of May 1, 1890.

"Which was assented to by all the Arabs and others concerned."

It declares that—

"All the tribes of the Interior (beyond the 10 mile limit of Zanzibar territory), who had placed themselves by Treaty under the protection of the Company, to be free people, and incapable of being held in servitude. After the date of the Proclamation any members of those tribes found in slavery were to be liberated without compensation to their masters."

MR. LABOUCHERE: Have the people of Uganda assented to this?

MR. BURDETT COUTTS: I can show the hon. Gentleman a passage to the effect that owing to our Proclamation, and the country having come under it, a considerable number of slaves had been liberated. It is obvious that when we retire to the coast, if some sort of British control is not upheld in Uganda, creating a chain of influence between that country and the Company's immediate territories, the power of restricting the Slave Trade over a great portion of the intermediate tribes will cease. But, Sir, there is another fact, and I think the House will listen to these facts, not only because the hon. Gentleman attacked us on this point, but because this is a subject which touches the heart of a large area of feeling in this Country. We have by special efforts in the past three years freed 2,634 slaves. The Government towards the liberation of these 2,634 slaves gave us a contribution of £800. That was what they cost this country. Now on this point I would call the attention of the House to certain remarkable figures. On the 4th April, 1886, the then Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs estimated the cost of maintaining slave cruisers at from £150,000 to £200,000 per annum. The average of slaves released by means of these cruisers has been, at the outside, £150 a year, or in three years £450. In the last three years we have freed 2,364 slaves, at a cost to the Government of £800. It must be remembered also that the Government pays the Missionary Societies on each slave freed by the cruisers £5 a head, for placing him out after he is freed. On these 2,000 odd slaves this would have meant over £13,000. I will not stop to calculate the exact amount which the freeing of this number of slaves would have cost the Government if it had been effected by their method of cruisers—the only method by which the traditional Anti-Slavery policy of this country was being carried out in East Africa up to the time of our going there—but it would have been considerably over £2,000,000. Do not these facts point to the advantage that the cause of the abolition of slavery has already received from our occupation, and do they not show what an enormous further service can be rendered to that cause by extending British influence on land, not by us necessarily, and not in

any way to our advantage, but on the lines on which we have worked. And now, Sir, to return to some of the specific accusations of the hon. Gentleman and the charge I felt bound to make against him of suppressing important facts. His references to the Prospectus and the financial honor and credit of the Company—I think he called it a Bottomley Company!—are almost too contemptible for reply; and I suppose that he meant it as one of those elegant jokes which he is in the habit of perpetrating. But if these remarks were made seriously, I would remind the House that early last Session he addressed a long question to the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, based upon some vague imputation of this kind; and that, in reply, the Secretary of the Company addressed a letter to the public Press giving the fullest details with regard to every point which placed the Company, from the point of view from which the hon. Gentleman has attacked it, above criticism. I would refer the House to the letter, which is dated 2nd March, 1892, and will be found in the public Press. Now, Sir, the hon. Gentleman leads the House to suppose that we went into Uganda under the influence of land hunger, and certainly that it was along our design to occupy and retain that country. He makes no mention of the fact, which I think must have been perfectly well known to him, that when Mr. Jackson, in the natural course of exploration, found himself not very far from Uganda, he was there with definite and express instructions not to go into that country. It is true the hon. Gentleman mentioned that we went there at the invitation of King Mwanga. But he only mentioned this in order to refute an assumption which he implies we have set up, that we went there out of pure patriotism, because he adds that the King's proposal was a purely commercial one. What he does not state, and what also, I assume, was known to him, is that Mr. Jackson went into that country not only at the solicitation of the king, but also at the urgent entreaty of both Christian sections. What he does not state is that at that moment the Mahomedans were on the point of conquering that country, which would certainly have led to the massacre of missionaries, great bloodshed, and its peaceful inhabitants being carried off as slaves, if Mr. Jackson had not gone

in. But I want the House to bear in mind the fact that we had given definite instructions to our agent not to go into Uganda. I do not wish in the slightest degree, on behalf of the Company, to shirk any responsibility, and I think under the circumstances we have no reason to blame Mr. Jackson in the matter. Well, Sir, then came Captain Lugard, and the fighting, and the first Treaty. Now, why was Captain Lugard sent to Uganda? I am not here to blink the facts. Commercially, we had no desire to go to Uganda. We felt that the enterprise was too costly to justify us in doing so. But the position had materially altered. I have mentioned the political considerations under the pressure of which we have so often had to act. At that moment the doctrine of the *Hinterland* had not been accepted. Paper titles did not hold without effective occupation. Dr. Carl Peters, an unacknowledged German Agent, and a stormy petrel of those times, under the pretence of rescuing Emin, who was already on his way to the coast in the charge of Mr. Stanley, was making his way up the Tana River, pulling down and burning British flags, and forming a chain of posts behind the British territory, with the object of taking possession of Uganda. Public feeling in this country almost denounced us for our inactivity. Was Uganda to be left to other nations or to perpetual slavery? Were the Missionaries to be sacrificed? "Certainly not," we said, and we echoed the voice of Great Britain. And we sent Captain Lugard. Now, with regard to Captain Lugard I should like to say a word. It is perfectly natural the hon. Member should do his best to deride and condemn any enterprise which has for its object the extension of British influence; but I do not understand the spirit in which he seeks to raise prejudice against an Englishman, situated as Captain Lugard was, in a distant and unexplored country, at first with a very small force, far from any possibility of reinforcement or succour, facing a multitude of dangers and resolutely carrying out a policy which he believed to be best for the interests of peace and good government. Has the hon. Member really read what Captain Lugard did; how he found the two parties on the verge of war; how time after time, when their forces were drawn up opposite to each other he,

acting with extraordinary tact and judgment, prevented hostilities and held the balance between them with even-handed justice and great administrative skill. How eventually he left them in a state of peace and proceeded on his expedition against Kabrega who, with his slave-leading Mahomedans, was hanging like a vulture over this country. How he routed and scattered these into Ugyoro, where they have since remained. How then, making for Lake Albert Edward, he built a line of forts between the two lakes, leaving them in charge of a brave subaltern, Mr. Fenwick de Winton, a young man of singular promise and devotion to duty, who recently died at his post. How, to proceed, Captain Lugard thus secured the safety and protection of the intermediate countries against Kabrega; how he freed from his control the great salt lake for the benefit of the tribes around it; how he explored and settled all those districts; how he gained the allegiance of Selim Bey and his troops; and how eventually he left those countries and their inhabitants secured against their common enemy, and rejoicing in the unfamiliar experience of freedom and prosperity. To my mind it was a noble exhibition of bravery, self-reliance, and good judgment. It is not the first instance of an Englishman doing his duty amidst great dangers and difficulties in a wild and unknown country; and Friday night was not the first occasion on which a petty parochial view has been taken of the exploit. Well, Sir, after a year's absence, Captain Lugard returned to Uganda on December 31st, 1891. Then followed the fighting which his former efforts had averted, and of which we have heard so much recently. Of course, the hon. Gentleman omits the real reason for Captain Lugard's resolute attitude. He found the two Christian parties on the point of going to war; he knew that if he left them to fight it out amongst themselves one party would have been conquered and have left the country, and that the remaining party would have been too weak to withstand conquest by the Mahomedan slave-drivers; he therefore gave these two opposing forces fair warning that he would open fire upon the first of them that broke the peace. The Wafrenza, as they are called, became the aggressors, and Captain Lugard kept his word and fought them. The

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Wafrenza carried off the King. Captain Lugard's chief object was to free the King, and to uphold his authority. He had no desire to take the King's authority into the hands of the Company. But, Sir, what was the result of all this? The state of things now existing in Uganda, where the three parties are living side by side in "blood brotherhood" under their lawful Sovereign, is the best indication of Captain Lugard's policy. Did we hear a word about this from the hon. Member when he was dealing with Captain Lugard? And now, Sir, with regard to the Treaty of which the hon. Member made so much. I think that anyone would have thought that that Treaty—obtained, I admit, under exceptional circumstances, but circumstances of which we should have been better able to judge if we had been placed in Captain Lugard's position—anyone would have thought that that was the Treaty under which our present relations with Uganda were maintained. Even this first Treaty was no "sale of the country" by the King. As a matter of fact, it was very quickly superseded by the second Treaty, which was a perfectly free Treaty. I think he said it was not signed by the King. It is signed by the King, and voluntarily and freely signed by him. But generally, on this aspect which the hon. Member gave of King Mwanga as an unfortunate savage coerced by the Company, why did not the hon. Member say anything about the letters from the King to Her Majesty the Queen, and to the Directors of the Company which had been read by the hon. Gentleman who spoke on behalf of the missionaries. Well, Sir, to go on with what happened in Uganda, I have said that the Company had no original intention of occupying Uganda. Six months after Captain Lugard had arrived in that country, when peace and order were restored, we gave notice that we intended to evacuate on the 31st December, 1891. The House is familiar with the fact that we only prolonged our stay there at the special intervention of the Church Missionary Society, and on their providing the funds. We prolonged our stay by a year, and we were to have left on the 31st of last December. But the hon. Member says that "three months more were given the Company to evacuate it." Were these three months more

given to the Company to evacuate, or did the Company prolong its stay for three months for the convenience of Her Majesty's Government, and in order to postpone a decision which it was rumoured occupied a great deal of time in the Cabinet, and which was not taken until a very late date? Now, Sir, I come to another point. We heard a great deal from the hon. Member as to the worthlessness of Uganda. And his remarks were based upon a Report of Captain Lugard, from which he read extracts. I say a Report advisedly. It was the first Report of Captain Lugard. In referring to this Report—which was the full one, which was a private Report to the Directors of the Company, was not written with any idea of being for publication—the hon. Gentleman stated triumphantly that "fortunately" the present Chancellor of the Exchequer "got hold" of this Report. Why did he not say that this full Report was handed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer by a Director of the Company.

MR. LABOUCHERE: One Director.

MR. BURDETT - COUTTS: Yes, one Director; there was no need for 10 Directors to hand him 10 Reports. Well, Sir, the hon. Member quotes from this Report as to the worthlessness of Uganda. Now, the hon. Member has an observant genius. It is not likely that such a matter as dates escaped his notice. The date of that Report is the 24th December, 1890. But he only arrived in Uganda, as stated in that Report, on the 18th December. That Report, therefore, contained the results of the observations of six days. It obviously gave the first and most cursory impressions. It was absurd to look upon it—we never looked upon it—as affording a guide to the natural or commercial advantages of Uganda. But with regard to these, the hon. Member based the whole of his argument upon this six days' Report, and never told us a word about its being a six days' Report. It is true that he said that Captain Lugard afterwards went about saying that Uganda was a land full of milk and honey; but the hon. Member stated this rather with the view of implying that Captain Lugard had, under some extraneous influences and for some ulterior purposes, changed his mind. What were the facts? The first one, at

least, was known to the hon. Member, that Captain Lugard remained in those countries 18 months examining the whole district and obtaining information with regard to the dependent countries, and upon this 18 months' careful examination, as opposed to the six days after his arrival in Uganda, his subsequent opinion as to the importance of Uganda was based. And I have another fact to add in this connection. So far from being influenced in any way by the Company, in his actions in this country, Captain Lugard has been entirely dissociated from the Company. He was an officer in the Army, and he ceased to be in our service the moment he arrived in this country. We offered to pay him—I believe we did pay him—his salary up to the end of the year as a sort of bonus. He returned the portion of it dating from the day of his arrival, and went out as a free lance to impart to various circles a knowledge of what he conscientiously believed to be the real value of Uganda to this country. I will not weary the House by quotations showing the great value which he attaches to it. With regard to the connection of the Company with Uganda, I consider that it is well that it is at an end simply because the question of Uganda is too great a question to be obscured and confused by the prejudices that the hon. Gentleman and his school in these times raise around Chartered Companies, forgetting when he speaks to the "parochial" mind that Chartered Companies have been the most economic, as well as the most successful means of maintaining British interests. We went to Uganda against our first inclinations. Our agent went there against our express orders; we were drawn in at the urgent solicitation of the King and people; we were urged by public opinion; we went with the countenance and sanction of the Government; and we secured a condition of peace and contentment which is the best justification of our action. But, Sir, in doing this we found ourselves face to face with a problem which differentiated this country from any other within our sphere and marked it out as a point of great national interest to Great Britain, and the key of the position, so to speak, for the successful completion of the anti-slavery policy which England undertook so long ago, and which I do not believe she is willing

now to abandon. Well, Sir, we, by our temporary occupation of Uganda, became the channel for bringing all these facts to the knowledge of the British public; we were the instruments, so to speak, of the nascent development of these great interests. But I ask, in common fairness, are we a commercial Company with a very limited capital, already largely exhausted by a generous prosecution of these interests, to be expected alone and unaided to undertake the national obligations indicated in the name of Uganda: is it quite just for the right hon. Gentleman to say we "have undertaken a great task and been obliged to recede from it"? No, Sir, we have done our part. It only remains for us to say to England, "There lies the path of national interest and national duty. It is for you to open or close it." So far as the Company is concerned, I am very glad the Mission has gone; for the right hon. Gentleman states that one of its objects is to

"Obtain authentic and responsible information as to the mode in which their governing powers have been exercised, and the mode in which that authority to control has been put in practice."

We court, we eagerly welcome the fullest, deepest, and closest inquiry into the whole of our record, only we ask that the scope of that inquiry should be as large as the scope of our operations, and cover the period from the beginning to this moment—that it should not be confined to a single incident and an isolated locality. We ask as the claim of men who founded an English Company on a commercial basis, that it shall be inquired into whether we have not from the first to last trod our path with a due regard to the highest and best traditions of English enterprise—whether that path has not spread in the dark countries through which it runs enlarged prospects of good government and prosperity, and whether there have not issued from it to the unhappy native tribes with which we have come in contact new and unlooked-for hopes of freedom and justice.

*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir E. GREY, Northumberland, Berwick): I rise only to express a hope that, in view of the fact that this question must be again discussed on a Supplementary Estimate, the House will now allow the Debate on this particular point

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to close. I do not propose to follow in any detail what has been said to-night, because I think matters of detail can be better discussed in Committee of Supply than in a Debate on the Address. As regards the hon. Member who has just sat down, and who has made, as was perhaps his duty, an able and exhaustive defence of the Company to which he belongs, I think I may safely leave that part of the question in his hands. As to the hon. Baronet (Sir J. Kennaway), who opened the Debate this evening, I will only say that he gave us a history of events in Uganda from a missionary point of view, and I do not wish to dispute the accuracy of anything he said. The hon. Member for Peterborough (Mr. A. C. Morton) made some general criticism on what has been done. Those criticisms would, I think, have been more to the point if it had been a policy of annexation which was before the House. It is not a policy of annexation, but, on the contrary, a policy of inquiry that the House has to deal with. Our object is to secure that the House shall, in due course, have full information before it, so as to enable it to form an opinion whether Uganda ought to be placed under British protection or not. I maintain that this is the only policy the Government could have pursued. A provision is included in the policy that the inquiry shall not be conducted in such a way as to prejudice the question before the House has had time to consider Sir Gerald Portal's Report. If during the interval that must elapse before his Report is made there were to be outbreaks of civil war in Uganda, if the British name, instead of continuing to have some ascendancy and prestige, came to be regarded with hatred and contempt by the natives, the question would certainly be prejudged, because it would not be in your power to establish a Protectorate without sending a large expedition. It has been in your power hitherto to decide whether the present state of things shall be continued in Uganda or not. That question can now be decided without great effort or expenditure, and when the Report of Sir Gerald Portal is before the House you will be as free as you are now to consider what the policy is to be, only you will have much more information before you. It was asked this evening whether the Government

had really taken steps to secure the maintenance of the *status quo* in Uganda during the interval. Well, it never occurred to me until I heard it suggested in this House by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain) that Sir Gerald Portal could possibly construe his instructions as binding him as soon as his Report was complete to hurry away with it to the coast. That is not in his instructions, and I am as willing to guarantee as I am willing to guarantee anything that Sir Gerald Portal has no feeling in his own mind whatever that any intention of that sort is implied in the instructions he has received. It is for him to decide whether he himself should bring his Report or send it home and remain in charge at Uganda until it has been presented to the House. Supposing he decides to bring it home, I have only to call attention to Section 10 of the Instructions—

"It will be your duty to sign a Commission appointing one of the officials to act in your behalf in case of your being incapacitated."

He would surely construe "incapacitated" in a wide enough sense to prevent his leaving the country without appointing some one to act for him. In Section eight of the Instructions Sir Gerald is expressly told that his mission cannot be conducted according to ordinary precedents, but that the difficulty and infrequency of communications may require a latitude beyond what is usual. His instructions are wide enough to give full freedom of action. Then we are asked, has he force enough at his command? I have only to say that Sir Gerald Portal is told in Clause three of his instructions.

"The Company having offered to make over to Her Majesty's Government their establishments and stores in Uganda, it will be for you to judge how far it is possible or expedient to avail yourself of the proposal."

Sir Gerald Portal if he thinks it necessary can therefore have at his command all the resources of the Company. In addition to that he takes with him 200 Zanzibaris as well as his English staff. It must be borne in mind also that he is not going as Captain Lugard went when the country is on the eve of a civil war—for civil war would have broken out had not Captain Lugard restrained it for some months. The people were bound to go to war at some

time, the only thing that prevented them being that the notoriously cruel Mahomedan chief Kabrega was ready to swoop down on the two opposing forces of Protestants and Roman Catholics. Captain Lugard had first of all to sweep Kabrega back and to destroy his influence. Having done that, he had to deal with the civil war between the Protestants and Roman Catholics that was ready to break out. He left the country with the civil war at an end, the people tired of it, and having recognised the folly of it, and the Mahomedan chief completely cowed outside, because he dare not encroach upon the British sphere. I hope I have now placed the House at any rate in possession of the point of view which I think is the only one that is justifiable in view of the instructions given to Sir Gerald Portal. The Government are accused of having adopted a drifting policy. The hon. Member for Peterborough (Mr. A. C. Morton), when he said the Government was drifting, was cheered by hon. Members opposite. For a moment I thought hon. Members opposite were in agreement with the hon. Member for Peterborough, but it turned out that, whilst the latter meant the Government were drifting into the country, gentlemen opposite meant that they were drifting out of the country. I think I have at any rate done something to show that the policy of the Government has not been one of drifting but one that was intended to secure the *status quo* during the interval, and to furnish us with full information. I would ask the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), who I understand, has only delivered one half of his speech, to consider before he gives us the other half, the position the Government found themselves in when they took Office. They found that the question of Uganda had not been prejudicial in any way by the Government that preceded them. If the preceding Government had an intention of evacuating the country they had not expressed any opinion as to the measures to be taken. The Company were going to evacuate certainly and absolutely at the end of last year. A certain number of people stated that the country was one with rich possibilities, a country which could grow all kinds of crops, and in which new markets could be opened. I do not wish to attach any definite importance

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to these statements to-night, but they were the statements made by everyone who had been near the country, and much as the House or the Government might doubt their value, there was not in our possession evidence enough to contradict them or prove that they were untrue. There was the further question of what would happen when the Company had evacuated Uganda. First of all it was said the Protestant missionaries and their followers would be massacred, that then the Roman Catholic missionaries and their followers would be massacred, and that there would be a Mahomedan *régime* of a barbarous kind. So far as our information goes at present, nobody has a right to say that these things would not have followed the evacuation of the country by the Company. The point of the hon. Member for Northampton is that this was no business of ours. I do not wish to discuss the question of responsibility now. That may be done later on, but at any rate Uganda was within our sphere of influence, and if we are not responsible for what goes on all over our sphere of influence we certainly have responsibility to this extent—that we keep other people out. It would not have been in the power of the Germans, living close by, to come within our sphere of influence. I do not wish to press the responsibility more than that. But here, with the evidence before us, what was the Government to do, even supposing no special responsibility rested upon us? I venture to say if the Government had allowed the Company to evacuate without taking any steps, if they had not taken any precautions, and these massacres had supervened, I doubt whether all the quotations the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) can bring to bear from Captain Lugard could protect the Government from blame.

MR. LABOUCHERE: My hon. Friend has suggested this Debate should be continued upon the Supplementary Estimates; I can promise him it will be. With that suggestion in view I would ask leave to withdraw my Amendment. If hon. Gentlemen object to that I shall not take a division, but shall say no, in order that there may be no *nemine contradicente*.

***MR. J. W. LOWTHER** (Cumberland, Penrith): Before the question is put, I am anxious to say a few words, not in continuation of the Debate,

but merely for the purpose of congratulating my hon. Friend opposite upon the first speech we have had the pleasure of listening to from the hon. Gentleman in his new capacity, and congratulating the House on having him in the important position which he now holds. I think I may say on behalf of those on these Benches, and others who sit behind me, that we listened with the greatest satisfaction to the speech from the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs. I quite agree with him that I do not think this a very convenient opportunity for entering at great detail into the questions connected with our evacuation or retention of Uganda, but I must point out the reason that many Gentlemen have risen and spoken from this side of the House is due to the fact that the hon. Gentleman the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), who introduced this matter at great length, covered a great deal of ground, and made a great many charges against a great many men about a great many things, and it was only in human nature that those who felt themselves to be attacked should take the earliest opportunity of repelling those attacks. The hon. Member for Westminster (Mr. Burdett-Coutts) went out of his way to defend Captain Lugard. It was unnecessary. He took the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) seriously. Now, the hon. Member for Northampton never takes himself seriously, and he might have contented himself with what the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister himself said with regard to Captain Lugard on the 3rd of March of last year, after he had read the first Report of Captain Lugard upon which the hon. Member for Northampton had animadverted. The Prime Minister on that occasion said, "He is a frank man, a brave man, an able man, and an upright man." Sir, I think we may well leave Captain Lugard's character there. I should like to say a word with regard to the instructions which we have only seen to-day. I confess I think it regrettable that they were not circulated at an earlier period. The Government must have known well that this matter attracted a great deal of public attention, and that the Papers would be asked for. If we had had these Papers to study at an earlier moment I feel certain a consider-

able part of the time spent last Friday might have been saved. But when I come to look at the Instructions themselves, though on the whole they are satisfactory, yet they are not quite so firm as we should have liked to have seen them. It is true that Sir Gerald Portal, on receiving these instructions, would probably presume that no latitude was left to him as to leaving the country altogether. For instance, in the second paragraph, he is told that he has to report as expeditiously as may be on the means of dealing with the country, and that is further limited by the expression "whether through Zanzibar or otherwise." That would make it appear that the country is to be dealt with, and not left entirely alone. Then, I think, it would have been decidedly best, both for our satisfaction and that of Sir Gerald Portal, that this particular point should have been more definitely stated. On one point I should like to ask the Government a question. I observe that these instructions were not, according to the Paper, telegraphed, they seem to have been sent as a despatch on the 10th December, and therefore could not probably have reached Sir Gerald Portal until the 10th January. It appears that Sir Gerald Portal left to go up the country on 1st January. Has he, therefore, received these instructions? No doubt it would be desirable if that point could be cleared up. There is only one other matter on which I would detain the House for a moment, and that is with regard to the action and the policy of Her Majesty's late Government. It has been said that different views have been taken with regard to what the policy of Her Majesty's late Government was. It has been said the late Government had no intention whatever of remaining in Uganda. The right hon. Gentleman opposite described it graphically when he said "the Company came to Lord Salisbury and said we are going, and Lord Salisbury said very well, good-bye." It is perfectly true that there is not, except the answer which was read by my right hon. Friend the Member for East Manchester (Mr. A. J. Balfour), anything that indicates the intention of the Government retaining Uganda. But is there the slightest doubt what the tenour of the policy of the Government at that time

was? I feel certain that at that time no gentlemen on the opposite side of the House would have ventured for a moment to say that it was the intention of the Government to leave Uganda. If it is said that it is an after-thought on the part of right hon. Gentlemen on that Bench that their policy was to remain at Uganda, surely it is much more an after-thought on the part of hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite to say that it was the policy of the late Government to leave Uganda. Sir, the policy to which we were bound, and which I had the honour of advocating in this House, was the policy of constructing a railway with a view eventually of communicating with Uganda. I say that is evidence of the intention of the Government, but if we come to examine dates accurately, we find that it is not until the 18th of May that Her Majesty's Government were informed of the definite intention of the Company to retire from Uganda. I say it was not for Her Majesty's Government at that time, within a few weeks of a Dissolution, to propound a policy, and to come down to the House of Commons and ask for support in carrying out a policy with regard to the retention or evacuation of Uganda. What would have been the answer of right hon. Gentlemen opposite? They would have said—Here you are within a month, within six weeks, of a General Election, possibly you may not be in your places after the General Election is over, and yet you come down and ask the House of Commons, and pledge the House to a particular policy when it is possible that by the time you come to carry out that policy you yourselves may not be in office. I say, Sir, that right hon. Gentlemen opposite would have been the very first persons to complain if Her Majesty's Government at that time had come down to the House and had asked for any particular sum of money or any particular steps to be taken to carry out a policy which was well known to the House, and of which sufficient and full evidence had been given on many occasions.

MR. ROBERT WALLACE (Edinburgh, East) did not intend to make more than one reference, and he should not have made that but for the speech of the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir E. Grey). He should have

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been more satisfied if the Under-Secretary had been pleased to leave it where the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury left the matter. He was perfectly satisfied with the position the right hon. Gentleman left it in, but it seemed to him the Under Secretary went a great deal further. It seemed to him that if he were silent he should find himself committed to what was, as he thought it, a distinct justification of what he would call the Lugard policy in Uganda. He had not heard from any of the Front Bench, or any of those who were representatives and leaders in this matter, any decision upon the point. Their policy was a policy of inquiry, and they could not be in a position, adopting a policy of inquiry, to pronounce a judgment favourable or unfavourable, on the Lugard policy, until after they received the results of that inquiry. He did not imagine for a moment the hon. Baronet (Sir E. Grey) desired to commit others further than they desired to be committed, but that he had only spoken the utterance of his own mind, and he therefore desired to enter this brief *caveat* in the hope that on another opportunity they would more fully go into details that had been very scantily given on both sides in this discussion, and that the facts would be more adequately and completely disclosed.

MR. COURTNEY (Cornwall, Bodmin) : I think some one on the Ministerial Bench should answer the important question raised by the late Under Secretary (Mr. J. W. Lowther), namely, is there any evidence that the Instructions have been received?

*SIR E. GREY : Perhaps I may be allowed to reply to that question. It is the first time the idea has occurred to me regarding the receipt of the Instructions ; if the right hon. Gentleman will give notice of a question I will be glad to reply exactly how they were sent out, and when they reached Sir Gerald Portal.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Main Question again proposed.

*MR. WHARTON (Yorks, W.R., Ripon) said, that in rising to propose the Amendment standing in his name he could not help being reminded at the moment that he was rising from a seat which until lately was occupied by another, and that the House had suffered a great loss in the death, within the last

few days, of a gentleman who was one of the most true and loyal hearted of Englishmen. He doubted not the name of Sir Walter Barttelot would be remembered as that of a model Member of Parliament and a true-hearted Englishman, who in his capacity served his Queen and country to the best of his ability. He was grateful to the House for allowing him to say these few words with regard to him who had gone from amongst them. His excuse for moving the Amendment must be that he felt, on reading the words of the Queen's Speech, the most important question of the present day, the depression in agriculture, had not been treated in the way that those interested in the land of England hoped that it would have been treated. The words in the Gracious Speech were—

"I have observed with concern a wide prevalence of agricultural distress in many parts of the country. It is hoped that, among the causes of the present depression, some may be temporary in their nature."

He (Mr. Wharton) certainly hoped that might be the case, but he failed to understand where there was ground for such a hope at the present time. That the existence of the depression was a real existence he thought there could be no doubt whatever, and the cause for the depression was not far to seek and was to be found in the simple sentence—a great fall in prices. A fall in prices must be followed by a depression, whatever the industry was. With regard to the cause of the fall of prices in agriculture there might be many opinions; but, to his thinking, the principal cause of this great fall in prices was the present low freightage from other countries. Not many years ago they were told it was almost impossible that English agricultural products could be undersold, because the cost of freight would be so great from other distant countries to England; that it would be so much put on to the price of agricultural products; that it would not be worth while bringing them over. But lately there had been such an enormous improvement in steamships, such improvements in the machinery, so much lessening of the cost of working of ships, that these, amongst other things, had lowered the prices of agricultural products from India, Canada, and Australia to England, and that had

caused a great depression in the prices in England. He was not for a moment going to deny it was of great advantage to the consumer if he could have the article he consumed at a cheap rate, but his argument at this moment was that there was a great fall in prices caused, amongst other things, by the causes he had already mentioned. The other night he listened to the very able speech of the Mover of the Address, a gentleman largely interested in agriculture, and had hoped he should have heard from him some suggestions as to the alteration of the present state of things, but he was sorry to say that from the beginning to the end of that able speech he did not hear anything that he thought would bring comfort to the mind of the distressed agriculturist. When the hon. Member told them that in that part of England with which he was connected at the present time there was great competition for farms, he could only say that he fancied that was rather a rare part of England, because from his own experience and from all he had heard and read there was much greater difficulty in getting a farm taken than finding a large crowd of farmers coming to compete for farms. No doubt there were several farmers in England who had left other farms which they were unable to profitably work, and who would be only too glad to take up others which they could work to profit. Farms from their vicinity to large towns might reasonably be expected to bear a profit, which other farms not so favourably situated had not been able to realise. He was not going to deny there might be such farms, but he believed it to be an exceeding rare state of things. There was one matter in regard to this fall of prices that it was most important for Englishmen to consider, namely, whether by the cessation of the growing of corn—which he was sorry to say was rapidly spreading—they were not going to set up a state of things that would result in very serious difficulties in regard to the population of the towns. They were told that arable land demanded three men to one for the same quantity of grass land. He would ask the House to consider whether they ought not to try to stop, in some way or other, a state of things which would inevitably lead to an enormous increase in the number of unemployed. If they were going to

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tural labourers? If that were the state of things generally existing—and he did not doubt that it was—then it must be apparent to everybody that some remedy, and an immediate remedy, was absolutely necessary. Speakers on platforms outside the House said over and over again that the remedy for this state of things was a reduction of the rent. He asked these gentlemen how they proposed to remedy the state of things that existed in the county of Essex. In that county, no less than 6,000 acres of land, which was some of the finest wheat-producing land in England, were now lying in a state of desolation. In what possible way could a reduction of rent give relief to that district? And he was afraid that that was not an isolated instance of land going back to its prairie state for want of cultivation. He looked upon this as a national loss, for this land, now lying absolutely idle, produced some years ago thousands of pounds a year which went to the benefit of the English nation. He might be asked what local burdens would he reduce in order to give some relief to agriculturists. The sanitary rate, for instance, was inequitably laid on the land. He knew more than one instance in the county of Durham where there were coal-pits owned by companies who did not live in the district, but who took the profits out of the coal of the district; who laid down machinery, built large rows of houses for the pit-men. But who paid the rates for the sanitation of these houses and pits? The unfortunate farmers who lived round the pits, but who had not one pennyworth of profit out of the pits. That was a state of things which to his mind was intolerable. It was not alone in the county to which he referred, but throughout England, that the imposition of the sanitary rate was inequitable and uneven. Some few years ago agriculturists were relieved of half the police rate by the Imperial Exchequer. He did not see why the other half of that rate should not be also taken off their shoulders. In his opinion the police of the county should be paid out of Imperial funds, and not out of local funds. The whole country was gaining by the present low prices of food, and surely the country should do something to relieve the burdens of agriculturists who were suffering through these

low prices. This question equally interested every class connected with the land. It interested the landlord, the tenant and the agricultural labourer. He knew it was often said, especially by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) in his paper, "put fresh burdens on the landlords." Why, the landlords in their present position were relatively far worse off than the agricultural labourers. In the County of Norfolk there were only 13 country gentlemen, as they were commonly styled, who were able to live in their own houses. That seemed to him to be a matter for serious consideration, and it should show that when the hon. Member for Northampton suggested the laying of fresh burdens on the landlords, he was proposing the putting of the saddle on the wrong horse. He thought it was the bounden duty of the Government to put a stop to the fraudulent sale of foreign food as English food. It could be done by the Government in a few days by something like the extension of the Merchandise Marks Act to foreign food. The right hon. Member for the Dartford Division of Kent (Sir William Hart-Dyke) had got a place for a Bill by which he proposed penalties for the fraudulent sale of fruit. But he should like to see a Bill for preventing the fraudulent sale of foreign meat and foreign cheese for English meat and cheese. Some hon. Members might say that that was impossible. He thought it could be done by a Bill providing that every man dealing in a wholesale way in foreign carcases should be bound to keep an account of his receipts and expenditure, and be bound to submit these accounts to an Inspector appointed by the Board of Agriculture or by the County Councils; and furthermore that those who sold these articles by retail in shops should be bound to clearly distinguish home and foreign supplies. These provisions would in no way affect the honest dealers, while they would tend to compel the dishonest dealer to act honestly. Then he wished to see further restrictions to prevent the importation of cattle disease amongst our flocks and herds. He wanted to have the cattle and sheep slaughtered at the port of debarkation, and the fullest compensation paid to those who had their cattle and sheep slaughtered for the safety of their neighbours' flocks and

berds. He entreated the Government to deal promptly with these matters. The Government had excellent advisers in their own Minister of Agriculture and in the officials who acted with him, and under those circumstances it would be only the folly of procrastination to refer the question to a Select Committee. He could assure the Government that unless something was done, and done quickly, to relieve the wide-spread depression in agriculture a feeling of great disappointment would arise amongst the agricultural population of the North with which he was acquainted, which would develop into a feeling of wrath against the Government that they would find it difficult to withstand. He begged to move his Amendment.

MR. A. F. JEFFREYS (Hants, Basingstoke) seconded the Amendment. He said he should have thought that everybody, not only in the House, but every resident of towns and cities, as well as of country districts, knew that the agricultural depression of the last few years was the greatest the country ever had experienced. They had had for some time past many bad years, but last year there was a climax, for the hay crop failed, the prices of sheep and cattle were lower than they had been for years, and the price of wheat went down to a degree it never reached before in the history of the country. How did the Government propose to give relief to those affected by this unprecedented depression in agriculture? They promised an inquiry, as if an inquiry could do any good when it was patent to everybody that the depression was as severe as it could possibly be. It had been said that the low prices of agricultural produce was due to the excess of home production. But that could not be the cause of the low price of wheat, because the production of wheat had been getting lower and lower every year. During the past ten years the production of wheat had decreased by half a million acres. It was still going down, and possibly the country would have to face a state of things in which the growing of wheat would be given up altogether. During the same ten years the population had increased by no less than 3,000,000, so that we had a large increase of the population with a large decrease of the acreage devoted to raising food for that population. It was

most important for the country to realise that they imported most of their food. They only produced 7,000,000 quarters of wheat in the country, while they imported 20,000,000 quarters, and he considered it a lamentable thing that the home trade in wheat should have gone down so much that they were compelled to depend almost entirely on foreign countries for that commodity. If agriculturists got some relief from their local burdens, possibly their great industry would revive again and they would be able not only to provide food for the country but give employment to the vast number of labourers who lived by the land. He did not at all agree with the Mover of the Address (Mr. George Lambert) when he said that in many parts of England the rents were altogether too high. He knew that in his own county rents had gone down 50 per cent., and he should say that throughout the whole country, taking arable and grazing land together, the reduction in rents amounted to 40 per cent. He would ask the house to reflect on what other countries had done for agriculture. Agriculture was in a state of decline throughout the world, but other countries had recognised the fact that agriculture was their greatest industry, so some of them gave protection to home produce, and others went so far as to give bounties to those who produced the food of the country. He could not ask the House to do that—he knew the benefit of cheap food—but he asked them to relieve the agriculturists from some of their local taxation. Take the land tax for instance. A good deal of that tax had been redeemed, but at present it brought in £1,050,000 to the Imperial Exchequer. He did not ask that the tax should be remitted altogether, but he did ask that it should be given to the County Councils for the reduction of the rates of the counties in which it was levied, and in doing that the Government would be only following to some extent the precedent given them by the Chancellor of the Exchequer of the late Government. He hoped they would be able to induce the present Chancellor of the Exchequer to give them this land tax also for the relief of local burdens, and he was sure that unless something of the kind was done the land would continue to go out of cultivation, and the number of labourers

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thrown out of employment would increase year after year. The farmers could not afford in many instances to work the land properly. They were obliged by their poverty to starve the land, and he greatly feared agriculture would go from bad to worse unless something was done by the Government to relieve the depression.

Amendment proposed,

At the end of the Question to add the words "but this House humbly expresses its regret that no measures are announced by Your Majesty for the present relief of those who are affected by the existing wide-spread depression in Agriculture, either by means of readjustment of local burdens or otherwise."—(*Mr. Wharton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

***MR. R. L. EVERETT** (Suffolk, Woodbridge) said he had the disadvantage of being one of the few members of the House who endeavoured to earn their livelihood by the pursuit of farming, and he could assure the House that what had been said about the great depression in agriculture had not been in the slightest degree exaggerated. The Eastern Counties, from which he came, felt the depression in its acutest form. It was indeed lamentable to see the sad state into which our oldest industry had fallen there. Only on Saturday he read in the *East Anglian Daily Times* the letter of a Commissioner sent by that paper to inquire into the state of agriculture in the county of Suffolk. Writing of one parish with which he—the Commissioner—had been acquainted personally 14 years before, he said that some of the farms had had five tenants in succession since 1879, all of whom had been broken, and there was not a single instance throughout that district of 14 parishes (it was near Lowestoft) of a farm being now in the possession of the family which occupied it 14 years ago. He read in the same paper an account of the sad suicide of a farmer, and he was sorry to say that suicide was now becoming a very common form of death in the Eastern Counties amongst occupiers of land owing to the great depression in agriculture. The change for the worse which had come over agriculture was almost incredible. Many in that House could remember, as he could, the time when agriculture was one of the most flourishing industries in the country.

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Large fortunes, it was true, were never made by farmers as they were in trade, but during the time of which he spoke all farmers who gave reasonable attention to their business could at least make both ends meet and put by a little for their families. For years and years during the earlier time of his recollection, the bankruptcy of a farmer was a thing almost unknown. But for the last 15 years the industry had been steadily declining, and now many farmers, honest, industrious, careful men, had been reduced to beggary, and not a few of them, broken hearted by their troubles, had taken their own lives as being the readiest means of escape from their misfortunes. He was, therefore, glad that the Government had mentioned the agricultural depression in the Queen's Speech, because sympathy was very sweet to people in trouble, though they of course would be glad of more substantial aid. He was fully convinced that the depression from which agriculturists suffered might be prevented, and that it was entirely and easily within the power of the Government, if they were so minded, to lift the dreadful cloud which now hangs over the agricultural districts of the country. To cure a disease we must understand it. He was sure that the relief of the present depression was not to be found in altering the law of tenure as between tenant and landowner, nor in dividing the rate between owners and occupiers, nor was it to be found in giving the tenant additional security in his farm. The County Liberal Members had drawn up a long list of measures, a list nearly as long as his arm, dealing with agricultural law, which they would like to see passed. He would be glad to help them to pass those measures. But he as a yeoman farmer was already in possession of all those advantages which some of his hon. Friends proposed to give to tenants by legislation. He was sorry to say, however, that as a farmer he was bankrupt. The proposed reforms would not more than touch the great depression under which they were suffering, neither was the cure to be found in lowering rents. They must, indeed, continue to come down. But rents were somebody's income, and the fall of rents was part of the prevailing distress—a very painful part—but by no means its cure. The hon. Gen-

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tleman who moved the Amendment was quite right when he said that the real cause of their distress was the fall in prices. There could be no doubt that that and that alone was the cause of the strange alteration in their condition. What they wanted to understand was what was the cause of that fall in prices, and he had satisfied himself that what they were suffering from was the reappearance of an old disease, a disease with which their fathers in their youth, and their grandfathers, were very familiar. They would find the name of it again and again in the agricultural literature of the first half of this century. The disease, which often raged then, was called contraction of the currency. Doctors liked to give grand names to diseases, the English of this name was—scarcity of money, a famine of money. The symptoms of the disease, too, were described in many books of the period. Among the descriptions he had met with of those symptoms was one which came from the merchants and bankers of Loudon, and was presented to this House as a Petition in May, 1819, as follows :—

“ Your petitioners have reason to apprehend that measures are in contemplation with reference to the resumption of cash payments by the Bank of England, which, in the humble opinion of your petitioners, will tend to a forced, precipitate, and highly injurious contraction of the currency of the country. That the consequences of such a contraction will be, as your petitioners humbly conceive, to add to the burden of the Public Debt, greatly to increase the pressure of the taxes, to lower the value of all landed and commercial property, seriously to affect and embarrass both public and private credit, to embarrass and reduce all the operations of agriculture, manufacture, and commerce, and to throw out of employment, as in 1816, a great proportion of the industrious and labouring classes of the community.”

The symptoms of the disease were five in number. First, a general fall in prices necessarily followed ; secondly, by a loss of profit on the part of those who were engaged in industry. That, again, thirdly, led to a reduction of wages ; and, besides, fourthly, to a lessening of employment, an even more serious evil to working men than reduction of wages. Lastly, there was a serious and most unjust interference with contracts, and a cruel addition to the burden of debts. Every man with a mortgage or other charge on his estate, every leaseholder, too, found the interest on his mortgage

or the rent he had contracted to pay, a much heavier and more serious matter to him than before. What he paid with ease before became to him now a ruinous charge, and he found, through no fault whatever of his own, himself landed in bankruptcy. He had been studying with much interest lately the agricultural history of the present century. It was full of meaning to anyone who would calmly and patiently consider its teachings. It spoke with a voice clear and emphatic. The student of the agricultural history of this century would find that outside of the natural causes of good and bad seasons affecting agricultural prosperity or adversity, two other great factors had played an important part—those were Corn Laws and Currency Laws. The first of these he would find comparatively weak and impotent, the second all-powerful, and, indeed, almost almighty. He would expect, probably, with modern notions in his head, that when he came to the time early in the century when the Corn Laws were imposed, namely, to 1815, that the imposition of those Corn Laws was followed by a great rise in prices ; but he would find, to his astonishment and amazement, that no such result followed, but that instead, after the imposition of the Corn Laws, taking an average of a few years, prices were actually lower and considerably lower, instead of being higher. The Corn Laws entirely failed to bring about the object which their promoters had in view when they imposed them. The student would find that the first Corn Law of 1815 aimed at keeping the price of wheat at 80s. a quarter, but that under it the price of wheat in 1822 fell to 44s. ; and that all the time the law of 1815 and the still stronger law of 1822 lasted, the average price was lower, much lower, than before the Corn Laws were imposed at all. The next Corn Law, passed in 1828, aimed at keeping the price at 64s. a quarter, and again missed its mark ; the last aimed at keeping it at 56s. a quarter, and also failed to accomplish its purpose. Then they came to the time when the Corn Laws were repealed, namely, to 1846 ; and to the astonishment of the generation of farmers who were cultivating the land at the time, and of the land-owning classes, and who looked forward with great apprehension to the effect of the repeal of the Corn Laws ; instead of that repeal

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being followed by agricultural ruin, it was followed by the longest and most continuous period of agricultural prosperity that this century had ever known. Prices fell after repeal for a few years, and there was some agricultural suffering in consequence, but they soon lifted again, and with the rise began a prosperity which continued unbroken for fully a quarter of a century. That showed them that the factor of the Corn Laws did not play the part that might have been expected in producing agricultural prosperity, and he would commend that fact to the hon. Gentleman opposite, who looked now to the imposition of a duty for a return to agricultural prosperity. The duties imposed by the past Corn Laws were no beggarly 5s. a quarter duties. They were very high duties indeed, or else absolute prohibition, yet they absolutely failed to give continuous prosperity to agriculture. The period of the Corn Laws was a time in which there was very great distress and very cruel suffering in agriculture, and, on the whole, the 30 years that followed the repeal of the Corn Laws were a great deal more prosperous than the 31 years during which the Corn Laws lasted. Now they came to the other of those two great factors of which he had spoken—namely, the Currency Laws, *i.e.*, laws affecting the quantity of money in circulation; and here, he might say, the honest, impartial student would find was the real key to the agricultural position of the century. When there was an abundant supply of money, agriculture flourished; when that supply was cut off, then distress set in. In 1797 the Bank of England suspended cash payments till the conclusion of the war, and the ordinary money in circulation while the war lasted consisted of £1 and £2 notes, which notes were inconvertible, and it was the abundant supply of these inconvertible notes, poured out between 1797 and 1815, which led to the high prices and to the great prosperity both of agriculture and manufacture and commerce during that period. It was popularly supposed that it was war which caused those high prices. But, as a matter of fact, at that time England was an exporting rather than an importing country. We gave bounties at that time to encourage the growth of wheat for exportation. In the 18th century war in Europe lowered instead of raised

English prices. It was the abundance of money from 1797 to 1815 that caused the range of prices over that period to be so high. Then they came to 1816. That was a year of dreadful distress in the country, and why was that? It was a very wet harvest that year, but that was not the cause of the distress. It was a fall in prices that caused it. What caused the fall? Why, under the arrangement by which the inconvertible notes had been in circulation during the wars, it was stipulated that at the conclusion of peace, after the lapse of so many months, they were to be called in, or made convertible on demand into hard cash, and it was the apprehension of these notes being called in that led to the fall and the distress. In 1817 the Government postponed for two years the return to cash payments. Immediately they had done that, and immediately bankers were so allowed again to pour out the paper money plentifully, without fear of its being immediately called in, prices rose again, and the dreadful depression of 1816 was succeeded by two years of great prosperity. Then they came to 1819, when the measure was passed for the return to cash payments, and when it was ordered that they should be resumed, he thought in the beginning of 1820 or 1821, and the small notes were to come in in 1823. Then began an era of distress frightful to read of. The lowest depth of the distress to the agricultural classes was reached in 1822. The country generally was plunged into wholesale bankruptcy. It was said that something like half the farmers and traders in the United Kingdom were ruined in the years 1819, 1820, 1821, and 1822. It was in 1819 that the Peterloo massacre took place. The whole country was in grievous and lamentable trouble caused—mark, not by a rise, but by a fall in prices. Everybody's industry was becoming unprofitable to him. Employers being ruined, men stood about in their thousands unemployed; it was the fall in prices caused by the great contraction in the supply of money and credit that all produced the appalling misery. So great had the distress become in 1822 that in 1823 Her Majesty's Government gave the small notes 10 years more of life before they finally were to come in, and immediately they did that things lifted again, and a better state of things

was brought about in the country. He would step on to 1829. The Parliament anticipated the 10 years which in 1823 they had given the notes further to run, and, frightened by a great failure of banks which occurred in 1825, they agreed in 1826 that no more stamps should be issued for small notes, and that the notes which were circulating should cease to run when 1829 came. In that year they had all the same trouble over again—another fall in prices, and the country groaning from end to end with misery, misery which continued through many weary suffering years. In 1833 there was another inquiry into agricultural distress; there had been one in 1820 to 1821 and 1822, and that distress was shown in both cases to have had its origin in the lower scale of prices which prevailed, which lower scale was due, as we have seen, to contraction in the supply of money. He could quote, if he was not afraid of trespassing unduly on the patience of the House, the words of statesman after statesman living in those times, such as Sir James Graham, Earl Stanhope, Mr. Attwood, the then Member for Birmingham, Lord John Russell, &c., to the effect that it was the change in the Money Laws which had caused the fall and the consequent distress. The only other legislation affecting money which he would mention was the Bill of Sir Robert Peel, passed in 1844, called the Bank Restriction Act, an Act which still further limited the issue of notes. That did not cause a contraction anything like so large as those passed in the earlier part of the century; but it was a measure in the same direction, and the country was full of difficulty and sorrow then. That was the time when the Chartists were in activity, and when the country was very much disturbed through the bitter sufferings which the people endured. All the way through, practically, from 1819 to the great gold discoveries which began in 1849, there was more or less of misery in this country both in agriculture and manufactures—misery often dreadful to read of. Coming to the gold discoveries, we begin a new era. As the earth yielded up the new-found treasure, as the money came pouring in from Australia and California, there began to be a new life infused into the industries of the country, alike

in agriculture and in commerce; and in the whole history of mankind, so far as he knew, there was no parallel to the prosperity that was then enjoyed by the civilised nations of the earth, say from 1853 to 1873. The cause of that extraordinary and marvellous progress was the pouring out of this abundant supply of new money. Yet notwithstanding this clear teaching of history as to the blessings which abundant money brought, and the evils which limiting the supply of it brought, he had reason to fear that there were Gentlemen and even right hon. Gentlemen in that House sitting not far from him who did not believe in the contraction of the supply of money being an evil, and the increase in its abundance being a good. Doubtless they would have prevented these gold discoveries if they could. Thank God that had not been in their power. He begged the House to mark that the gold discoveries did not bring cheapness, which now-a-days was supposed to be the chief of all blessings. Prices lifted when the new gold was poured out, and it was the increase of prices, not the fall of prices, that made all that prosperity. He repeated, that the fact that abundance of money was a benefit, and contraction of its supply an evil, was a truth written upon the pages of the history of this century as with a beam of light. Then they came to the last period in the monetary history of this century, that which began in 1873. Then began a movement which was not new in kind, but new in the form which it took. It was paper money, which had been the object of attack before. It was sought now to dispense with the use of one of the two precious metals. Allured by the idea that the gold standard in England had something to do with her previous prosperity, German statesmen after the war, and when they had a number of separate States, with separate coinages, to weld into one Empire, determined that they would have a new currency, and a new standard, and that that new currency and standard should be gold. That step having been taken by Germany, a step was taken in the United States which stood alone in the history of monetary legislation. A fraud was committed, probably bought and paid for by capitalists' money—he had read that the fraud was engineered from London. A few words

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were omitted out of one clause of a Statute that was going through the Houses of Parliament in America—the words “silver dollar”—so that when that Act was passed it was no longer legal to coin silver dollars, and another clause was interpolated in another Act passed the next year, which limited the legal tender of silver, as in England, to £2. The United States was on paper money at the time, cash payments not having then been resumed after her Civil War. The President did not know that these things were in the Statutes when he signed them. This enormous change in the law as to money was not discussed in the Houses of Parliament in America; it was not known to the Houses of Parliament that enormous changes were being made, and one could not escape from the conclusion that there was a hand behind somewhere—that there was money found by somebody to bribe somebody to get this thing done for a purpose, and what that purpose was soon became apparent. For France, frightened at the action of Germany, and not being friendly disposed to her after the war, and learning what had been done, in the United States against silver, began to modify the conditions under which she received silver into her Mints in such a way as to disparage silver as compared with gold. Then, in a few years she closed her Mints against the white metal, and thus broke the bond which had hitherto kept silver and gold in marriage union. It was the most disastrous and memorable divorce recorded in the whole history of mankind. From this time, nation after nation began to bar the use of one of the two precious metals to its subjects, and to confine the full free use to the other, thus putting a much greater strain upon that one. The natural effect was that as the area over which the use of gold alone was allowed full use extended the value of gold was forced up, to the great enrichment of its owners, and prices measured by gold were correspondingly forced down. To his mind, this action against silver, seeing that every step in it had been taken by legislation, could only accurately be described as the protection of gold. How could they protect an article better than by restricting by law the free competition of that which had been accustomed to compete with it? He had been very

much struck by a remark he read a year or two since, which fell from the lips of his honoured Leader on this matter. He was an ardent admirer of his right hon. Friend; no one had worked harder to bring him into power, no one followed his political lead with more hearty willingness, but in this case he had felt that his great Leader was entirely in the wrong. Speaking of bi-metallism, the right hon. Gentleman said that “it was protection in disguise.” He thought the right hon. Gentleman had been a little blinded in his judgment by the fact that the late, the first, and very competent Minister of Agriculture, who had discharged so well the duties of his office, and who was an advocate of protection, had been advocating bi-metallism. To describe it as “protection” was as grotesque and false a description as was possible. It was, indeed, the direct opposite of the truth. What bi-metallists wanted was to break down the monopoly of gold; to have Mints as free as ports; to treat both metals exactly alike, coining both freely at the Mints, not giving one legislative preference in any way over the other. It was against the protection of gold that they protested, a protection which, as its area had extended from nation to nation during the last 20 years, had spread ruin amongst the great industries of all gold standard countries. Farmers to-day in all gold standard countries were the victims of protection, not of Free Trade, of the protection of gold, the commodity for which they exchange all their products, and with which alone they could pay their way. His right hon. Friend's gross misdescription of our desire for free coinage reminded him of the old fable of the wolf and the lamb. It was the farmer who had reason to cry out against the protection which was ruining him. This modern cruel contraction of money and the unnatural forcing up of the value of gold had been the means of inflicting enormous injury and privation and most bitter suffering on large numbers of perfectly innocent people in different parts of the world. He earnestly hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would yet be able, before he finished his great career, to crown it with the noble work of placing the currency of this country on a sound and broad foundation; so removing the evils which now existed as between the money

of India and the money of England, by making both of their monies one, and insuring that whatever of gold and silver might be stored up in the earth, men should be allowed free access to it, to coin it into money, to put it into their pockets, and to circulate it through all the channels of industry and trade with happy effect. It was his firm belief that if the right hon. Gentleman would do this, the deplorable depression now resting upon many of our great industries, both here and in our colonies, would immediately begin to lift, and happy prosperity would take its place.

***MR. A. M. BROOKFIELD** (Sussex, Rye) said he rose for the purpose of supporting the Amendment of his hon. Friend, and he would like, before touching upon the question which it raised, to take that opportunity, as a Sussex Member, of returning thanks to the Member who in the previous part of the Debate had spoken so kindly of the late Sir Walter Barttelot. He, for his part, could say that he should always miss the late Baronet's ripe judgment and experience, and should always be proud to follow his example in all that concerned the public life and traditions of that House. He fully shared the regret which had been expressed at the absence from Her Majesty's Gracious Speech of any proposal of definite measures for dealing with the present lamentable condition of the agricultural industry. One point, however, had been gained, and that was the evident willingness of all parties in the country, including Her Majesty's Government, to admit that they were in the presence of a serious crisis, although some might be uncertain as to the measures to be adopted to cope with it. He thought most moderate men would agree that it was extremely desirable to avoid on that occasion any argument that might make the existing situation more bitter as regards relations between landlord and tenant, or between tenant and labourer. If they were once to compare who was most entitled to sympathy, or who was most entitled to immediate legislation, they would find beyond dispute that the tenant farmer, the occupier, had suffered a great deal more heavily than either the owner or tiller of the soil. Of late in these

agricultural debates each class had been represented. He was glad to notice the hon. Member for the North West Division of Norfolk in his place, and he was glad to hear two speeches from hon. Members who had been returned to the House as tenant farmers, but there was no striking similarity between those two speeches, except in one important particular, which he would mention presently. The hon. Member for the South Molton Division of Devonshire was, he believed, intended as a representative of the tenant farmers, but he judged from his speech either that he had suffered less than other tenant farmers, or else that, from some very powerful considerations, he refrained from stating the full extent and cause of his misfortunes. He very much preferred listening to the able and practical speech of the hon. Member for the Woodbridge Division of Suffolk. The Member for South Molton could hardly be serious in some of his arguments, especially when he spoke of vexatious disturbance in tenancy or tenure as one of the causes of depression and as one of the disturbing elements. The hon. Gentleman might have answered him very practically by pointing to a certain tract of land in his own county. A correspondent of the *Standard* had investigated the circumstance in that county, and amongst other things he showed in a communication published in December last, that along the coach road from Newmarket to Tedford, in a drive of twenty miles, one could not see a single acre of land that was tenanted. It was from no want of fixity of tenure that these lands were not tenanted; and when they had these waste lands on the one hand, and large numbers of unemployed on the other, he did not think it should be beyond the power of statesmanship to bring one to bear upon the other. The hon. Member for South Molton also spoke of exorbitant rents, but the hon. Member for the Woodbridge Division sufficiently disposed of that argument, by saying that he did not pay rent at all, because he owned his own land; and he would point out to the hon. Gentleman that plenty of land was to be got for nothing, except the obligation of paying some small charges upon it. He thought the Mover of the Address had mentioned two causes of

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the present depression with which the whole House was disposed to agree—one was the incidence of local taxation and the other was the exorbitance of railway rates. On both these points he hoped the hon. Member would use his influence with the Government and assist Members on the Opposition side to press these matters and secure speedy legislation. The railway rates legislation of the late Government had had, unquestionably, just the result it was not intended to have, and he trusted the railway companies would agree to make further legislation unnecessary, and that hon. Gentlemen opposite would join in trying to obtain a more rational state of things. The point that induced him to address the House at all on this Amendment was that the Mover of the Address avoided most studiously the essential element in the agricultural situation. He asked whether it was fair to engage in what was called an exhaustive discussion of the situation without taking into account the very first element that affected it—that of foreign competition. They might hold different opinions as to how they should deal with it, and they might hold different ideas as to the expediency of expressing the opinions that they did hold, but to say nothing on the subject of foreign competition seemed to him not only illogical but disingenuous as well. The Member for South Molton said the foreigner enjoyed advantages over the producer at home in respect to land-tenure and railway rates, but he did not venture to follow up the subject any further. He had, however, referred to those who had made “fallacious promises” with regard to Protection. If hon. Members opposite put into their mouths the word “Protection,” which not half a dozen on this side of the House had ever used, and if then Protection was explained as synonymous with dear bread, and if it was further explained that it was because it was synonymous with dear bread he and his colleagues wanted to impose it, it was certainly not difficult to prove in that case that they were the enemies of the people. They asked, however, to be allowed to tell their own story in this matter. They on their side had taken an interest—a painful interest—in the present condition of agriculture, and they

had come to the conclusion that 85 per cent.—or, perhaps, 90 per cent.—of the farmers of the country had come to; the same conclusion at which the Agricultural Conference—the largest and most representative body to which he could refer—had come to, that the main and chief cause of the existing trouble was the unrestricted importation of untaxed, unrated labour-competing foreign products. And, having arrived at this conclusion, they had inquired into the system of taxation, to see whether it really was too sacred a thing to be capable of any improvement. He would like hon. Gentlemen to rise and tell them that system was perfect. The revenues of this country were raised by the imposition of duties on the breakfast and dinner tables, and on the beer and tobacco of the poorest classes—the working men. He took the case of beer, and it was not the least important. It could scarcely be denied that the agricultural classes—the farmers, labourers, but the barley-growers and hop-growers more particularly—would derive very much more benefit from a different arrangement of the Beer Tax. The present Excise Duty on beer had the effect of making that beer bad, and it gave no encouragement whatever to the barley or hop industries. With a tax on foreign barley and hops they would not have to complain of 20 miles of waste tracts. On the contrary, they would be cultivated and worked by remunerative tillage, and many thousands of persons would find employment—men, women, and children. They only asked that when they advocated any moderate or temperate reforms of this character they should not be misrepresented. They were fortunately discussing the question now in an Assembly where argument and assertion could be contradicted if deemed necessary, and he hoped any hon. Gentleman who could contradict his arguments or assertions would not hesitate to do so. He was of opinion that the poor people in the districts where depression existed and where land was going to waste, sympathised with his arguments, and did not look upon his friends as enemies because they ventured to point out what they saw for themselves. It had been said they wanted to place a fixed duty on wheat, but neither the Agricultural Union nor any

Members with whom he was personally acquainted advocated a fixed duty at all. They had, however, advocated, as Sir Robert Peel had done, a sliding scale. If the Minister for Agriculture was in a position to prove that the imposition of a duty on cereals must effect a rising in the price of bread, he should be able to prove that when the price of wheat was ruinously low, the price of bread became advantageously cheap. If wheat was cheap, so should be the price of bread. Instead of being so, it was dearer than it had been for a considerable length of time. But he would emphasise before the House that the enhancement of the price of wheat need not mean the enhancement of the price of bread. The price of bread at present corresponded with what it should be if the price of wheat was 40s. per quarter, and he believed the farmers of the country would see a remunerative investment for their capital, if wheat stood at that figure. In the speech from the Throne, a Parliamentary inquiry had been promised into the whole subject of agricultural depression. He could only say that he should view such an inquiry with suspicion, and with more particular suspicion, if it excluded from his purview a review of our fiscal system which he believed to be at the bottom of the present trouble. He should look with less anxiety to the inquiry that was to be held and to the whole policy Her Majesty's Government would pursue towards agriculture if they had not selected this unfortunate moment to degrade the Minister of Agriculture from the place he formerly occupied in the Cabinet. He could not altogether join in all the commendations which had been heaped upon the present occupant of that post, and he only hoped that the right hon. Gentleman hereafter would earn the reputation which, up to the present, he had done nothing to deserve. He (Mr. Brookfield) would vote for the Amendment to show his dissatisfaction at the announcement made in the Speech from the Throne, and as a protest against the attitude of the Government in promising legislation upon various subjects in which the people of England took no interest whatever, while only vaguely hinting at an inquiry into a matter which vitally concerned the whole of the United Kingdom.

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*DR. FARQUHARSON (Aberdeenshire, W.) said the hon. Gentleman who had moved the Amendment had made as strong an attack as his amiable nature would permit on the policy of Her Majesty's Government, and had suggested remedies which would doubtless come under the careful consideration of the Commission that he (Dr. Farquharson) was glad to hear that this Government had decided to appoint. He would follow the example of the hon. Gentleman, and refrain from entering into the question of local burdens, for that was a question that affected the English farmer more than the Scotch, they, in the North, having already reached that "consummation devoutly to be wished," in which the taxation was paid half by the owner and half by the occupier. It was said by the Mover of the Address that rents were still being forced up by the competition which was going on for land. He (Dr. Farquharson) could back up that statement to a certain extent, and he had no doubt the contradiction given by the right hon. Gentleman the late Leader of the House (Mr. A. J. Balfour) was due to the fact that he lived in a county of large farms where competition had ceased. In his (Dr. Farquharson's) part of the county, when a small farm with a modest rent was put into the market there was fierce competition for it, the result being undue inflation of rent, which the incoming tenant frequently found himself unable to pay. He was glad the hon. Member who moved the Amendment, had not said anything about Protection. He had been expecting to see, peeping through the fleece of this conservation, the wolf's tail of Protection. The hon. Gentleman who had just sat down had hinted at it, and would like to call it by some other name. He (Dr. Farquharson) preferred to call it by its proper name, and the farmers of the North were determined that at all events they would have nothing to do with Protection. They had entirely repudiated it as a heresy which was now dead—a heresy as dead as Queen Anne, or as a door nail, or as any other method of expressing physical extinction, and he was sorry to say that his weak intellect was unable to follow the hon. Gentleman into the

thorny jungles of that difficult question, bimetalism. His own people did not care much about it. They appreciated gold and did not depreciate silver. They were glad enough to get either in these hard times. He was certain of this—they did not understand what the question really meant, and they had an idea that after all there was something in the nature of protection lurking round it. The Debate on the Queen's Speech would have been depressing to agricultural Members if it had not been for the statement of the Mover of the Address which had given them some hope and inspired them with some confidence. They were told that they were to have a Committee or Commission of some kind to inquire into the present condition of agriculture, and he (Dr. Farquharson) had only risen to "heckle" the Minister for Agriculture on the matter. Was the Committee to be of an ambulatory or stationary kind? Was it to go round the country taking evidence, and, above all, was Scotland to be included within the scope of the inquiry. He was sure that all who represented agricultural constituencies would have preferred to hear from the Government some definite indication that some Bill would have been brought forward for the relief of the agricultural distress, but at the same time it was generally dangerous to treat symptoms without having a full knowledge of the causes which were at the bottom of the disease. He believed this was a sincere and conscientious, and he hoped it would be a successful, attempt to probe deeply—it was necessary to cut to the root—and find out in a practical manner what were the causes of agricultural distress. They should avoid quack remedies. They should endeavour to bring about some sound and searching legislation which would do all that legislation could do to meet the present very critical condition of affairs in the country. One of his principal objects in rising had been to express his complete faith in the intentions of the Government on this important question. He believed that this inquiry was not to be what medical men would call an anæsthetic for benumbing popular clamour and stilling popular cries, but was to be a sincere and conscientious and successful attempt to find out what the causes of this agricultural depression

were, and to suggest some practical remedy. He hoped the inquiry would be carried out at once, that it would be a rapid inquiry, and would report rapidly. So far as his constituents were concerned the minimum they would accept would be an exhaustive inquiry into the failure of the Agricultural Holdings Act, and the suggestion of some remedy, particularly for Scotland; the suggestion of a means of retaining the rural population on the land; a proposal for conferring some kind of compulsory power of purchase; an extension of the Crofters' Act; the establishment of some tribunal like the Land Court, by which rents could be fixed and considered, and readjusted from time to time, and by means of which disputes between landlords and tenants could be satisfactorily arranged, and along with that the small farmers wanted some kind of practical fixity of tenure, which would place them in the position in which the crofters had been placed by the excellent legislation of the Crofters' Act. He had faith in the good intentions of the Government, and he would conclude by saying that they would justify that faith by hurrying forward the inquiry and by initiating legislation of a character clear, far-reaching, comprehensive, and drastic.

MR. VICARY GIBBS (Herts, St. Albans) said, that the hon. Member who had just sat down when he said that fixity of tenure would relieve depression in agriculture, found himself in direct contradiction with the hon. Member for the Woodbridge Division of Suffolk (Mr. Everett) who had told them that he himself, although he enjoyed that advantage, had felt all the troubles which were now pressing on the agricultural community. The hon. Member who last spoke seemed to think that the suggestion of an alteration in the currency laws was suitable matter for comical or quasi-comical treatment. With that view he (Mr. Gibbs) could not agree, as the subject appeared to him one of the most important which could possibly secure the attention of the House. He was much more in agreement with the hon. Member for the Woodbridge Division. He agreed with the hon. Member in the sceptical tone he adopted in regard to fixity of tenure, and he agreed with him

as to the fall in prices being the main and important cause of agricultural troubles. It needed no argument to show that when there was continuous fall in prices there must be a serious and dangerous condition of affairs amongst those people who were engaged in producing commodities which were falling in value. If it were true that cheapness of prices were by itself and in all cases an advantage to the community, he could only say that the discoveries of gold in Melbourne to which the Member for the Woodbridge Division referred would have been one of the greatest curses and calamities that ever fell on this country—equal to any war or any famine. Was there any hon. or right hon. Gentleman who was so attached to low prices as to stand up and say that these Australian discoveries were such a curse to this country? Every one knew that they had been a benefit to us. If prices were to alter at all, rising prices meant prosperity to the country, and falling prices meant ruin. It was because he desired stability of price and because he believed that it could be obtained by an alteration in the Currency Laws, that he would urge upon the Government the propriety of a sympathetic consideration to any remedy which it could be shown would give permanent relief to the trade of the country. Before he asked the House to consider that bimetallism would furnish such relief, he would show how agriculture had suffered under our monometallic system, and how it would have suffered less or not suffered at all under a bimetallic system. Every one admitted that there had been depreciation of the prices of the staple commodities of this country, but, curiously enough, there were some who did not admit that there had been a corresponding appreciation of gold. But the two propositions were the same, merely stated in different terms. When a man went into a baker's shop to buy a quartern loaf for 4d., the baker bought 4d. for the quartern loaf. Now, in so far as the appreciation of gold had arisen from the arbitrary action of Governments who had deposed silver from its use in the currency, and had taken up gold, so far would bimetallism have protected us from all the disadvantages which had arisen to trade and commerce owing to the depreciation of prices. So far as

appreciation of gold had arisen from natural causes—that was from the over-production of commodities—bimetallism would have lessened the evil, because it would have given a larger volume of currency on which the depreciation on prices of commodities would have had to work. And there he was so thoroughly in agreement with the hon. Member for the Woodbridge Division when he urged that the contraction of our currency was the great evil of the situation. Cheapness was an advantage, no doubt, when it arose from abundance of commodities being produced, but it was an evil when it arose from contraction of the currency. He would like to show how more directly agriculture had suffered through our monometallic system than any other branch of industry. Take the case of India. The Royal Commission in 1888 unanimously reported that the purchasing price of the rupee had not fallen in India from 1873 to 1888. During that period the price of wheat in England had fallen very heavily indeed. Now, he would ask hon. Members to observe—and he did so in reference to the suggestion that they were Protectionists in disguise—whether it was not really the monometallists who were protecting the Indian producer in this matter as against our own farmers. If they admitted the truth of what the Royal Commission said, that the purchasing price of the rupee had not fallen, they must see that the Indian farmer could produce and send to market his wheat at the same price as he could before; but owing to the fall in the price of silver as expressed in gold, which during that period had been, roughly speaking, 30 per cent., he was able to accept the price of 26s. or 27s., and get as many rupees, and, therefore, as many advantages, in his own country as he could by selling wheat so many years ago for 40s. Compare that with the position of the roughest farmer, and they would see that his cost of production had been in no way lessened, but had remained practically the same, and that the fall in price from 40s. to 27s. had meant the difference to him between prosperity and ruin, and, in regard to many estates which had been referred to on both sides of the House, between cultivation and neglect. When it was considered that this condition of things was

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due to the monometallic system, purely and entirely, it would be seen that, far from being Protectionists, bimetallics were merely asking for a fair field and no favour for the English agriculturist as compared with foreign producers. He would appeal to those hon. Members who especially represented the labour interests in the House to support the bimetallics. Everybody who was engaged in trade—as he was himself—desired this change. They believed it would promote the prosperity of trade, and in that prosperity the wage-earning class were as much concerned as anyone else. Again, Ireland which was almost entirely an agricultural country, was as much concerned in the matter as anyone could possibly be. Some people had denied that the landlords had suffered from this monometallic system. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock) had urged that rents had not fallen so much as to correspond with the rise in the purchasing power of gold. Because he calculated that rents had fallen 20 per cent., and gold had been appreciated 30 per cent., the hon. Baronet asked them to believe that the landlord was 10 per cent. better off now than he was before. Before the House accepted such a view as that let them consider what the rent consisted of. The rent was a gross payment, and included all those things which had been referred to, which had not been lightened in any degree during late years, so that it might well be that if rents had fallen 20 per cent. they had fallen by an amount equal to the whole of the margin on which the landlord had to live. In this matter of the Currency Laws, he was merely asking the Government to go back to the state of things which existed in 1873. He was aware that up to that period England was not a bimetallic country, but she enjoyed the benefit of it. Some time ago the Chancellor of the Exchequer warned them against entering into partnership with other nations with regard to our trade or finance or prosperity. With all respect to the right hon. Gentleman's judgment in the matter, he (Mr. Gibbs) submitted to the House that it was impossible for us to avoid partnership with other nations in regard to our trade or finance or prosperity. However desirable in

foreign affairs the policy of isolation may be, it was absolutely impossible in commercial matters; and in illustration of that remark he would remind the House that within a very few weeks of the right hon. Gentleman making that remark another right hon. Gentleman, who was not a Member of the House, had to go cap in hand to the Bank of France to obtain a very large loan of gold from them. He did not say that the system must be a bad one which compelled such a course as that to be taken, but he maintained that it showed conclusively that we were bound down with other nations in commerce, and that no country could alter its currency without its having an influence on England for good or ill. It was on that account that he would urge on Her Majesty's Government the consideration of this question. When another occasion arose, such as the Bimetallic Conference at Brussels, he would ask them to show a more sympathetic attitude to foreign nations in this matter, and not to say, as they seemed to have said recently, "You do what you like, and we will do what we like." Let them endeavour to arrive at a common accord with them, which would give to the civilised world who traded together a common measure of value. As a merchant who traded with silver-using countries, he assured the House that there could be no greater benefit conferred on the commerce of this country than the removing from it of an unnecessary element of gambling—and, God knows, in commerce there was quite enough of that without creating it artificially! Let them so arrange matters that merchants would be able to calculate accurately what the value of the material was that they would be paid in without being obliged to have recourse to the old-fashioned, anxious, and very disadvantageous system of barter under which we laboured with India, South America, and many other countries at the present time.

*MR. HENRY HOBHOUSE (Somerset, E.) said, he had no desire to follow the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down into the intricacies of the bimetallic question, in the first place because he preferred to leave the matter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer and other

financial authorities; and, secondly, because he thought there was a certain amount of inconvenience in introducing a subject like this in a Debate on agricultural depression. As a Representative of a large agricultural constituency, he wished to give his cordial support to the hon. Gentleman who had moved the Amendment. He felt that the agricultural interest in its present depression was entitled to expect from Her Majesty's Government more than a cheap expression of sympathy, and the promise of an inquiry which must be dilatory, and which, in all probability, would be long. The agriculturists asked for present relief, and they were promised in return a Select Committee. What was this Select Committee to inquire into? Into the facts of agricultural depression? Surely these were sufficiently well-known already? Surely it did not require a Select Committee to inform the Government that in many parts of the country farmers were being ruined, land was going out of cultivation, landlords had to leave their homes, or, at the best, were receiving what was practically no rent for their land, but only a small interest in the capital they had invested on the buildings they had erected, and the improvements they had made, and that the agricultural labourer was losing a large amount of scope for employment, and was drifting into the big towns, and thereby giving rise to great national evils. These facts, he should have thought, were patent to all. Was the Select Committee to inquire into the causes of the depression? Surely the causes were well enough known by this time. The agricultural depression, they knew, was mainly due to the vast increase in foreign importations and low prices resulting therefrom, to the bad seasons experienced of late—to the impoverishment of the farmer produced by these causes, and the restriction of his credit, which had naturally followed. There was another cause that prejudiced agriculture in many parts of the country to which no attention had been called to-night, and that was the uncertainty under which many of them laboured as to the future legislation that was to affect the land and the amount of taxation that was to be imposed upon it. He contended that agriculturists had great reason for appre-

hension on this subject. One proof of that was that less than two years ago in this House a Motion was brought forward by one of the hon. Members for Glasgow in favour of a larger proportion of taxation being thrown on the land, and for that Motion voted no less than 15 Members of the present Government, and no less than seven Members of the present Cabinet. In addition to this, they saw many of the supporters of the Government going about the country promising a new Land Tax of 4s. in the £1, a change in the Death Duties, a free breakfast table, and a general increase of rates, under the impression, apparently, that all the new resources required for these changes were to be drawn from the land. Under these circumstances, he thought that anybody concerned in the future prospects of the land had the gravest cause for apprehension. It was a little inconsistent in some of these hon. Gentlemen to advocate measures for restoring the yeomen to the soil and for inducing the labourers and others to buy or rent small holdings when they were threatening the land which they held out to these people as such a desirable acquisition with increased burdens. It would not be possible to check the constant migration which was going on in the towns, or to make the Acts for multiplying small holdings successful until all parties in the State recognised the fact that to make land more prosperous the burdens on it must be decreased rather than increased. All three classes interested in the soil were also interested in keeping the burdens on it as moderate as possible. The farmers paid the rates in the first instance, but shared the ultimate burden of them both with their landlords and their labourers. There was a curious confusion of ideas which seemed to prevail in some quarters as to whether the labourers paid their share of the rates or not. When it was a question of the franchise, it was said that the labourers ought to have a vote because they paid rates, just as any other class—that they paid them in the rents of their houses if in no other way. But when it was a question of relief of the rates, then it was said that the whole of the relief given to the land would go into the pockets of the landlords. Both these theories could not be true. He believed that the truth was to be found in this—that the labourers were benefitted by the

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relief of the rates, not so much because they paid less rent for their cottages, but because the higher the rates, so much the less was the fund out of which their wages were paid. Agriculturists had special claims for relief on account of the losses imposed on them by the present fiscal system. He was not in favour of Protection or Fair Trade or of any fundamental alteration in the tariff. Protection no doubt would be a delightful thing for every interest if it could only keep it all to itself; but unfortunately that was not the sort of Protection that was ever likely to prevail in this country. And he could not help recognising that, from the point of view of the general prosperity of the whole people of these crowded islands, we could never hark back to any tax on food, whatever material relief it might give to the agricultural interest for a time. It was because the demand for Protection was virtually abandoned that agriculture had such a strong claim for relief from excessive burdens. No doubt in the last few years the land had, thanks to the last Government, obtained considerable relief, but a very large proportion of the £3,000,000 or £4,000,000 which had been given in relief of local burdens had gone to the populations of the towns, and very heavy additional burdens were now imposed on the counties. He believed that the main roads, which were now maintained by County Councils, but which used to be paid for by turnpike tolls, cost about £1,500,000 per year. The increasing expense of maintaining lunatic asylums was also borne by the county ratepayers. The expenditure for maintenance of lunatics alone had increased by £500,000 during the last 50 years, and large increases had also taken place in the expenditure on police pay and pensions. Under the Weights and Measures Acts, also, additional burdens had been thrown on the county rates, and various sanitary expenses had also increased. He was a great believer in better sanitary measures and educational reforms in country districts, but he saw very great difficulties in advancing such reforms if the main burden of the new expenditure was to fall on agricultural land. Certain portions of the sanitary rates were very fairly levied with a three-fourths exemption for agricultural land. This was a

principle which might be very well at once extended to all sanitary expenditure as well as to much of the educational expenditure of the country. It was not fair, in days when land no longer represented the chief source of the wealth of the country, to treat it as it was treated in olden days, and levy the principal portion of the taxes upon it. He would remind hon. Members who were anxious to keep the hereditary burdens on the land that the hereditary wealth and influence which in past times had made landowners and large farmers more ready to bear such burdens were now fast disappearing, while the burdens themselves remained. Was it to discover new remedies that the Government now proposed an inquiry into the condition of agriculture? Inasmuch as a very laborious and comprehensive inquiry dealing with the whole field of agriculture was completed by a Royal Commission only 10 years ago, he doubted whether a Commission or Committee could throw very much more light on the condition of agriculture at the present day. The general character of the situation remained the same, and he could not believe a new inquiry was likely to disclose many more satisfactory remedies than were devised by the last Commission. Nor did he think that a Select Committee of the House was likely to produce much better results on the currency question than had followed from the labours of the Commission which had already sat on the subject, and from those of the International Conference at Brussels. The Government had had the advantage of studying the remedies suggested during the discussions which took place recently at St. James's Hall. Nearly every remedy that could be suggested was brought forward during that Conference. One of the remedies about which the agriculturists were almost unanimous was the relief of local burdens. Another was effective compensation for agricultural improvements, and others were division of rates, safeguards against fraud and adulteration, and the taking of steps against the spread of contagious disease. He himself would add two suggestions. The first was, that a little more should be done for the improvement of agricultural education. He believed that by the introduction of a measure

enabling County Councils to deal more effectively with the class of schools to which farmers' sons and the sons of superior labourers ought to go, great benefits might be conferred on future generations of agriculturists. The Board of Agriculture might do a little more to promote the establishment of good agricultural colleges for young farmers in different parts of the country, and of experimental stations, such as there were in America. He thought, also, that there should be some alteration in the assessment law, so as to prevent the improvement of the soil being discouraged by being subjected from the first to the whole burden of the increased rates. Such alterations of the law might very well be introduced by the Government on their own responsibility without the delay of an inquiry. They would then show a genuine and fruitful sympathy with the agricultural community at the present time. He was afraid, however, that this Government had their hands too full of great constitutional measures to care to devote much time or labour to the improvement of the condition of a depressed industry, which, though sunk from its former high estate, was still the greatest national industry of the country.

MR. CHAPLIN (Lincolnshire, Sleaford): No one who is conversant with the present agricultural situation, or who has watched the course of the Debate, can be surprised that my hon. Friend (Mr. Wharton) has found it necessary to move an Amendment. Indeed, it seems to me that whatever we might have thought when we first became acquainted with the terms of the Gracious Speech from the Throne, the course of the Debate left my hon. Friend no alternative but to do as he has done. For weeks and weeks we have heard of little or nothing except the complaints and sufferings of agriculturists in all parts of the kingdom. Both the London and country Press has been teeming with their grievances and with descriptions of their sufferings for months past. Great meetings have been held in all parts of the country, culminating in the great Conference held in St. James's Hall on the 7th and 8th December last. That Conference, at which, to my own knowledge, one Member of the Cabinet was present,

Mr. Henry Hobhouse

was attended by 2,000 agriculturists, nearly all of whom were delegates from some 250 Agricultural Societies in various parts of the country. There were numerous similar gatherings all over England, from Plymouth in the West to York and Lincoln in the North, and at all these meetings testimony was borne to the magnitude of the disaster which is apparently overwhelming agriculture, and to the fact that that great industry is in danger not only of injury but of destruction. It is not to be wondered at, under these circumstances, that many have been waiting for the meeting of Parliament with feelings of anxiety and lively expectation. When it became known that the Queen's Speech contained a deeply sympathetic paragraph on the subject, those feelings were raised to the highest pitch of interest, and I confess that I myself began to be influenced by sentiments of unwonted charity towards Her Majesty's Government. The Mover of the Address referred to the subject in his able speech and, although he said many things with which I did not agree, his speech increased my anxiety to know what the Government had in their minds. He was followed by the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. A. J. Balfour), who pointedly challenged the Prime Minister to explain what the Government had in their minds, and what they intended to convey by the paragraph in the Speech. But although the Prime Minister dealt in his reply with a variety of subjects, and although he was followed by two other Cabinet Ministers at least, not a sentence, not a word, not even a syllable, has been used on behalf of the Government in which even distant allusion has been made to a subject which occupies so prominent a place in the Speech from the Throne, and which at the present time engrosses the minds of agriculturists throughout the country. I wish to speak with great respect of the Prime Minister and the Government, but I do think that, under all the circumstances, this is a most unfortunate and regrettable state of things. It is a condition of affairs which is certainly calculated not to allay but rather to add to the despair and discouragement of the farmers, even if it does not arouse in their minds feelings of bitter resentment. This being the case, I do not hesitate to say that,

in order that we might have a great Debate on the subject, it was imperative that some one representing the agricultural party should move an Amendment. While the Prime Minister thought so little of agricultural depression that he was unable even to devote a single sentence to it, the right hon. Gentleman did speak of one question bearing upon agriculture—a question which out of Wales hardly excites any general attention. He said it was the intention of the Government, proceeding partly from recollection of Debates in this House during last Session, and in no small part from what has taken place in Wales during the Recess, to issue a Royal Commission for the purpose of examining into the land question in Wales. I suppose it will be news to many people to hear that there is any land question in Wales at all, as distinct from the land question in England. Everyone will recollect what took place in the Recess, because it became the subject of a somewhat animated correspondence between the Prime Minister and the Welsh landlords. The Prime Minister went down to Wales, and at a meeting which he attended with the hon. Member for Merionethshire (Mr. T. E. Ellis) made charges against the Welsh landlords, based upon figures with regard to which, though repeatedly challenged, he has never yet been able to produce. That is all that occurred in the Recess, and there is nothing in these occurrences to warrant the appointment of a Royal Commission. Then as to last Session. What occurred last Session? I know of nothing except the speech of the hon. Member for Merionethshire during the Debate on this question, and I may say, in passing, that the hon. Member for Merionethshire was shown to have been guilty in the course of that speech of very considerable inaccuracies. I remember the speech very well, because it fell to me to reply for the late Government. After the Debate was over, we took into consideration whether it was necessary or desirable to appoint an Inquiry or Commission of that character. But, after obtaining all the information which it was in my power to get, and after considering the whole subject, I was obliged to come to the conclusion that there was absolutely nothing in the speech of the hon. Member, or in the

circumstances of the country at that time, to warrant the Government in appointing a great Commission of that nature, and I doubt whether there is anything to warrant it now. As far as the Welsh landlords are concerned, they will, no doubt, make no objection to the appointment of this Commission, always providing that it is a fair Commission. And after the crushing exposure of a certain other Commission in the admirable speech from the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Carson), to which we listened, I am sure, on both sides of the House with satisfaction—with great admiration, at all events, if not with great satisfaction—I think we may anticipate that any further Commissions of the present Government will perhaps be appointed with some little regard to justice between the two parties interested. If that be so, the Welsh landlords, so far from being opposed to it, will welcome the opportunity of exposing many of the slanderous attacks and charges which have been made against them during recent years. With the permission of the House, I will now refer to the paragraph in the Gracious Speech from the Throne referring to the agricultural depression, and in the absence of any information whatever on that point from any Member of the Government I am obliged to look to the speech of the Mover of the Address in order to ascertain the intentions of the Government. I gather from the hon. Member that a Committee of some kind is to be appointed—following, as he says, the precedent of Lord John Russell in 1836—to inquire into the grievances under which agriculturists are suffering. I cannot help thinking that that is a very unfortunate precedent for the Government to adopt. What was the outcome of the labours of the Committees appointed in 1836?—for there were two of them, one sitting in the House of Commons and the other in the House of Lords, on precisely the same subject. Both took a vast amount of evidence, but, so far as I am able to ascertain, neither of these Committees made any kind of Report, or any kind of recommendation whatever. I can find nothing from the Committee of the House of Commons; and here is all the Committee of the Lords say—

enabling County Councils to deal more effectively with the class of schools to which farmers' sons and the sons of superior labourers ought to go, great benefits might be conferred on future generations of agriculturists. The Board of Agriculture might do a little more to promote the establishment of good agricultural colleges for young farmers in different parts of the country, and of experimental stations, such as there were in America. He thought, also, that there should be some alteration in the law, so as to prevent the land being subjected from the first to the burden of the increased rate of alterations of the law might be introduced by the Government without inquiry. They would then have the sympathy of the community at the present time, afraid, however, that they had their hands too full to take any further measures to ease the time or labour to the condition of a depressed class, though sunk from its former position, was still the great problem of the country.

MR. CHAPMAN

(ford): No one has watched the present as closely as I can be sure of. (Mr. What move am I to make to me though with from Del tiv at

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interior of the country; but, unfortu-
tely, Canadian cattle have been recently
strumental in bringing back pleuro-
neumonia into Scotland, and I venture
—if it is not presumption on my part—
to congratulate my right hon. Friend the
Minister for Agriculture on the prompt
and effective action he has taken in
this matter. But there is another
side of the question. I think it is

only reasonable that we should look
into the cost which that importation
of Canadian cattle has been to us. My
right hon. Friend the Minister for Agri-
culture, in reply to a question to-day,
stated that only four Canadian diseased
animals were admitted into the country;
he resented the slaughter of 1,300 head
of cattle, and the payment as compensation
of £18,000 to the owners. Under these cir-
cumstances, I do not think I am pressing
the Government too much when I say
that the risk of loss we are running is
too great, and that in future we should
incur no risk whatever. I am aware, of
course, that the United States and
Canada will raise objections to any pro-
posals of this kind. There will be also
objections on the part of a very limited
section of agriculturists in the North, but
they need have no ground for alarm, be-
cause store cattle were never so plentiful
and cheap, especially in Ireland, than
they are at the present time. Besides,
these cattle producers are, comparatively
speaking, a mere fraction of the
agricultural community, and it is
not too much to ask that their
interest should give way to the general
good. Again, Sir, I venture to think the
time has come when the Government
must take in hand the question of dealing
with the contagious disease in this
country known as swine fever. The
President of the Board of Agriculture
stated to day that the Government were
bound to appoint a Departmental Inquiry
on this subject. The whole policy of
the Government appears to me to be a
policy of inquiry. Just before this
Debate began an hon. Member, speaking
on the back Benches opposite, said that
the policy of the Government in regard
to Uganda would be a policy of inquiry.
It now appears that the policy of the
Government with regard to swine fever
is to be a policy of inquiry. Their
policy with regard to agricultural depres-
sion is to be a policy of inquiry, and I do
not know how many policies of inquiry
we shall be required to comment on
before the Government have unfolded all
their plans. I should like to ask the
right hon. Gentleman the President of
the Board of Agriculture what are the
specific points on which the information
cannot be obtained within his own Depart-
ment? My experience has shown that this
Central Authority, if armed with sufficient

funds and power, can undoubtedly deal successfully with the contagious diseases of animals in this country. I may say that the late Government were pledged by me to deal with this question; and it would have been dealt with but for the unfortunate outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease in the country, which rendered it impossible for me to deal with these two questions at the same time. But now we are happily free from that disease, and I venture to say that there never was a moment when this task could be undertaken more economically and more efficiently than it could be at the present time by the Agricultural Department. I therefore trust that the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Agriculture will put pressure on the Government to enable him to undertake this task. There is one point on which I think all agriculturists are agreed, and that is that further relief should be granted from local taxation. The case is most urgent. Information was given to me the other day from a part of the County of Lincolnshire which shows how serious the agricultural depression in that part of England has become, and which I should like to quote for the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the hope that it may induce him to take a more favourable view of our demand on this question than he might otherwise be inclined to do. A report in a local paper states that the other day at Petty Sessions 17 summonses were returned against farmers for the non-payment of local rates; that the liability was in every instance admitted, but the depression in agriculture was pleaded as the cause why the rates could not be paid. If that is true, it is evident that the depression has reached a very serious stage, and I hope, therefore, that the Government will remember that the case is urgent and that remedy must be prompt. There is one more question that is causing great anxiety to a number of agriculturists at the present time, and on which I should like some information from the Government. That is with regard to the bounties upon dairy produce sent to this country now being given by the Victorian Government, amounting to 3d. upon the pound of butter. Can the Government give us any information as to the possible or probable development of this trade in the future under the cir-

Mr. Chaplin

cumstances? It is a matter of very considerable importance, because a great many agriculturists, to my knowledge, in various parts of the country have given up wheat growing because of the small returns on that crop, and have been induced to turn their attention to the making of butter instead. But if this trade in butter from Victoria develops, I am afraid dairy farmers will be destined to the same fate which has overtaken the unfortunate wheat growers of the country. As to agricultural depression, until some measure can be devised to stay the constant fall in prices there is neither hope nor prospect of any permanent improvement in the situation. What is to be done? I do not ask nor even suggest to the Government the expedient of Protection. I know it is beyond the power of this Government or any other Government to do anything of that kind—at all events, for the present—and even if it were possible, I doubt very much whether it would have anything like the effect some people suppose. I, however, suggest, for the consideration of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whether it might not be possible to take off part of the duty now imposed upon beer and raise an equivalent duty upon foreign barley. I am aware there are objections to that proposal. First, the imported barley is not all used for beer, a considerable portion being used for the food of animals; secondly, I am not aware how it might be received by the brewers; and, thirdly, it would help only a section of the agricultural community; but I suggest it as a proposal which, in the terrible depression of agriculture, might be worthy of consideration just now by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The right hon. Gentleman is so intimately connected with the land by tradition and every tie of kindred and feeling that in his heart he must feel a sincere sympathy for the depression under which agriculturists are suffering—

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EX-CHEQUER (Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT, Derby): Hear, hear!

Mr. CHAPLIN: And whether the right hon. Gentleman is able to adopt the suggestion or not, I hope he will give it his serious consideration. I am sorry that the hon. Member for the Woodbridge Division of Suffolk had to speak in such a thin House. The hon. Member

gave an able and comprehensive summary of the history of agriculture, and showed how depression was brought about by causes related to the currency; how agriculture prospered after the great gold discoveries of 1849 until 1873; and how it came to its present condition. In the opinion of a great and increasing number of people we are at the present time, and have been for some considerable period, in the presence of the phenomenon known to economists as "the appreciation of gold." Gold is the standard of value, and for some years this standard of value has been steadily appreciating. In other words, there has been a continuous fall in prices due to that specific cause; and under existing conditions that fall must be expected to continue. I would not venture to put forward such a theory on my own authority alone, because it is an exceedingly abstruse question; but among those who entertain and profess the same view are leading statesmen both of this and foreign countries, the ablest scientists, the most experienced statisticians, and, with one single exception, every one of the professors engaged in teaching political economy in this country. If they are right there is at once a reason to account for the widespread and general depression prevailing not only in England, but in a vast number of other countries. The first person I remember to have attributed the fall of prices to the appreciation of gold was Lord Beaconsfield. In one of the last speeches he ever made in the House of Lords he said—

"Gold is every day appreciating in value, and as it appreciates in value the lower become prices. This, then, I think, is the third cause of agricultural depression."

Lord Beaconsfield was at one time the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and I will now quote another Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Stafford Northcote, who was Chairman of the great Commission which was appointed in 1875 to inquire into the depression in trade and agriculture. The Report of that Commission was signed by the Chairman and 19 of his colleagues, and contained the following passage:—

"We expressed in our third Report the opinion that this fall in prices, so far as it has been caused by an appreciation of the standard of value, was deserving of the most serious inquiry. . . . We desire to give it a leading

place in the enumeration of the influences which have tended to produce the present depression."

A third Cancellor of the Exchequer, the right hon. Gentleman who held that office in the last Government (Mr. Goschen), said in a Debate in 1883 that the fall of prices was due to a "a considerable appreciation in the value of gold." As far as I remember, my right hon. Friend was the first person in the House of Commons, in the Debate on the agricultural depression in 1883, to attribute part of the depression to that cause. I well recollect the speech, because it devolved upon me to follow him; and the subject being totally new to me, I knew nothing about it, but I have long ago come to the conclusion that my right hon. Friend was perfectly and absolutely right. Finally, I will quote Mr. Giffen, whose authority will be recognised on both sides of the House. In a paper read before the Statistical Society in 1888 Mr. Giffen said—

"The fall of prices in such a general way as to amount to what is known to be the rise in the purchasing power of gold is generally, I might almost say universally, admitted."

Again—

"Measured by any group or groups of commodities usually taken for such a purpose, gold is undoubtedly possessed of more purchasing power than it was 15 or 20 years ago, and this power has continued for a long enough period to allow for all minor oscillations."

And again—

"We can say positively that the recent change from a high to a low level of prices is due to a change in money of the nature or in the direction of absolute contraction."

I have dwelt on this point at much length, because, if the opinions expressed by all these different great authorities are true, we have at once the real secret of the depression, the real cause of the fall of prices which everyone agrees is the cause of the agricultural depression at the present time. What is wanted is some relief from the extraordinary pressure brought to bear on gold since the great monetary changes and the closing of the Mints of America and of European countries to the free coinage of silver in 1873 and 1874. It is not only the agricultural interest which requires this; the great textile industries in the North of England have for years been partially paralysed by the same cause, while the pressure of our financial relations with

India—no one knows better than the Chancellor of the Exchequer—has become almost intolerable in the extreme. All these consequences, and there are many others, have been produced by, and have followed, those great monetary changes and the consequent appreciation of gold. The same causes have produced great disasters and stupendous changes in the history of nations and of Empires in the past, and will be followed, unless met in time, by similar results in the future. Surely it is no exaggeration to say that never did a more important question call for the serious attention of English statesmen, and the solution of it now rests, to all intents and purposes, with the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Fortunately, if the right hon. Gentleman elects to use it, he has an admirable instrument ready to his hand, for whatever may now be thought in England of the proceedings of the Conference at Brussels, the time will come when it will be known that the foreign nations represented at that Conference were for the most part immensely impressed by the gravity of the situation; and if their deliberations come to anything, I believe the day will come when it will be known that this was due to the attitude of England and the Delegates who represented the English Government. That Conference will meet again in May; but, as there is a Notice of Motion on the Paper dealing with the matter, I will say nothing further on the subject to-night. I desire to conclude with a very sincere apology to the House for having detained it so long. I can only repeat my absolute conviction that it is the extraordinary pressure placed on gold in recent years which lies at the root of all our disasters and troubles at the present time. Whether the evil should be met by bimetallism or by minor means is a question which should be seriously considered; and if this one great cause of our trouble were mitigated or removed, as the case might be, by the influence of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Government of England, I, for one, see no reason why, after all, the good old cause of English agriculture should not look forward yet to days of comparative prosperity, and why that great industry should not continue again to flourish as I hope and pray it may for many generations yet to come.

Mr. Chaplin

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE (Mr. HERBERT GARDNER, Essex, Saffron Walden): Mr. Speaker, I hope I may be permitted to express the opinion that the message of sympathy with the sufferings of the agricultural community in the Gracious Speech from the Throne is endorsed most heartily and sincerely by every section and Party in the House. I am bound to add that I am not one of those who take what I may call the hopeless and cheerless view of the position which is fashionable in some quarters. This is not the first time by many that agricultural depression has been a subject of debate in Parliament. In the pages of *Hansard* you will find that over and over again Debates have taken place on the matter, that agriculturists in this House have prophesied the ruin of agriculture; but that year after year and time after time as good harvests returned and prices were raised, the question has passed from the purview of Parliament. At the same time, it is idle to deny that the very low prices of stock, following upon a harvest much below the average in many localities, has produced great depression, and that the position of agriculturists deserve every sympathy and consideration. We have been challenged by speakers this evening as to the course we feel bound to adopt with regard to this serious question, and again and again we have been told that the proper way to meet the depression is not by inquiry, but by instant legislation. I have listened with the greatest attention to the speeches made from all parts of the House in order that I might gather the meaning of hon. Gentlemen when they call for immediate legislation. What are the remedies proposed? As far as I can make out, there have been none. We have had a long discussion, but I fail to find any great remedy put forward for the depression. The fact is, that agriculturists are not agreed among themselves as to the remedies which ought to be taken. If there has been any doubt on the subject, I am sure the discussion which has taken place to-night will entirely remove it. A great Agricultural Conference has been recently held in London, to which every one connected with agriculture looked for-

ward with sympathetic interest. And what happened? That Conference did not quite agree as to the remedies. On the first day, indeed, they agreed with great unanimity that Protection is the only remedy for agricultural depression. Is that the united opinion of the Opposition? Is it the opinion of the right hon. Member for the Sleaford Division of Lincolnshire, who has just told the House that the time is not yet ripe for Protection? Then followed a subject which has taken up a good deal of the time of the House this evening—bimetallism—on which the right hon. Gentleman is a very great authority. I have been told, however, that, while the audience at the Conference in London voted with touching unanimity with regard to Protection, their interest grew less and less as the subject of bimetallism was brought forward. Whether bimetallism would be a remedy or not for the evils complained of I am not certain, and the right hon. Gentleman himself will not contend, probably, that it is an instant remedy. The Conference at Brussels did not seem to be actuated on the question of bimetallism by the same unanimity as the Conference in London in regard to Protection; and even if it were possible to induce my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer to take up the subject, it must be admitted that some years must elapse before its effects could reach agriculturists. The subject of burdens on the land has also been referred to. There is a direct allusion to it in the Amendment before the House. The hon. Member who moved the Amendment seemed to think that the Government ought to proceed at once to legislate on the matter, but that is hardly the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Sleaford Division, because he said in a speech at Lincoln, on the 21st January last—

"He thought that they ought to devote their energies to obtain a Parliamentary inquiry without delay into the whole questions of the burdens upon land, and the exact and precise proportions of taxation which ought to be borne by land and real property on the one hand, and personal property on the other hand."

Now, that is exactly what the Government are offering to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Sleaford Division. Among other questions brought forward

at the Agricultural Conference were those of land tenure and the relations between landlord and tenant. That is a subject on which I myself feel considerable sympathy, but it is one of great difficulty, and close and careful inquiry must precede legislation upon it. The fact of the matter is, that agriculturists are not agreed as to what would be the proper remedy, and it is impossible for the Government to proceed to legislation without a clear and solid basis on which to do so. It is for that reason the Government propose an exhaustive inquiry into the whole subject. There is another question referred to affecting my Department—that is, my action with regard to the prohibition of the importation of live cattle from Canada. I am sorry we are obliged to interfere with this important and increasing trade which is carried on with such advantage to all parties concerned. But interference was necessary, and I heartily trust that the existing conditions in connection with the Canadian cattle trade will soon pass away. With regard to the administration of the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts, reference had been made, both in and out of the House, to what has been called my policy and the policy of my predecessor. Now, there is no such thing as policy in this matter. There is only obedience to the law. The Minister is simply bound to prohibit the landing of live animals coming from countries of which he is not satisfied as to the sanitary conditions of animals therein. Great credit is due, in my opinion, to the authors of those Acts, and it is undoubtedly owing to their operation that it can now be said never was there a time in the history of the country when our flocks and herds were more free from disease. The right hon. Gentleman opposite has challenged me with reference to the appointment of a Committee on Swine Fever, but I should have thought that such a step would meet the approval of most agriculturists. I would remind him that the question is a very large one; that it affects not only this Kingdom, but Ireland as well; and as legislation in the direction proposed would entail the outlay of a large sum of public money, it is obvious that an application to the Treasury could not be made for that money unless a clear and certain case for legislation on the subject could be made out. As to

bimetallism, I agree with the right hon. Gentleman that it would be unwise to go into the question now, seeing that it is to form a separate subject of debate on another occasion. And, considering that not one speaker this night has brought forward, from a purely agricultural point of view, any distinct and particular remedy for the evils complained of, I think the House will admit that the Government have been well advised in proposing an inquiry into the whole subject, and I hope that when the Report is laid before the House, as I trust it will be at no distant date, some sufficient and solid ground will be afforded on which it will be possible to legislate in the interest of depressed agriculturists.

SIR MARK STEWART did not think the agriculturists would be very well satisfied with the speech of the right hon. Gentleman. What was it the right hon. Gentleman told them? He told them he was going to appoint a Committee which was to inquire into the whole subject. What was the Committee to do? In the first place, it would hold several formal meetings, and then would get evidence from different parts of the country, and that would take up a very considerable time. Many of the matters deeply affecting agriculturists could be introduced in a short Bill and passed with the support of both sides of the House. For instance, a Bill could be passed for the slaughter of foreign cattle before debarkation; for a trade mark being placed upon imported meat, imported cheese, and such like commodities. A short Bill could be passed to take in these and many other matters. The right hon. Gentleman might also pass a Bill dealing with what he had just been speaking about—namely, swine fever, and it could be passed without much trouble. As to competition, foreign competition was bearing heavier upon the agriculturist than the right hon. Gentleman was aware of. The railways which took their products from distant parts of the country up to the Metropolis imposed rates that were considerably higher than those from New York to London, and that was a matter that ought to be at once rectified, and which could be done without very much trouble. If he might make a suggestion to the right hon. Gentleman, it

Mr. Herbert Gardner

would be that he should go to his Inspectors, where he would get all the information he needed. If the Board of Agriculture would employ more Inspectors, and have them report quarterly or monthly, instead of, as at present, upon specific cases, when some difficulty arose, the Government would have all the information they required, and they would save the time that must necessarily be taken up by an inquiry by a Select Committee. The right hon. Gentleman, if he alluded at all, only did so very cursorily to the burdens on land. What the agriculturists said was that the land now occupied a totally different position to what it did a few years ago; and what they asked, and what he thought they were entitled to ask, was that the right hon. Gentleman should look into the questions of taxation and the other burdens the land had to bear. As an example, he might instance the case of an Inspector coming into a locality to make inquiries respecting a water supply, the result of which was that the owner had to pay more than the rent of a farm in order to supply the farm with water which had not been asked for, and which the farm did not require, and all because the district had been proclaimed a water district. Then the land had to bear the whole cost of the asylums and other things, a cost which he could not help thinking the Government ought to pay. Another matter was that of the roads. In the country they had to bear the whole cost of the roads, and gentlemen residing in the towns could ride all over the roads and not pay a turnpike toll wherever they went. It was the same with regard to the poor, who were saddled upon the country. In America the farmer paid 6d. or 1s. an acre, which covered all, but in this country the land had to bear a charge of 33 per cent. There was a very considerable difference there; and when they considered the tremendous fall in all prices of agricultural produce, it was time the question was taken up by the Government. Though they could get all they wanted, still he thought that the voice that sounded in St. James's Hall would find an echo here as it had throughout the length and breadth of the country. There were many other points on which it would be very easy to speak in this House; but as he knew there were many gentlemen who were

most anxious to speak he would not go into them, but ask the Government to give greater consideration to the subject than they anticipated they would during this Session. He would ask the Government not to put any confidence in the appointment of a Committee, but to consult their own officials and their own supporters behind them who knew something about agriculture, and they would get a vast amount of information upon which they would be able to act. As a private Member he could assure the right hon. Gentleman that if he would put his hand to the plough, as he had done in regard to pleuro-pneumonia, he would get support from that (the Opposition) side of the House.

*MR. E. STANHOPE (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): I am only desirous of interposing in the Debate for the purpose of asking a question, but I cannot rise to take part in it without saying how pleased we are to see the right hon. Gentleman, now the President of the Board of Agriculture (Mr. H. Gardner), occupying that position, and endeavouring, as he has endeavoured in the speech just made to the House, to express the views of the Government upon this most important subject. But the right hon. Gentleman, nevertheless, will forgive me for saying his utterances, on the subject were altogether meagre and unsatisfactory. It was not the fault of the right hon. Gentleman. I believe he stated the whole case he was able to state; the fault lies with the Government itself. I do not think—at least, in my recollection of Parliament—there ever were such strong paragraphs about agriculture put into the Queen's Speech. We have had many years of anxiety. Almost every Government has had, in the Queen's Speech, to say something with regard to depression in agriculture. Never in my experience were paragraphs so strong, nor was the expectation naturally excited so eager as in the present case, but on the present occasion those paragraphs have been followed by—what? Not one single reference has been made by any Minister who has hitherto taken part in the Address to the subject of agriculture. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, who was

primarily responsible for these paragraphs, never made one single allusion to the difficulties under which we are labouring, and all we have, as a result of these tremendous paragraphs in the Speech, is rather more than a quarter of an hour's special pleading from the right hon. Gentleman and the promise of a Committee. What sort of a Committee is it we are going to have? We have not any information whatever on the subject. The right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down has, as far as I can judge, endeavoured to minimise as far as he could the paragraphs in the Queen's Speech. He told us we had similar depression in former times and got over it. I am glad to say we have managed to get over it, but I cannot think anyone will deny there are special features which had no parallel in former times. In former times we had a great fall, let us say in the price of wheat, but there was some reasonable hope the price of wheat would again rise, but can any man now say in this House he thinks it probable the price of wheat will again rise? No, Sir, we are face to face with the time when some of the depression of prices must be permanent, and agriculture has to face a difficulty it never had to face before. Then the right hon. Gentleman complains, forsooth, that we have not been able to suggest to him a remedy. There have been on this side of the House, and from other quarters, several remedies suggested; it is not for us to say which is the one remedy most likely to get us out of all our difficulties. I call on the Government to give some fairer hearing to the present proposal to see if, out of our collective wisdom, we cannot find not one remedy, but several remedies, that might tend to help us out of our difficulties. The right hon. Gentleman says we are not agreed as to the remedies. I suppose that is true. We naturally, every one of us, would like to suggest the particular remedy that is most likely to help us in our difficulty, but we on this side are all agreed on one or two remedies. First of all, it is absolutely necessary that burdens upon land should be reduced. There we are in this unfortunate position, that there is a difference of opinion—difference of opinion on this side of the House and upon that. We know and

think that the burdens upon land should be diminished; you think that the burdens upon land should be increased. When we had occasion in the last Parliament to discuss the matter every Member opposite voted in favour of increase in the burdens on land. I am not going to do the injustice of supposing you are going to vote now for increase of burdens; you are not going to do anything of the kind. I have proved that you want no further inquiry to establish that the present burdens are excessive and ought to be reduced; therefore, we say to ask for a Committee of Inquiry that must take several years is only a means of putting off the difficulty. It can be of no use, and we call on you to acknowledge the fact that is obvious to everybody, that the burdens upon land are burdens that require immediate and strict attention, and also ask you to tell us what it is you expect this Committee to inquire into, and what earthly good you expect to get from this inquiry now or even in the next one or two years?

MAJOR RASCH (Essex, S.E.) said, that as a Representative of Essex agriculture, which was divided into two classes—those who were ruined and those who were going to be—he had listened with the greatest interest and respect to the speech of so excellent an expert as the Minister of Agriculture. He did not think the right hon. Gentleman had quite grasped the situation. The fact was, that those who farmed the land were eking out a precarious existence by growing corn at 40s. a quarter and selling it at 30s. With this they were supposed to keep up picturesque cottages, pay good wages, and keep the land in cultivation. The right hon. Gentleman, in reply to the prayer of the distressed agriculturists, graciously offered them a Committee of Inquiry. The right hon. Gentleman said he did not take a hopeless view of English agriculture; but if the right hon. Gentleman would go down into the country, he would be able to ride over tracts of land going out of cultivation and the labourers going into the towns because there was no employment for them. The right hon. Gentleman could not but think that was an extremely hopeless state of things in an

Mr. E. Stanhope

agricultural country. In exchange for that the right hon. Gentleman offered a Committee of Inquiry. Why could not the Minister of Agriculture or the Government give them something tangible and practicable? He failed to see what the right hon. Gentleman could hope for by offering a Committee of Inquiry. There was, for example, the question of local taxation. There was surely no reason why Essex should pay Land Tax amounting to £80,000 a year, and a wealthy, populous county like Lancashire should pay only £20,000; there was no reason why a man who had £10,000 a year and lived in a £200 a-year house should pay the same as the man who farmed his land and lived in a £100 a-year house. It was absurd that land should be taxed now as it was before the abolition of the Corn Laws. In those days it was fair they should pay an increased tax; but when that monopoly was taken away, the burdens should have been removed from the back of the farmer. The right hon. Gentleman might try his hand in the direction of the redemption of tithe. Why could not the Government do as had been done under the Ashbourne Act in Ireland—lend the tithe-owners money at 2½ per cent. to redeem the tithe? Why should not the right hon. Gentleman bring in a Bill providing that foreign meat should be labelled as such? At present best colonial meat was labelled as English, and the worst as foreign, the consequence being that the middleman made a fortune, the English farmer lost what he ought to get, and the colonial meat got a bad name. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would turn his attention to these subjects.

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) : During this Debate no word has been said by any Irish Member, though Ireland is a country almost entirely agricultural, and I doubt if there is any place that has suffered more from the depression than Ireland. I am almost astonished at the attitude of the Government in relation to agricultural depression as it affects Ireland, because I remember so well in 1886, when Ireland suffered greatly from a fall in prices, the whole Party which followed the right hon. Gen-

tleman the Member for Midlothian (Mr. Gladstone) not only supported the then Member for Cork in bringing in a Tenants' Relief Bill and pressing it forward, but they have gone through the country ever since declaring the delay in dealing with the question—in dealing with the fall in prices at that time—absolutely produced the Plan of Campaign. Now, I suppose they do not fear any Plan of Campaign, and therefore they let the matter drift. Drift seems to be the general policy of the Government in most things, and they are perfectly prepared to allow this matter to drift on in Ireland, relying on the gentlemen over there for keeping the peace and preventing any violation of the law in this matter. Unquestionably, the Chief Secretary for Ireland has received a very large number of resolutions passed at public meetings, especially in the Province of Ulster, complaining of this agricultural depression. I listened to the Debate to-night and heard all sorts of remedies proposed. I entirely agree with the hon. Member for the Woodbridge Division (Mr. R. L. Everett). There is no use talking about fixity of tenure as a remedy for this depression. The Irish farmer has fixity of tenure, and as a matter of fact the Irish tenant, so far as law is concerned, is in an infinitely better position than the English, Scotch, or Welsh tenant; and yet, notwithstanding all that law has done for this tenant, he feels the agricultural depression at this moment more keenly than his brethren, either in England or Scotland. And for this reason: he is, generally speaking, poorer than either the English or Scotch farmer. It may be said that as regards Ireland Parliament has done all that Parliament can do. It has been said on behalf of the landlord party that Parliament, having fixed judicial rents, Parliament has done with it. But there is one mischief attending the judicial rent in Ireland, and that is that when agricultural depression overtakes the English and Scotch farmer, there is sympathy shown for them, and very often assistance is given in substantial reductions; whereas in Ireland, where you get your fixity of tenure, the Irish landlord very

naturally says "I cannot grant any reduction in the rent. At one time you and I could make our own terms; we cannot do it now." I speak of the Province of Ulster—I do not profess to speak of any other part; but so far as that Province is concerned, not only has there been a fall in the price of cattle, but they are absolutely unsaleable at any price.

It being Midnight, the Debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed To-morrow.

MOTIONS.

LAND TAX COMMISSIONERS' NAMES BILL.

On Motion of Sir John Hibbert, Bill to appoint additional Commissioners for executing the Acts for granting a Land Tax and other Rates and Taxes, ordered to be brought in by Sir John Hibbert, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Causton.

Bill presented, and read first time.[Bill 164.]

RAILWAY SERVANTS (HOURS OF LABOUR) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Mundella, Bill to amend the Law with respect to the Hours of Labour of Railway Servants, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Mundella, Mr. Secretary Asquith, and Mr. Burt.

Bill presented, and read first time.[Bill 165.]

LOCAL AUTHORITIES LOANS (SCOTLAND) ACT (1891) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Sir George Trevelyan, Bill to amend "The Local Authorities Loans (Scotland) Act, 1891," ordered to be brought in by Sir George Trevelyan, the Lord Advocate, and Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland.

Bill presented, and read first time.[Bill 166.]

BUILDING SOCIETIES (NO. 2) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Secretary Asquith, Bill to amend the Building Societies Acts, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Secretary Asquith and Mr. Herbert Gladstone.

Bill presented, and read first time.[Bill 167.]

CARRIERS (IRELAND) ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Young, Bill to amend the Carriers Acts (Ireland), ordered to be brought in by Mr. Young, Mr. McCartan, and Mr. Knox.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 168.]

BARGE OWNERS, &C., LIABILITY BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Wootton Isaacson, Bill to limit the Liability of Owners and Hirers of Lighters and Barges, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Wootton Isaacson, Mr. Charrington, Mr. Macdona, Mr. Stewart Wallace, and Mr. Barrow.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 169.]

TRUST INVESTMENT ACT (1889) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Sir Albert Rollit, Bill to amend "The Trust Investment Act, 1889," and to extend the powers of Trustees in regard to the investment of Trust Funds and Deposits, ordered to be brought in by Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. Roe, Colonel Howard Vincent, and Mr. Oldroyd.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 170.]

RAILWAY AND CANAL TRAFFIC BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Arthur Williams, Bill for giving summary powers to the Board of Trade and to the Local Authorities with respect to railway passengers and goods traffic facilities and accommodation, and for amending the Railway and Canal Traffic Acts, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Arthur Williams, Mr. Rowland Jones, Mr. Brunner, and Mr. Burnie.

Bill presented, and read first time. [Bill 171.]

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY CONFERENCE.

Copy presented,—of Instructions to the Delegates of Great Britain, and their Reports, together with the Proceedings of the Conference [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1859.

Copy presented,—of Treasury Minute, dated 31st January 1893, declaring that

Treasury Minutes upon the subject of the claims of the holders of certain offices in the permanent Civil Service of the State to superannuation under section 4 of the above Act, shall apply to persons who were holding such offices at the date of the passing of the said Act, or who have been or may be thereafter appointed to such offices [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1887.

Copy presented,—of Treasury Minute, dated 26th January 1893, granting a retiring allowance to Mr. John Michel Clarke, Second Class Clerk in the Public Record Office, Ireland [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

TRUSTEE SAVINGS BANKS.

Copy presented,—of First Annual Report of the Proceedings of the Inspection Committee of Trustee Savings Banks [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

CHELSEA HOSPITAL.

Account presented,—for the year ended 31st March 1892, with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

ARMY.

Copy presented,—of Further Regulations relating to Yeomanry Pay and Soldiers' Pensions [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

BOARD OF AGRICULTURE (METROPOLITAN COMMONS ACTS, 1866 TO 1878).

Copy presented,—of Report of Proceedings under the Act during the year ended 31st December 1892 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

House adjourned at five minutes after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 7th February 1893.

Several Lords took the Oath.

VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS AT DEVIZES.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY asked the Lord President of the Council, in reference to the voluntary schools at Devizes, what was the nature of the information desired by the Education Department which had not been obtained by Her Majesty's Inspector Mr. Brodie's recent visit to that place, and if he could state when the Department would be able to answer the offer of the Devizes Day School Association to supply any deficiency of accommodation that might be found to exist upon the closing of the British schools? He desired to explain in a few words the reasons for making this request. Devizes comprised about 7,000 inhabitants with the usual variety of schools, including one Roman Catholic and, until lately, one British school. The last named was a good school, with a needlessly expensive staff, and an attendance of 300 scholars. In November last it was resolved to close the school at the end of February. As soon as possible the managers of the other schools formed themselves into a Day School Association and declared themselves ready to supply any deficiency that might occur. The managers of the British School openly and avowedly determined to close it in the hope that a School Board might be forced upon the town. Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools for the district had expressed his approval of that course, and the Association had called the attention of the Department to so strange a proceeding, in the hope that it might receive the censure it seemed to call for, and he received something like a reprimand for having entered into the arena in this matter. Since that time the Association had been endeavouring to ascertain whether their offer to supply the deficiency would be accepted. Another Inspector, Mr. Brodie, had been sent down to make inquiry and report upon the circumstances of the case, and as to what was necessary to be done. Of

the contents of the Report the Association had been kept in ignorance; and he therefore begged to ask the question which stood in his name.

THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL AND SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (The Earl of KIMBERLEY): My Lords, the Department desire to obtain perfectly accurate information as to the deficiency which may exist in the school accommodation at Devizes, and with that view they have requested the School Attendance Committee of the Town Council to take a census of children of school age in the borough. They do not feel able to give an answer to those who propose to supply the deficiency until they have acquired the information they desire. I am not able to tell the right rev. Prelate how soon that information will be obtained, but that will depend upon the Committee, which I trust will soon be in a position to furnish it.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY asked what was to be done with the 359 children who would be turned out of the school on the 28th February next.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: If the right rev. Prelate will give notice of his question I will endeavour to answer it.

TRANSMISSION OF LOTTERY CIRCULARS BY POST.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY asked the Lord Chancellor if it is the fact that the General Post Office has no power to prevent the transmission through the post of foreign lottery advertisements; and, if so, whether Her Majesty's Government will obtain the power by legislation? He said many of their Lordships would no doubt have noticed the great number of letters coming from Germany with advertisements of lotteries—in short, what might be called “gambling at home.” In 1891, the late Sir George Campbell put a question in another place as to whether this was not illegal, and the Home Secretary, Sir Henry Matthews, informed him that he was advised the Post Office had no power to stop them. Printed matter that was illegal under Lord Campbell's Act could be intercepted by the Post Office, which would have power to prosecute the senders under an Act of 1870. He would

ask the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack whether lottery advertisements when sent open through the Post Office could not be detained, for at the date the Home Secretary gave the answer he had referred to these advertisements were sent in closed envelopes.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord HERSCHELL): My Lords, certain Acts were passed many years ago dealing with the publication of proposals relating to foreign lotteries, and the printing and publication of advertisements of such lotteries. They were not passed with any idea of putting down lotteries, but I believe with the object, at all events as regards the earlier Acts, of protecting British lotteries against the competition of foreign lotteries. At that time it was not an uncommon thing to raise money in this country by means of lotteries; but although the Acts were passed with the object I have stated, they are still on the Statute Book, and it is still illegal to print or publish an advertisement of any such lottery. That being the case, it may be that, under the Post Office Act, 1875, it would be competent for the Treasury by warrant to direct that these foreign lottery advertisements, when they are sent open through the Post Office, should be detained and not forwarded to their destinations in this country, as indecent or improper advertisements are detained. Although it might be perfectly competent to give a direction of that sort, it is obvious that if there was nothing on the envelopes or covers to indicate what the enclosures were, it would be necessary to institute some amount of search on the part of the Post Office to find out that those advertisements were within them; and if such directions were given it is manifest that the senders might take the precaution of not putting anything outside that would indicate what the contents were. That raises the consideration whether it is worth while to stop the sending of advertisements in that way, and to undertake the trouble and inconvenience it would involve. Possibly, if it would stop the sending of these advertisements altogether, it might be worth while to make the effort, but this would only relate to advertisements sent in open covers. If the advertisements were sent as closed letters an entirely fresh difficulty would arise. I do not think it

Lord Stanley of Alderley

would be possible to give directions for the opening of letters, and therefore by sending closed letters the effect of a warrant could be got rid of. It seems, therefore, very doubtful whether any advantage could be gained by issuing such a warrant at present. However, I will consider whether any practical step can be taken to stop the sending of these advertisements altogether.

TRUSTEE (CONSOLIDATION) BILL [H.L.] (NO. 10.)

A Bill to consolidate enactments relating to trustees; and

ADMINISTRATION OF ESTATES (CONSOLIDATION) BILL [H.L.] (NO. 11.)

A Bill to consolidate enactments relating to the administration of the estates of deceased persons.

Were presented by the Lord Chancellor, read 1^o; and to be printed.

Several Lords—Took the Oath.

House adjourned at twenty minutes before
Five o'clock, to Thursday next, a
quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 7th February 1893.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL (GENERAL POWERS) BILL.

Motion made, and Question proposed,
"That the Bill be read the first time."—
(*Mr. James Stuart.*)

*MR. J. LOWTHER (Kent, Thanet): With regard to this Bill, I wish to raise a point of order which, at the proper moment, I should like to ask your decision upon, Mr. Speaker. It might perhaps be conducive to the convenience of the House if I stated that point of order and appealed to the hon. Member in charge of the Bill to postpone it until Thursday or some other convenient day. Without entering into the merits of the measure, I may say the Bill contains provisions

of a very novel character, involving proposals of great stringency with regard to the imposition of burdens upon owners within the area of the County of London. It has hitherto been held that measures dealing with the Metropolis should be considered as fitting subjects for public consideration. I may draw attention to the ruling of Lord Ossulton in the case of the Weighing of Grain (Port of London) Bill, because in the year 1864, on that occasion, Lord Ossulton clearly laid down how, in his opinion, they should deal with cases of that kind. Mr. Speaker Denison says—

"This Bill has certainly many features which are characteristic of a Private Bill, but it has been the policy of late years to introduce Bills relating to the Metropolis as Public Bills, on account of the great extent and general interest involved."

He goes on to cite cases of 1843, 1851-2, and so on, and then Mr. Speaker Denison goes on to say—

"The Bill now before the House relates to the part of London which covers an extensive area, running, I believe, over four counties, and containing a population of nearly three millions."

And he also says that if the Bill, which he quotes, had related to other towns, it would certainly have been regarded as a Private Bill, but with regard to London, for the reason he gives, he said the case was different, "and have always been regarded as fit subjects for public legislation." This point was again raised in the year 1889, when you yourself, Sir, in response to a question of order that was raised, distinctly ruled that the London Coal Dues Bill—a Bill which was brought in as a Public Bill, and to which I have referred, in 1864—was justly brought in as a Public Bill,

"because it had been the practice, as laid down by Mr. Speaker Denison, that measures relating to the Metropolis should be proceeded with as Public and not as Private Bills."

There is no doubt, in addition to that, a Standing Order of this House which was slightly varied in its phraseology in order to meet the new state of affairs occasioned by the substitution of the London County Council for the late Metropolitan Board of Works, and the Standing Order clearly provides that all proposals of the London County Council containing the power to raise money should be proceeded with as Public Bills. This Bill may not involve the power of borrowing money, though I contend it does involve a power of

raising money, not by loan but by rate; it does not contain borrowing powers, but powers of raising money by rate. I give public notice of this distinct point I intend to raise, so that the matter may be considered on the other side and laid before you with the view of your being in possession of all the facts and in a position to rule on this point once for all. Under these circumstances, I apprehend the hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill will set it down for Thursday next, so that the point to which I have referred can then be properly raised and finally disposed of.

MR. JAMES STUART: Sir, I have no objection to taking the course suggested providing you are of opinion this is a point that ought to be raised upon the First Reading. If you are of opinion it is a point that ought to be raised on the Second Reading the matter will fall to the ground. If you are of opinion it ought to be raised on the First Reading I fall in with that view at once, but would point out we have received no notice in regard to the matter; I should like all parties to be able to properly discuss it on Thursday next, or some suitable day, but I am in your hands as to how it should be taken.

*MR. SPEAKER: If the point of order is raised now, I must deal with it, but perhaps it would be more convenient that the Debate should be adjourned in order that the arguments may be stated on both sides. After hearing them I shall be in a better position to give a final decision.

MR. JAMES STUART: I will postpone it until next Thursday.

Further Proceeding deferred till Thursday.

QUESTIONS.

OPIUM PILLS FOR CHILDREN.

MR. SAMUEL SMITH (Flintshire): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether he is aware that an official notice has been posted at Bombay, to the effect that at present the right of selling children's (opium) pills has been given to the Bombay opium contractors, and such pills can be bought of all the Government opium shops in

Bombay; whether he is aware that many Indian children are poisoned by the free use of opium; and whether the Government will consider the expediency of rescinding this regulation?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL, North Beds): The Secretary of State has no information regarding the Notice referred to by my hon. Friend; nor is he aware that many Indian children are poisoned by the use of opium. He will make inquiries on both points.

THE NEW RAILWAY RATES.

SIR BERNHARD SAMUELSON (Oxfordshire, Baubury): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade what progress is being made, by the intervention of the Railway Department, or so far as it is within his knowledge, by direct negotiation, in the re-adjustment of rates of carriage on the railways to which objection has been made by traders and agriculturists?

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. A. J. MUNDELLA, Sheffield, Brightside): Perhaps the House will allow me, in replying to this question, to read a letter I have received from Sir Henry Oakley, the Chairman of the Associated Companies. It is as follows:—

"The Railway Companies Association,
London,

7th February, 1893.

Sir,—The Railway Companies observing the question of which Sir Bernhardt Samuelson has given notice, desire me to submit the following statement:—

'A Committee of Goods Managers has been sitting at the Clearing House four days a week since the beginning of January, considering and dealing with the complaints received by the Board of Trade, or direct from Traders or Public Bodies.

A Committee of General Managers has also been sitting, and has met deputations of Traders as desired.

The subjects which have been already dealt with are very numerous, comprising nearly all the most important Agricultural materials or products, hardware, holloware, and any description of manufactured goods, and a large number of miscellaneous articles.

The mode of dealing with them has, speaking generally, been:—

- (a) By adopting lower class rates for some articles when carried under certain conditions, or
- (b.) By restoring special rates in force prior to 31st December, 1892, or

Mr. Samuel Smith

(c.) By granting special rates approximating to those in force last year.'

The general regulations have been modified in some particulars to which objection was taken.

Beyond this joint action each Company is dealing in a similar spirit with its local Traders, and according to the reports I have received, with generally satisfactory results.

You will see that the action indicated in my letters of the 7th and 24th January has been, and I can assure you that it will continue to be, followed up with all possible energy, and, if it is desired, I will undertake to report progress to the Board of Trade from time to time.

The Companies do not undervalue the magnitude of the task before them, but they claim from the Board of Trade and from Parliament a reasonable time in which to perform it. Already the strain on the Goods Staff of the large Companies and the amount of overtime labour involved has caused several valued and experienced officers to break down in health.

I am, &c.,

(Signed) H. OAKLEY.

Sir Courtenay Boyle, K.C.B.,

Railway Department, Board of Trade."

I can only express the hope that the daily negotiations between the Board of Trade and the companies may have such a result as to render Parliamentary interference unnecessary. There are still grave complaints and grave dissatisfaction throughout the country, and I hope, therefore, the companies will persevere with their task of bringing the rates within reasonable limits.

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): Does the communication just read by the right hon. Gentleman apply to the Clearing House and railways in Ireland?

MR. MUNDELLA: No, Sir. I think the rates in Ireland are in excess of the rates in England, and all communications respecting them will be dealt with in the same way as the English rates.

MR. A. C. MORTON (Peterborough): I wish to ask whether, if the companies do not make satisfactory arrangements with traders and agriculturists, the Government will introduce a Bill dealing with the matter?

MR. MUNDELLA: I think we had better wait until the occasion arises. I have no doubt that if the companies do not make satisfactory arrangements interference will be necessary.

SIR B. SAMUELSON: Will the right hon. Gentleman undertake to keep the House informed from time to time of the progress of the negotiations?

MR. MUNDELLA : I have asked Sir H. Oakley to furnish us from time to time with information, and I shall take care that the matter has my attention.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.) : Cannot the right hon. Gentleman suggest to the Railway Companies that the House may compel them to give back by way of rebate the excess on their charges, as this might quicken the pace of revision.

MR. MUNDELLA : I have received communications from Railway Companies who have endeavoured to readjust their rates, informing me that they have dated back their rebates from the beginning of the year. I believe all the Midland Companies' contracts so date back.

SIR J. WHITEHEAD (Leicester) : Have not the nine great Railway Companies had since August, 1891, to prepare their new schedules ?

MR. POWELL WILLIAMS (Birmingham, S.) : I should also like to know whether the readjustments, as far as the right hon. Gentleman has had experience of them, are satisfactory to himself and to the traders ?

MR. MUNDELLA : The readjustments, as far as they have gone, are on the whole satisfactory. There is a vast volume of rates which are lower than the old rates, and of these we hear nothing. It is true that the companies have had since August, 1891, to reconsider their rates ; but there are several hundred million rates, filling, I believe, 30 or 40 large volumes, and the revision of them is an enormous task. I think it would have been better if the companies had had a little more time to complete the task ; and undoubtedly they might have approached it in a very different spirit. Still, I hope that time will now be afforded them to complete the work.

MR. BURNIE (Swansea, Town) : I beg to ask whether the right hon. Gentlemen will endeavour to impress upon the Railway Companies that no other settlement will be satisfactory that does not within a reasonable time bring the rates back to what they were before the last revision ?

[No answer was returned.]

TOOTING COMMON.

THE MARQUESS OF GRANBY (Leicestershire, Melton) : I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether his attention has been called to the statement in the newspapers

that the Metropolitan Asylums Board intend to build a fever hospital close to Tooting Common ; whether he is aware of the strong local feeling existing against any such hospital being erected near the Common ; and whether, in view of the fact that should any such hospital be placed on the proposed site it would prejudicially affect the value as a recreation ground of the important open space now dedicated to the use of the public, he proposes to take any steps in the matter ?

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. H. H. FOWLER, Wolverhampton) : I can only repeat what I said last week in answer to a similar question, that the matter will have most careful consideration, and that no decision will be arrived at without a local inquiry being held.

IRISH LIGHTS BOARD.

DR. KENNY (Dublin, College Green) : I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade under what enactment does the Irish Lights Board act in maintaining two steam yachts for the ostensible purpose of inspecting the lighthouses, beacons, and buoys on the coasts of Ireland ; how often, and at what season of the year does the inspection take place ; how many persons take part in the inspection, and whether they include any persons specially fitted by their business, profession, or experience for the work ; and how much, on an average, each trip costs ?

MR. MUNDELLA : By the Merchant Shipping Act, 1854, the management of all lighthouses, buoys, and beacons in Ireland, and the adjacent seas and islands, was vested in a body constituted by an Act of the Irish Parliament passed more than 100 years ago, and now styled the Commissioners of Irish Lights. This management cannot be adequately carried out without the steam vessels referred to in the hon. Member's question. They are employed at all seasons of the year in the numerous and various duties of the lighthouse service, of which inspection is but one. I have asked the Commissioners to supply the details desired by the hon. Member, and will send him the result when received.

MR. MACARTNEY (Antrim, S.): I wish to ask whether any complaint has ever reached the Board of Trade either that the inspections were defective or that the persons engaged in carrying them out were incapable of performing the duty?

MR. MUNDELLA: I think I ought to have notice of that question.

DR. KENNY: Is it not a fact that the trips have been in the nature of mere pleasure trips?

[No answer was returned.]

H.M.S. *BRITANNIA*

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether complaints have reached him that the dynamo used for the production of the electric light on H.M.S. *Britannia* causes, when running, a constant and intolerable tremor and shaking; whether any representations have been made by any captains or officers of the *Britannia*, requesting that this dynamo might be removed to the shore or put into a vessel not inhabited by young cadets; whether the late First Lord of the Admiralty ordered last year a change in the dynamo, or in its position, calculated to remove the cause of complaint; and whether that change has yet been carried into effect?

*THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Sir U. KAY-SHUTTLEWORTH, Lancashire, Clitheroe): My answer is in the affirmative to the three first paragraphs of the question. As to the concluding paragraph, I have to say that the work is in hand, and that the plant for electric lighting is to be transferred as quickly as possible to a mortar vessel alongside the ship.

THE SECRETARY TO THE IRISH POST OFFICE.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.): I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether the present Secretary of the General Post Office, Dublin, is about to vacate that office; whether his attention has been directed to the fact that the post of Secretary, and all the other higher posts in the Dublin office, have been filled almost invariably by Protestants, and, in many cases, by Englishmen; and whether, in the event of the

present Secretary retiring from office, or being promoted, he will consider the advisability of appointing an Irishman and Catholic as his successor?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. A. MORLEY, Nottingham, E.): So far as I am aware, there is no foundation for the rumour that the Secretary to the Post Office in Ireland is about to vacate his office.

THE NEWFOUNDLAND LOBSTER FISHERIES.

MR. GOURLEY (Sunderland): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies whether any, and what, solution has been arrived at regarding the differences between the British, French, and Newfoundland Governments relative to the taking of lobsters on certain parts of the Newfoundland coasts; whether the *modus vivendi* agreed to is still in operation, and, if not, is it to be renewed; and will he place all Papers appertaining to the dispute upon the Table of the House?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. S. BUXTON, Tower Hamlets, Poplar): Her Majesty's Government have agreed with the French Government to refer the differences in question to arbitration. The *modus vivendi* expired at the end of last year. No arrangement has yet been come to for its renewal, and Her Majesty's Government are not able as yet to make any announcement on the subject. Full information as to the dispute will be found in the Papers laid on the Table in 1890, and since then the latest information on the position of the question is contained in those presented at the close of last Session.

THE MANCHESTER SMALL POX HOSPITAL DISPUTE.

MR. MACLURE (Lancashire, S.E., Stretford): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether his attention has been called to the great anxiety caused in the districts of Willington and Didsbury by the proposed erection of a Small Pox Hospital for the City of Manchester, in that most important residential suburb beyond the limits of the city; whether he is aware that there is ample space for increased accommodation at Monsall, where the present provision for small-pox patients exists;

whether he has seen the strong comments made at the Lancashire County Council against this proposed building being used for a purpose so detrimental to so valuable a residential district; and whether he will have a special Report made on the subject?

MR. SCHWANN (Manchester, N.): I will, at the same time, ask the right hon. Gentleman whether proposals are being made to increase the accommodation for small-pox patients at the Mousall Hospital, situated in North Manchester; whether he is aware that North Manchester is a densely-populated district chiefly inhabited by artisans and their families; whether he is aware small-pox is very prevalent in North Manchester owing probably to the proximity of the Mousall Hospital; that the city gas-works are also situated there and pollute the air with sulphurous fumes; and that there has been established in the district a "tip" where rubbish may be deposited, which the medical men in the district regard as a source of infectious diseases; and whether he will have a special Report made upon this proposal to increase the fever accommodation at Mousall, and also to inquire whether the nuisance caused by the rubbish tip ought to be abated, and inquire generally into the sanitary condition of the district?

***MR. H. H. FOWLER:** I am aware that there is a very strong feeling in Manchester in reference to the new hospital, and in the first instance legal proceedings were instituted against the Corporation to prevent them from erecting the hospital. These proceedings were decided some days ago in favour of the Corporation, and I have just received a telegram from the Royal Courts of Justice saying that the Court of Appeal has affirmed the appeal, and therefore it is clear that the Corporation are strictly within their legal rights in the course they are taking. The intervention of the Local Government Board has not been invoked; and if the Corporation of Manchester, in the exercise of any of their undoubted legal rights, apply for the sanction of the Local Government Board, it will not be given without thorough local inquiry.

ARMENIA.

MR. STEVENSON (Suffolk, Eye): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether any representations have been made recently by the British Ambassador at Constantinople with regard to the condition of affairs in Armenia; what was the nature of the mission sent by the Sultan into Armenia in November last; whether the results of that Mission have yet been made known; and whether any information can be furnished on the subject?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir E. GREY, Northumberland, Berwick): No general representations have been made, but whenever specific instances of oppression or injustice are brought to the notice of Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople he takes such steps as he deems best calculated to obtain the issue by the Porte of suitable Instructions to the local authorities. It is the intention of His Majesty the Sultan to send a Commission next spring to inquire into the condition of His Majesty's Asiatic Provinces with a view to improving their administration.

THE NEW MAGAZINE RIFLE.

MR. HANBURY (Preston): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War what rewards, pecuniary or otherwise, have been given, or will be given, to persons claiming to have made inventions in connection with the new magazine rifle; and at what date or dates a decision was arrived at as to granting such rewards?

***THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN, Stirling Burghs):** I am informed that, as regards inventions not protected by patents, by a decision of the 12th of June, 1891, £1,000 was awarded to Lieutenant Colonel Holmes for his work in connection with long-range sights, and £500 to Lieutenant-Colonel Lewes, also for sights. On the 14th of September, 1891, Mr. Metford was awarded £5,000 for his system of rifling, and £1,500 for his bullet. With reference to patented inventions, the British Magazine Rifle Company were awarded, on the 19th of April, 1892, a royalty of 2s. per arm up to 500,000 arms. As stated by my predecessor, Mr. Rigby was refused a

reward, against which decision he has appealed. On the 27th of April, 1892, Messrs. Greenwood and Batley were granted a royalty of 2s. 6d. per 1,000 on cartridges up to 100,000,000, as the ammunition infringed their patent. Messrs. Deeley and Penn have been offered £1,000 as owners of a patent affecting the covering of the bolt-head, but they have not yet agreed to accept that sum. No other rewards are in contemplation.

UPPER BURMA.

MR. JEFFREYS (Hants, Basingstoke): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether, during the recent operations of our troops against the Kachins, in Upper Burma, any European surgeon was present at the time Captain Morton was killed, and when Lieutenant Master was dangerously wounded?

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL: The Secretary of State has no information on the subject, but a telegram received yesterday states that two doctors have been sent up last week.

MR. JEFFREYS: Have the Government any information as to the forces engaged on the 4th instant?

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL: No, Sir.

BUILDING SOCIETY FRAUDS.

MR. BANBURY (Camberwell, Peckham): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether, in view of the serious frauds that have been committed by Directors of Building Societies, he will take steps to appoint a Government official to audit half-yearly the accounts of all Building Societies?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. ASQUITH, Fife, E.): The proposals of the Government in reference to the accounts of Building Societies are contained in the Bill which I introduced last night, and to which I beg to refer the hon. Member.

HAULBOWLINE DOCKYARD.

MR. MICHAEL AUSTIN (Limerick, W.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether he is aware that no appliances exist in Haulbowline Docks for the carrying out of repairs to Her Majesty's ships; and in the absence of such appliances, would he explain for what purposes these docks were built?

Mr. Campbell-Bannerman

SIR U. KAY-SHUTTLEWORTH: I beg to inform the hon. Member for Limerick that appliances already exist at Haulbowline for carrying out repairs within certain limits, and that at the present moment the *Banterer* is being repaired there. The object of the works which have been carried out at Haulbowline has been to enable such repairs to be effected, and to have a dry dock and other arrangements to meet emergencies.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.): Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that when the ship to which he has referred (the *Banterer*) required repairs there were no appliances at Haulbowline to repair her with?

MR. AUSTIN: May I also ask the right hon. Gentleman whether the steam pinnace in connection with one of Her Majesty's ships had to be sent across the Channel in consequence of the necessary appliances for her repair not being available at Haulbowline.

SIR U. KAY-SHUTTLEWORTH: I am not aware that that is mentioned in the question, but all the repairs to the *Banterer* have been carried out at Haulbowline.

MR. FLYNN: Including the construction of a new funnel?

SIR U. KAY-SHUTTLEWORTH: Including the new funnel.

DACOITY IN BURMA.

MR. GRAHAM (St. Pancras, W.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India how many expeditions are at present being carried out against dacoits in Burma, and what is the total number of troops, British and native, actively employed at present on these expeditions?

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL: So far as the Secretary of State is aware, five military police parties are now engaged in the Bhamo district against dacoits. The strength originally fixed for these several parties varied from 60 to 300 men.

SEIZURES BY NIGHT IN IRELAND.

MR. WILLIAM KENNY (Dublin, St. Stephen's Green): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether there is any objection to making a Return of the 712 alleged cases of seizures by night under civil bill decrees in which police protection was afforded under the late Government,

with, in each case, the names of the parties in the civil bill, the county in which the decree was executed, and the hour at which the decree was executed?

MR. J. MORLEY: It is impossible to give the information required by the hon. and learned Member. The Constabulary records do not contain it. The Executive Government has no control over the information which the Sheriff may possess.

MR. MACARTNEY: Then on what information did the right hon. Gentleman make his statement?

MR. J. MORLEY: The Constabulary do what they are bound to do, file requisitions; and the figures furnished to me were merely figures referring to the facts. The names in these transactions are not furnished to me.

MR. MACARTNEY: Did the information filed by the Constabulary distinguish between the protection afforded to the Sheriff by night and the actual seizures which took place?

MR. J. MORLEY: The Return was headed "Seizures and Attempted Seizures."

MR. WILLIAM KENNY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in affording protection by night to the Sheriffs in the alleged cases of seizures under civil bill decrees, there was any departure from the practice adopted during his former Chief Secretaryship, and during previous Administrations?

MR. J. MORLEY: To what extent protection has in fact been afforded by night in the execution of civil bill decrees, during the periods referred to, I am unable to say. But from 1837 to 1860, the giving of such protection by night was prohibited by the Constabulary rules. By the rules in force from 1860 to 1888, protection to the Sheriff was enjoined in the case of the execution of Writs of the Superior Courts, but not so enjoined in the case of civil bill decrees, or other process of Inferior Courts. In 1888 a Constabulary rule superseding the previous rules was framed, which directed the Constabulary to afford protection by day or by night, if required by the Sheriff, alike in the case of civil bill decrees and Writs of the Superior Court. This, of course, was in contravention of the law.

MR. MACARTNEY: I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he still adheres to his statement made the other evening that so many seizures were made illegally?

MR. J. MORLEY: The statement was this: that police protection was afforded to seizures, or attempted seizures, by night in the execution of civil bill decrees. As far as my information went, and still goes, I must adhere to that statement.

MR. T. M. HEALY: May I ask whether one of the Law Officers responsible for the drawing up of the illegal order was not one of the Judges who took part in the decision in respect to the Sheriffs the other day in Dublin?

MR. J. MORLEY: I am not quite sure, but I believe that to be the case.

MR. W. REDMOND (Clare, E.): Arising out of the question I should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether it is not the fact that there exists a very strong feeling in various parts of Ireland, especially in County Clare, against the execution of these decrees by night, and that the moving about of large forces of police by night is extremely dangerous and calculated to produce great excitement; and whether it is not the opinion of both the police authorities and the people generally that these operations should be carried out in the light of day?

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! That is rather an expression of opinion than a question.

INDIAN STAFF CORPS GRIEVANCE.

SIR SEYMOUR KING (Hull, Central): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether the Secretary of State has under consideration Memorials addressed to the Commander-in-Chief in India by Officers of the Staff Corps relating to certain grievances, and in particular to injuries and inconveniences alleged to be caused by supersession of Staff Corps officers by juniors in the British Service; and whether any decision had been arrived at; and, if so, when the Correspondence on the subject can be laid upon the Table?

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL: The Secretary of State is in communication with the Government of India on the subject. No decision has yet been arrived at.

DISTRESS IN TORY ISLAND.

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN (Donegal, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if his attention has been called to the reports which for some time past have been appearing in the Donegal newspapers and in the Dublin *Freeman's Journal*, showing that starvation and disease are rife in several parts of the County of Donegal, especially among the inhabitants of Tory Island; and what measures, if any, are being taken for the relief of those people?

MR. J. MORLEY: My attention has been called to the newspaper reports referred to. I have recently had careful inquiry made in regard to the condition of Donegal, and find there is no reason to anticipate any local distress which cannot be readily dealt with under the ordinary Poor Law. The sanitary condition of Tory Island is reported to be bad, and is having the attention of the proper authorities.

MR. MAC NEILL (Donegal, S.): Has the right hon. Gentleman any objection to give the names and Reports of the Local Government Board Inspectors who visited the Island?

MR. J. MORLEY: I will consider that.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Seeing that the late Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant always had a gunboat at the disposal of the Sheriff and police for eviction purposes will the right hon. Gentleman now afford a similar convenience for a doctor?

MR. MAC NEILL: Will the right hon. Gentleman say what measures have been, or are to be, taken for the relief of these people? Our information is that out of a total population of 320, seven have died and 120 are in desperate straits.

MR. J. MORLEY: If my hon. Friend will put his question on the Paper I will endeavour to answer it.

THE EVICTED TENANTS COMMISSION.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department under what conditions and by whose authority Mr. Justice Mathew was released from his judicial duties in England, and sent to Ireland as President of the Evicted Tenants Commission?

MR. J. MORLEY: With the permission of the House I will reply to this question. When the Government decided to appoint an Evicted Tenants Commission, it was considered advisable that it should be presided over by a Judge. For this course there were found to be precedents—for example, the Bessborough Commission of 1880, appointed by warrant to inquire into the Irish Land Acts, which held a preliminary sitting on August 7th, 1880, and finally reported on January 4th, 1881. Mr. Baron Dowse, of the Exchequer Division of the High Court of Justice in Ireland, was a member of this Commission. Again, the Belfast Riots Commission of 1886, over which Mr. Justice Day presided, having been appointed under Warrant of the Lord Lieutenant. This Commission opened its proceedings on October 4th, 1886, sat uninterruptedly until the 25th of October, and finally reported in January, 1887. Mr. Justice Mathew was accordingly invited by the Lord Lieutenant to preside over the recent Commission. No conditions were imposed.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: Is it not the case that Mr. Baron Dowse was not necessarily removed from his judicial functions when attending the Bessborough Commission? Is it not also a fact that the Belfast Commission was appointed by Statute?

MR. J. MORLEY: I am not able to answer the question whether the late Mr. Baron Dowse was able to be upon the Bessborough Commission, and also to perform his judicial duties. As to the Belfast Commission it was appointed originally by Warrant, but afterwards it had to acquire powers from Parliament. Mr. Justice Day was, however, appointed not by Statute, but by Viceregal Warrant.

THE FAWCETT ASSOCIATION.

SIR ALBERT ROLLIT (Islington, S.): I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether he feels able to relax the rule prohibiting meetings of Post Office officials being attended by those who are not employed in the Post Office in the case of the annual meeting of the Fawcett Association on Wednesday next, so far as regards the Chairman and Secretary of the Association?

MR. KEIR-HARDIE (West Ham, S.): At the same time, I will ask the Postmaster General whether he has received applications from the officials of the Fawcett Association, or the officials of any of the branches of the said Association, for leave to attend the annual meeting of the Fawcett Association on Wednesday next; and whether such applications have been refused; and, if so, what were the reasons for such refusal?

MR. A. MORLEY: Prior to the year 1890 sorters and postmen were prohibited from holding meetings beyond the walls of the Post Office building for the discussion of official questions. In that year this prohibition, which dated from 1866, was withdrawn, and such meetings were allowed to be held subject to certain conditions, of which one is that the meetings are to be confined to Post Office servants, and to those Post Office servants only who are directly interested in the matter or matters to be discussed. No exception to this rule has been made, and I should not feel justified in making one in favour of two men who were dismissed by my predecessor for acts of insubordination and defiance, which, in his opinion, were subversive of all discipline.

ALLOTMENTS.

MR. WARNER (Somerset, N.): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he contemplates bringing forward any legislation which will facilitate the acquirement of allotments in places where the difficulties of putting the present Act in force practically prohibit the increase of allotments?

***MR. H. H. FOWLER:** I cordially sympathise with the object of the hon. Member in putting the question. We are carefully considering whether it is practicable to legislate this Session.

THE PAMIRS.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he is aware of the account published by the Russian official newspapers, *The Turkestan Gazette*, giving details of the conflict between Russian and Afghan troops at Somatash in the Alichur Pamir on the 24th July last, and stating that

Colonel Ionoff, in command of the Russian troops, justified his attack on the Afghans by alleging that "in virtue of the Convention concluded with Great Britain in 1872-3 this district belongs to Russia"; whether the Convention of 1872-3 contained any definition of what territory belonged to Russia; whether it is claimed by the Chinese Government that part of the Pamirs occupied by Russian troops belongs to China, and by the Amir of Afghanistan that part thereof belongs to Afghanistan; whether Her Majesty's Government have entertained the suggestion that an Anglo-Russian Boundary Commission shall be appointed to settle between England and Russia alone the boundaries of territories in the Pamirs without giving to China or to Afghanistan any voice in the settlement; and when he intends to lay before this House any Papers containing information respecting the Russian occupation of and claims to the Pamirs?

***SIR E. GREY:** Yes. The Agreement of 1872-3 has been laid before Parliament. It did not contain any definition of Russian territory. Pending the result of the negotiations now proceeding it is not advisable to make any statement in Parliament as to the respective claims of China, Afghanistan, and Russia in the Pamirs, or as to the proposals of the Governments of this country, Russia, and China. No papers can be laid at present, but I may add that Her Majesty's Government will certainly not act without careful reference to the claims both of Afghanistan and China.

MAGISTERIAL APPOINTMENTS IN IRELAND.

MR. EDWARD M'HUGH (Armagh, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he is aware that gentlemen in Ireland, on being notified that they have been approved of for the Magistracy, are required to pay £6 as stamp duties or fees before they can get their appointment, while under the same circumstances appointments in Scotland are issued free; and, if this is so, will he take steps to have the inequality remedied?

MR. J. MORLEY: The fees denoted by stamp on a Commission of the Peace in Ireland are £6, and are payable under the rules of the Supreme

Court. So far as I am aware, a fee is not payable in the case of the appointments of Justices of the Peace in Scotland.

OFFICIAL REGISTRIES AND UNEMPLOYED.

MR. DALZIEL (Kirkcaldy): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether, in view of the impossibility under present conditions of obtaining accurate information respecting the number of workmen unemployed, he will consider the advisability of communicating with Local Authorities, suggesting to them the opening of official registries, and the forwarding of periodical Reports to his Department?

MR. MUNDELLA: This matter, Sir, is receiving my most careful consideration in connection with the arrangements made with the establishment of the new Labour Department of the Board of Trade.

THE CONVICT DALY.

MR. WILLIAM KENNY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he will give an assurance to the House that there is no intention on the part of the Executive to release from gaol John Daly, the dynamiter, who was sentenced to penal servitude for life at the Warwick Summer Assizes of 1884?

MR. ASQUITH: There is not, and has never been, any intention to interfere in the case of the convict Daly with the normal operation of the sentence.

MR. SEXTON (Kerry): Is that to be taken simply as an answer to the question, and not to preclude any future reconsideration of this man's case?

MR. ASQUITH: In the case of long sentences there are fixed periods when they come up for reconsideration by the Secretary of State.

MR. W. REDMOND: When will the period for reconsideration arrive in Daly's case?

MR. ASQUITH: In all cases of life sentences, which is Daly's case, they are reconsidered at the date of 20 years from the date of sentence.

Mr. J. Morley

UGANDA.

MR. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the Despatch of the 10th December, 1892, from Lord Rosebery to Sir Gerald Portal, appearing upon page 50, of Africa, No. 1 (1893), was telegraphed to Sir Gerald Portal in full, or whether a summary only was sent by telegram; and if the latter, will he communicate to the House the terms of such summary?

*SIR E. GREY: The Instructions were taken to Zanzibar by Mr. Rodd, who delivered them to Sir Gerald Portal personally. Sir Gerald sailed for the mainland as soon as he had received them.

LIVERPOOL POST OFFICE.

MR. SCHWANN: I beg to ask the Postmaster General whether he is aware that the postmaster of Liverpool has been able to arrange for the *employés* of the post office of Liverpool to have their holidays from 1st March to 31st October; and whether he thinks he will be able to arrange for the *employés* of the Manchester Post Office to enjoy the same facilities during the present year, thereby fulfilling the expectations held out by the late Postmaster General at the end of last Session, now some eight months ago?

MR. A. MORLEY: The arrangement made for certain *employés* at Liverpool was made at the instance of the Department, as it was found possible to make the change at little extra expense. Wherever local circumstances permit postmasters to make similar arrangements, I shall be glad to see them adopted, and special consideration will be given to the case of Manchester.

UNHEALTHY INDUSTRIES.

MR. WOODS (Lancashire, Luce): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, with reference to the Order issued by him on the 24th December, 1892, certifying that the following processes were dangerous to health, namely, the manufacture of earthenware, the manufacture of explosives in which di-nitro-benzole is used (including ammonite, roburite, and bellite), chemical works, and quarries, whether he is aware that these explosives are freely used in the coal mines in Lancashire, in some cases where the ventilation is in-

sufficient to carry away the noxious and poisonous fumes; that in the opinion of the Lancashire Miners' Federation, after a lengthy investigation into the subject by experts, men are in many cases being slowly poisoned by breathing the emitted gases; and if he will cause an investigation into the whole subject with a view of giving the miners adequate protection against what they consider a deadly poison?

MR. ASQUITH: It has been brought to my notice that the use of roburite and explosives of a similar character is objected to by the Lancashire miners on the grounds stated in the question. The matter has been frequently considered, but I have directed further inquiries to be made, and I am not yet in a position to say whether a case has been made out for such an investigation as my hon. Friend desires.

MR. WOODS: Will the right hon. Gentleman inquire whether the objection to the use of roburite comes from the *employés* or the Inspectors of Mines?

MR. ASQUITH: The whole of the circumstances will be inquired into.

THE IRISH BOARD OF EDUCATION.

COLONEL NOLAN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland what is the proportionate majority which His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant considers must exist in the Irish Board of Education, before he assents to the recommendations of that Board; if he, when in his letter of the 27th ultimo he states that the Irish Government are fully sensible of the importance of enabling as many primary schools as possible to share at the earliest opportunity in the public grants for educational purposes, includes among such schools those of the Christian Brothers; and if Her Majesty's Government intends to take an early and material step to extend the ordinary educational grant to the Christian Brothers?

MR. J. MORLEY: (1) Assent to recommendations of the Irish National Board of Education must, of course, depend ultimately upon the merits, but the circumstances of a proposed change being recommended with something like unanimity by the Commissioners of National Education would undoubtedly add weight and authority to such a proposal. (2) Certainly the remark in my

letter includes the Christian Brothers' schools. (3) I am not in a position at the present moment to state the intentions of the Government in this matter.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: Did the rules adopted by the Board apply solely to the schools of the Christian Brothers?

MR. J. MORLEY: That will better be answered when the whole Correspondence is before us.

MR. SEXTON: Did the right hon. Gentleman in his letter promise to consider any further suggestion or recommend the Board to reconsider the matter?

MR. J. MORLEY: No, Sir. But, of course, if the Board think fit to make any further proposals they will have the careful attention of Her Majesty's Government.

VOLUNTEER NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS.

MR. COLSTON (Gloucester, Thornbury): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether, having regard to the important position occupied by Volunteer non-commissioned officers, the Government contemplate extending to them the long service decorations already granted to officers of the Force?

***MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN:** As the hon. Member is aware, the Volunteer decoration has been quite recently conferred upon officers, and the process of distribution is not yet concluded. But I have already received from various quarters suggestions for a similar recognition of the services of non-commissioned officers, and I will give every consideration to the subject.

LIGHTHOUSE ILLUMINANTS.

MR. CLANCY: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he will lay upon the Table the Correspondence between Shipowners, Chambers of Commerce, Mr. John R. Wigham, the Commissioners of Irish Lights, the Trinity House, and the Board of Trade, which has taken place since the issue of the last Return on the subject of lighthouse illuminants?

MR. J. MORLEY: If the hon. Member desires it, and moves for the Return I shall offer no objection.

OLD AGE PENSIONS.

MR. CLANCY: I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether there is any objection on the part of the Government to vary or add to the reference to the Royal Commission on the question of providing old age pensions, so as to include Ireland within its scope; and whether a Representative of Ireland will be added to the Commission?

*MR. H. H. FOWLER: The present inquiry is limited to the operation of the Poor Law in England and Wales. No doubt the Report of the Commission will be of great service to those on whom hereafter will devolve the duty of dealing with the Poor Law of Ireland.

MR. CLANCY: Will the right hon. Gentleman appoint a similar Commission for Ireland?

MR. H. H. FOWLER: That question should be addressed to the Chief Secretary.

MR. CLANCY: I will, then, ask the Chief Secretary for Ireland.

MR. J. MORLEY: I must carefully consider the appointment of any more Commissions.

THE AGRICULTURAL INQUIRY.

MR. DODD (Essex, Maldon): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Agriculture whether the proposed inquiry will be large enough in its scope to include the consideration of the question whether tithes and local taxation aggravate the existing agricultural depression, and to what extent?

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE (Mr. GARDNER, Essex, Saffron Walden): In answer to my hon. Friend I have to say that the reference will be of a general character in accordance with the precedent of 1836.

THE BETTING LAWS.

MR. A. C. MORTON (Peterborough): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he will introduce a Bill this Session to amend the law relating to betting and gambling?

MR. ASQUITH: I do not propose to introduce a Bill on the subject mentioned in the question.

IRISH LIGHTS BOARD.

DR. KENNY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been directed to a letter addressed by the High Sheriff of Dublin to the Dublin Corporation regarding the exclusion of the official representatives of the Dublin Corporation from the Committees of the Irish Lights Board; whether he has received from the Corporation of Dublin a communication regarding the representation of the Dublin Corporation upon the Constitution of the Irish Lights Board; and whether it is the intention of the Irish Government to consult with the Board of Trade with a view to giving effect to the suggestions of the Dublin Corporation? I should also like to ask the right hon. Gentleman if, in order to allay the prevalent irritation, the Government will introduce legislation dealing with this matter?

MR. J. MORLEY: I answered the question on the Paper yesterday. I am aware there is some irritation, and the question of bringing in a Bill to deal with the subject will, if necessary, be considered.

THE COUNTY MAGISTRACY.

MR. LEON (Bucks, N.): I beg to ask the Attorney General whether the Lord Chancellor has the power of appointing county magistrates apart from the recommendation of the Lord Lieutenant?

*THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir CHARLES RUSSELL, Hackney, S.): It is the fact that the Lord Chancellor has the power of appointing magistrates in counties apart from and without the recommendation of the Lord Lieutenant. At the same time, I have to add that the usual mode in which such appointments have been made is on the recommendation of the Lord Lieutenant.

MR. COMMISSIONER KERR.

MR. ERNEST SPENCER (West Bromwich): I beg to ask the Attorney General whether his attention has been called to the report of the case of "Baker v. Fraser," which was heard by the Divisional Court on Friday, 3rd February, and in which case the Lord Chief Justice is reported to have complained that the persistent neglect of the Commissioner

of the City of London Court to take notes of the evidence in cases tried by him entails cruel and unnecessary hardship and expense upon the suitors which the High Court has no means of preventing; and whether, considering the nature of the complaint of the Lord Chief Justice, and the inability of the High Court to afford any remedy, the Attorney General, or other proper authority, will take whatever measures may be necessary in the interests of the suitors in the City of London Court?

*SIR C. RUSSELL: I have had my attention called to the report mentioned in the question, and I will see that the learned Judge is made aware of the purport of that report; but I have no authority to exercise over the learned Commissioner.

THE BOMBAY COMMAND.

SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucester, Forest of Dean): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, supposing no appointment to the vacancy in the Bombay Command to have yet been actually made, Her Majesty's Government will consider, before taking the final steps towards appointing an officer to the post, the representation made by successive Viceroys in Council in favour of the amalgamation of the Indian Armies, and based on an increase of efficiency and saving of cost?

*THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE, Edinburgh, Midlothian): Sir J. Hudson has been appointed, and the appointment is made like that of Sir George Greaves, subject to any alteration that may be for the benefit of the public service. A proposal has been made by the Indian Government upon the subject of the amalgamation of the Indian Armies, which will receive the careful consideration of the Government.

THE LAW OFFICERS OF THE CROWN.

MR. POWELL-WILLIAMS: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether any alteration has been made, by Minute or otherwise, in the system or arrangement regulating the scale of fees, in addition to salary, received by the Law Officers of the Crown, under which such fees have been increased in amount?

*THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir W. HARCOURT): Perhaps my hon. Friend will allow

me to answer that question. A change has been made in the position of the Law Officers, and the Treasury Minutes dealing with the subject will be laid upon the Table. Meanwhile I may explain that Law Officers will not in future appear as counsel for a private client except before the Privy Council and in cases in the House of Lords. Their Department will be placed upon a permanent footing and will be provided with a clerical staff. I believe that the new arrangement will enable Government departments to avail themselves of the advice and assistance of the Law Officers more readily, and under more favourable conditions than before, and will ensure a record being kept of all questions referred to the Law Officers, and all opinions given. The want of such a record has frequently been the cause of inconvenience. The only alteration in the Law Officers' fees will be that while the former Minute prescribes that the fees shall be such as a Queen's Counsel of average standing in the profession might properly accept from a private client, subject to a certain maximum, the new Minute limits the fees to those which a Queen's Counsel of like standing might reasonably expect from a private client. I hope the House will think the arrangement satisfactory.

IRISH DRAINAGE BOARDS.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): I beg to ask the First Commissioner of Works if the Government will this year bring in a small Bill to permit of occupiers in Ireland forming Drainage Boards?

MR. J. MORLEY: I will answer that question. It appears to me that the Drainage and Improvement of Land (Ireland) Act of last Session carries out the object of the hon. and gallant Member. This Act enables a tenant to be substituted for the proprietor in a drainage district (1) by agreement with the proprietor; (2) by order of the Board of Works against the proprietor's consent if they are satisfied that such substitution is expedient. A tenant so substituted has, with one exception—namely, the right of dissenting from the formation of the drainage district—all the rights and liabilities of a proprietor during the

continuance of his tenancy with regard to the formation of Drainage Boards.

COLONEL NOLAN : Must it be with the consent of the landlord ?

MR. J. MORLEY : I think not.

WORKMEN IN NAVAL ESTABLISHMENTS.

MR. FORWOOD (Lancashire, Ormskirk) : I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if he will lay upon the Table the Minutes of Evidence taken by himself and the Civil Lord of the Admiralty in connection with the pay and position of the workmen in Her Majesty's naval establishments, and the decision of the Admiralty, before any Vote on the Navy Estimates is submitted ?

*SIR U. KAY-SHUTTLEWORTH : Part of the evidence given on occasions like those which my hon. Friend the Civil Lord and myself have paid to the various yards and establishments of the Admiralty consists of statements which, in the interests of the workmen themselves, should not be published. The Board of Admiralty, of which my right hon. Friend was recently Secretary, did not lay upon the Table the evidence which he similarly received. My right hon. Friend will probably feel gratified that the present Board propose to follow the precedent thus furnished by himself and his colleagues. The evidence which we have heard has covered so much ground, including a vast variety of trades and ratings, and will require such thorough examination, that I shall have to ask my right hon. Friend, and other Members who may feel interested in the subject, to exercise a good deal of patience before we can arrive at final conclusions on the large number of points which have been raised. The statement which I hope to lay before the House as the result of the inquiry cannot, I fear, possibly be made until after the Navy Estimates have been proposed and some, at least, of the Votes taken.

JUDICIAL RENTS.

MR. W. REDMOND : I gave notice of a question to the First Lord of the Treasury which, by mistake, has been put down for Thursday. Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will be able to answer it to-day. It is whether, in view of the fact that Members of this House, representing all sections in Ire-

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land, are agreed on the absolute necessity of some measures being taken for the temporary revision of judicial rents, he will introduce, or on behalf of the Government support, some such measure this Session ?

*MR. W. E. GLADSTONE : I thought my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary had already answered that question. If I am wrong, perhaps the hon. Member will put down notice of his question.

NEW MEMBER SWORN.

Sir Joseph Crossland, Knight, for Huddersfield Borough.

MOTION.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

ADJOURNED DEBATE ON THE ADDRESS.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the Order of the Day for resuming the Adjourned Debate on the Address in answer to Her Majesty's Speech have precedence this day of the Notices of Motion, and To-morrow of the other Orders of the Day."—(*Mr. W. E. Gladstone.*)

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.) : I wish to ask the Government whether their attention has been directed to the constant system of obstruction going on with reference to this Debate, and whether Her Majesty's Ministers do not think it time that this Debate should end ? A system has grown up of hon. Members moving the Adjournment of the Debate for what Sir Stafford Northcote described as "bonnets" for other Gentlemen generally officially connected with the late Government, such as the Private Secretary to the late First Lord of the Treasury. The Member for Dover (Mr. Wyndham), and one of the Members for Down, got up towards the end of the evening without any intention whatever of taking part in the Debate, and moved the Adjournment on behalf of some of their confederates, and then came in the next day and, when nobody had any desire or intention to listen to them, got up and launched into fresh oceans of debate. During the time when Mr. W. H. Smith was First Lord of the Treasury the House constantly

heard every day some appeal made to the dignity of the House, that the business of the country should be disposed of with dispatch, and I must say that in my experience of the House I have never known such unmitigated obstruction as has been proceeding under the sanction of the Tory Party, culminating last night in the unprecedented action of the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Balfour) who, since the first time blocking was invented, came down himself and without waiting for any of his supporters to do what is generally regarded as "shore" work, he himself objected to a whole series of Government Bills. So far as my brief experience has gone never before has the Leader of an Opposition himself personally taken part in the meaner devices of obstruction, they have been left to the irregulars and persons below the Gangway, some of whom probably belong to the Irish quarter. I do not know whether that is so or not, but I do think the time has now arrived when a Motion giving effect to the Address should be made.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR (Manchester, E.): The hon. and learned Gentleman has discussed the general position of the business of this House, and has told us that never in his experience—a considerable experience—has he known any case in which what he calls "obstruction" has been so openly practised. The hon. Gentleman is a great authority on the point—no man is a greater authority—and I shall not venture to set my own opinion against his, but I will simply ask the House whether they think the amount of time we have spent on the general discussion on the Address—in the first place on an Amendment moved by a supporter of the Government, in the second place upon so important a question as agricultural depression—is at all in excess of the merits and the attention that those questions ought to excite in the House? The hon. and learned Gentleman has told us that a practice is growing up of Members moving the Adjournment not intending to speak next day, and cited the case of my hon. Friend the Member for Dover (Mr. Wyndham), who moved the Adjournment on Friday night and did not speak in the Debate yesterday. My hon. Friend is not present. He did desire to speak on the question of Uganda, be-

lieving that the attitude of the Government on Monday would be the same as on Friday, and I may remind him and the House that if the Government on Friday had made up their minds to deliver the speeches on Friday which they delivered on Monday, three hours at least of the time of the House, of which the hon. and learned Gentleman has become the careful and jealous custodian, would have been saved. With regard to the observations he made in reference to my action last night in objecting to the Government bringing in after 12 o'clock, and without a statement, one of their principal Bills, I was only endeavouring to see that the Government carried out what I believe has been the habitual practice of all Governments, and certainly the practice of the late Government. I recollect that when I brought in Bills—certainly not equal in general importance to the Registration and Electioneering Bills of the right hon. Gentleman—when I brought in a Bill for Private Bill legislation in Scotland, the present Secretary for War not only insisted that that Bill should be introduced with a speech by the Minister in charge of it, but that there should be a whole night's Debate on the question. Until the House has had an opportunity of hearing the right hon. Gentleman explain his Bill, they cannot say whether there should be a Debate on it; but I certainly do object, on the part of the Opposition, to important Government Bills, not Departmental Bills, being brought in without one single word of explanation. I feel sure that the Minister in charge of the Registration Bill does not desire to force the First Reading of that measure upon us without giving such an explanation as the House has an undoubted right to hear on such an important occasion.

*MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: I do not wish to mix myself up in any controversial way in the topic now before us, and I do not consider myself warranted in the present stage of the proceedings in so doing, but I must enter a certain protest against what has been stated by the right hon. Gentleman. He justifies himself in opposing the introduction at a late hour of my right hon. Friend's Registration Bill by a Scotch Bill on Private Bill Legislation. What I want to point out is that it is not the magnitude of the Bill only which ought to

determine whether it requires a preliminary statement and that interference with the course of public business which a preliminary statement would entail. In the case of the Scotch Bill there was a great deal of difference affecting the root of the Bill, and the whole method of proceeding. Consequently it was obviously right and necessary that there should be a preliminary statement. In the case of the Registration Bill what has happened? We have introduced a Bill for this purpose before, when we were in Opposition. We found a general acknowledgment on all sides of the House that there should be a Bill, and that being so the question appeared to us to be one of detail so far as differences of opinion were concerned, and therefore if my right hon. Friend had been allowed to introduce it as a private Member he would have stated that the general purpose of the Bill was to give effect to changes such as those which in principle have been very largely recognised on all sides of the House. That is to say, that we were able to look upon it as being in all respects, properly speaking, a non-contentious Bill, and that was the ground of proceeding with it. I must express my regret that it was stopped by my right hon. Friend last night, though I am bound to admit there has been some precedent, if not warrant, for that proceeding—excepting so far as regards the high character and station he holds in this House—in other quarters of the House, to which I need not particularly allude. With reference to the Motion before the House, I must confess that, in my opinion, the House is, upon the whole, greatly the loser by the practice which has sprung up quite of late years of miscellaneous, I may say multitudinous discussions, without any distinct issue, upon the Address. I shall use every effort in my power to arrest the general Debate on the Address, and if the right hon. Gentleman is disappointed, as he might be, as to the insufficient development of the Debate on the subject of Uganda on Friday, I am bound to observe that that arose out of the circumstance that we were debating the question without the Papers on the subject before us, but which we prepared with every expedition, and with greater expedition than is

usual in such cases. That is only one of the objections to the practice which has sprung up. I do not say it has sprung up on the part of one or another Party; I speak of it as a change and a deviation from ancient custom, which, upon the whole, does not contribute to the despatch of Public Business. I am speaking of that as a misfortune, in my opinion, because the House will be surprised when I observe that upon the Address, without any positive issue at all, it has not infrequently happened that in recent years one-tenth or one-twelfth part of the whole available time of the House during the Session has been consumed by the discussion on the Address. That is a serious discount to lay upon our limited power of transacting business. I am not presuming to censure anybody; but at the same time I may be allowed to state that not to-night, but, I think, after to-morrow it may be requisite for us to consider whether we should not ask the House to take seriously into view the expediency of arriving at some close of the Debate on the Address in order that we may proceed with the general business.

COLONEL NOLAN said, the Prime Minister seemed to follow up the suggestion which he understood had been made by the hon. and learned Member for North Louth (Mr. T. M. Healy) that the Address was to be clotured. As the hon. and learned Member for North Louth was an Irish Member he would like to say that the effect of that might be to shut out and prevent the hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. J. E. Redmond) from bringing in his Amnesty Motion, which would be most unfortunate. It was, in his opinion, highly desirable that that question should be discussed in the House, and a very large number of people in Ireland would be disappointed if it were not discussed. He, therefore, hoped when the question of the hon. and learned Member for North Louth was considered, it would be recollected that a certain number of Irish Members were most anxious that the subject of amnesty should be brought before the House.

MR. JOHNSTON rose to point out that the first person to object to the introduction of the Registration Bill was an enthusiastic supporter of the Government—the hon. and learned Member for North Louth (Mr. T. M. Healy).

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MR. MACARTNEY thought that while no one would object to the tone of the observations made by the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House, it seemed to him extraordinary that the right hon. Gentleman did not find it convenient during the six years he was in Opposition, and responsible to a certain extent for the control of the business of the House, to address these observations to the Members of his Party. Those now in opposition would recollect how often in the last Parliament the business of the House and the progress of legislation was impeded by discussions possessing not one quarter of the importance that attached to the Amendments to the Address. He could tell the right hon. Gentleman that if the Government intended to prohibit debate on the Address on important questions affecting their Executive Government in Ireland, they would not facilitate legislation during the Session. He could quite understand, and after the verdict of Huddersfield everyone could understand, how inconvenient it would be for right hon. Gentlemen to meet the questions involved in the Amendment of the hon. Member for the City of Londonderry. There were other questions involved in the Amendments upon which many Members from Ireland desired discussion, and he did not believe his hon. Friends would ask the right hon. Gentleman for greater facilities than they were entitled to for the discussion of these questions. They did not desire to protract the Debate on the Address, and a comparison of the number of speeches made this Session with the number made in former Sessions in the Debate on the Address would show that no undue advantage had been taken of the opportunity. If they were not permitted to discuss these questions upon the Address, then upon the first opportunity they would certainly bring the questions, which they had given notice of raising, before the attention of the House.

MR. SEXTON (Kerry, N.): As a personal contribution to the question of the conduct of business I would point out that if the Government desire to proceed rapidly they have only, on any day, to suspend the Twelve o'clock Rule, and, by virtue of that, it would be possible for them any night to introduce their Bills. But I rose for the purpose

of making one observation with reference to what fell from the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan). I think the hon. and gallant Gentleman did not intend that his words should have the meaning suggested by them; they seemed to suggest that my hon. and learned Friend the Member for North Louth (Mr. T. M. Healy) had some intention or desire to interfere with the fair facility that should be afforded to the hon. Member for the City of Waterford (Mr. J. Redmond) for bringing forward his Amendment. I am authorised to say that he had no such intention. His remarks were pointed to the convenience of closing the Debate on the Address next Friday in order that their Bills might be taken up next week. For myself, and every Irish Nationalist Member who sits in this House, I may say we desire the hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of Waterford should have fair opportunity for presenting to the House the merits of the case in support of his Amendment. I do not venture to anticipate the Debate itself, but we desire that facility should be given for the discussion of the Amendment. The suggestion of the hon. and learned Member for Louth (Mr. T. M. Healy) was not intended to interfere with that.

MR. HOWELL said, that if the right hon. Gentleman would give private Members Wednesday for the discussion of their Bills they would find that the whole question of registration would be raised on the first Bill on the Paper.

*MR. J. LOWTHER (Kent, Thanet): I do not quite understand what the right hon. Gentleman intended by his reference to the possible necessity of action on the part of the Government, with a view to the curtailment of the discussions on the Address. I do not know whether he meant it might be necessary to take action to prevent the undue prolongation of discussion on any special Amendment, or whether he contemplated classing the innocent and guilty together, and terminating once for all the constitutional opportunity enjoyed by the House of Commons for raising questions on the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne. I conclude the right hon. Gentleman, with his constitutional learning and experience, must have contemplated merely interposing to prevent the

discussion on any specific Amendment being unduly prolonged beyond the necessity of the case. If there is any idea of giving effect to the suggestion, emanating from a very ominous quarter, I would, as a Member in charge of an Amendment of a wholly non-Party character, an Amendment raising a question by no means dividing Members of this House upon Party lines, I should strongly object to being debarred from my constitutional opportunity on account of gentlemen from Ireland and elsewhere choosing to discuss other questions, with the result that I should not be allowed the rights which every Member has a right to claim. My Amendment was hauded in at the earliest possible opportunity, but I was informed that, according to what I think a wise rule, I was bound to wait my turn with other Amendments which relate to subjects mentioned in an earlier part of the Queen's Speech. I would appeal to the House under no circumstances to allow any action to be taken that would prevent this House discussing any question legitimately raised.

*MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: I said nothing of curtailment; but there is a mode which has been referred to already in this discussion—namely, that of the suspension of the Twelve o'clock Rule, which might enlarge the opportunities of Members, and at the same time might tend to give an earlier day for the introduction of Government measures.

*MR. J. LOWTHER: I should enter a very marked protest against being compelled to raise a question of great importance, and one which commands very great interest, not only in this House, but throughout the country, at any unearthly hour.

Question put, and agreed to.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S
MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

MOTION FOR ADDRESS. [ADJOURNED
DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [31st January], "That an

humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, as followeth:—

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled, beg leave to thank Your Majesty for the Most Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."
—(Mr. Lambert.)

And which Amendment was

At the end of the Question to add the words,—“But this House humbly expresses its regret that no measures are announced by Your Majesty for the present relief of those who are affected by the existing wide-spread depression in Agriculture, either by means of readjustment of local burdens or otherwise.”—(Mr. Wharton.)

Question again proposed, “That those words be there added.”

Debate resumed.

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): When my speech was interrupted last night I was endeavouring to describe the condition of agriculture in Ulster. I believe that the condition prevalent in Ulster exists throughout the whole of Ireland; but inasmuch as I am not familiar with the South and West of Ireland, I prefer in my observations to confine myself solely to the Province where I know the facts. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, in the course of the Debate the other day, stated that rents were never better paid. I do not know whether he meant that statement to apply to the whole of Ireland, or to any specific part of it. But upon that remark I have two observations to make, and the first is this: that if, in the midst of depression such as we are passing through now, the rents in Ireland were never better paid, I want to know what can be said for the non-payment of rent in other years when no such depression existed, and when too many hon. Gentlemen on this side of the House practically encouraged the non-payment of rent? But, Mr. Speaker, I should like to tell the right hon. Gentleman that if rents are paid now they are not paid out of the profits of the soil. It is not economic rent at all this year. What are the facts in Ulster? There are two great rent producers in that Province. Rent is paid in Ulster mainly by the sale of cattle, and by the sale of flax. Without these two things rent cannot be

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paid. For the last nine or ten months not only have the prices of cattle been low but certain kinds of cattle are practically unsaleable. I have been in fair after fair; I have seen the cattle taken to the fairs, I have seen them taken away. It was perfectly impossible to sell them, and, as a matter of fact, all over my own constituency the rent is walking about on four legs in the field. Now, Sir, as regards flax the situation is even worse. It is only grown in Ulster, and at the best of times is a very hazardous crop. But, as a matter of fact, the flax crop this year in the Province of Ulster has not paid for the seed. I state these facts from my own personal knowledge, and what I have to say to the right hon. Gentleman is this: If his statement is accurate—and I am sure it is made on good authority—that rents were never better paid in Ireland than this year, then my answer is twofold: They ought to have been paid in years when there was no depression; there ought never to have been any Plan of Campaign, and that if they are paid this year they have not been paid out of the produce of the land, but the little reserve of the small farmer has been broken in upon in order to pay the rent. I twitted the Government last night with not following the precedent set by their predecessors in this matter. There was a time at the beginning of the last Parliament when Ireland was affected by a fall in prices. The right hon. Gentleman knows what took place. The late Mr. Parnell introduced a Tenants Relief Bill. He asked for facilities from the noble Lord the Member for Paddington, who was then Leader of the House, for that Bill. Those facilities were granted, and a long discussion took place. The right hon. Gentleman may tell me that one of our main objections to that Bill was that an inquiry was proceeding, that the Cowper Commission had been issued, and therefore that the Government of that day and their supporters took exactly the same ground that the Government take to-day—that a Commission had been appointed to inquire, and nothing could be done until that inquiry had been completed. I do not know whether the right hon. Gentleman means to take that position or not, but I know how he and his friends ridiculed the position taken up by the

late Government. They ridiculed the idea of any kind of Commission or Inquiry being necessary. What was the Commission of that day appointed for? Not to inquire into the cause of the agricultural depression or the fall in prices. It was appointed for the purpose of inquiring into the fact whether it had taken place or not. The Government, at all events, legislated upon the matter, and what I have to point out is that the right hon. Gentleman and his friends then were very angry that the Government did not take immediate action in reducing the judicial rents. The fall in the price of agricultural produce in Ireland is far greater now than it was then, and though the right hon. Gentleman was anxious for action to be taken in 1886, he comes down to the House now, in face of a greater fall and a deeper depression, and absolutely declines to take any notice of that depression, and refuses to take any legislative action in relation to it, although he has the precedent of his predecessors and the requests of Members sitting in every part of the House from Ireland. All I have to say in relation to it is this: I perfectly understand the reason of this; I am not sure whether the farmers in Ireland will understand it. Politicians here know well why the Government will not move; Irish farmers may not know, but it may be sufficient for them to know that after sending candidates into Ulster to promise everything to the farmers, the first opportunity the right hon. Gentleman has he refuses the reasonable request which his predecessors granted. We have heard a good many remedies proposed for the agricultural depression during this Debate, and first we have heard of the remedy of bi-metallism. We have had some very important speeches in this and the last Parliament on bi-metallism. I remember listening for two hours to the Member for Sleaford (Mr. Chaplin) speaking on bi-metallism. I also had the pleasure of listening for nearly two hours to the hon. Member for Flint (Mr. S. Smith) upon the same subject, and I am going to make the candid confession that after listening to both of these gentlemen I knew no more of bi-metallism from their speeches than I did before they commenced. I think there is something in it, but I should like to say this: Would they be good enough to issue

a small leaflet, entitled, *Easy Lessons in Bi-metallism for Beginners*. They may circulate them extensively among the House of Commons, or if the Members of the House of Commons are not prepared to deal with bi-metallism on its merits, how do they imagine public audiences are going to understand or act upon what even this House does not profess to understand? We shall have to look probably in another direction for a remedy. I lately received a letter from a farmers' conference in Chester, asking me to support a Bill for the relief of English Agriculture, and they suggested Land Courts, fixity of tenure, fair rents, and free sale. Well, my distinct impression was that their salvation did not lie that road. We have all these things in Ireland. We have Land Courts, we have fixity of tenure, and we have what are called fair rents—I do not now enter into the question of whether they are fair rents or not. We have got what are called fair rents, and the tenant has legislative security for his interest in the soil, and the fact of the matter is this—the one thing the tenant farmers of Ulster are anxious about now is this: To get rid of all this machinery, to get back to single ownership, to get away from this dual ownership, that has produced so much confusion and bad feeling between landlord and tenant. There has been talk about lessening the burden upon the landlord and tenant in regard to local taxation. I do not enter into that question, which is one that affects England more than Ireland. This is all I have to say in this Debate. I do not know whether the Member for North Louth (Mr. T. M. Healy) regards my intervention in this Debate as a piece of obstruction. If it be, the tenant farmers of Ireland will hear with interest that the hon. Member considers a Debate on Irish agriculture at the present time an obstruction of Parliament. What I have to say about Irish agriculture is this: You may have remedies in England, but the remedy in Ireland is perfectly plain. What is the position there? You have the labourer almost as poor, almost as wretched as he was 20 years ago; a little better paid and a little better housed, but still in a state that nobody can think satisfactory. You have raised the standard of comfort for the tenant, raised it as the result of legisla-

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tion. Then you have the landlord, and he is infinitely in a worse position than ever he was. He is surrounded and enveloped with charges of all kinds. He is bound by these charges. I do not blame the landlords of Ireland for standing by the judicial rents. I think they are entitled to fight for what they consider to be their rights in this matter. They have lost a good deal. The landlord now is choked with charges of all kinds, and his position is even worse than that of the tenant farmer. I admit that frankly; but the lesson I draw from it all is this—the land can no longer pay three profits. It will not keep the labourer, the tenant, and the landlord. The three cannot possibly continue to pull at the land; it will not support them. One of them must go, and I have never wavered in my belief since I entered the House that the landlord ought to be got out of Ireland, but on perfectly honest and fair terms for him. That is my solution of the agricultural difficulty in Ireland; I believe it will remedy it, and it is because I wish to see it remedied that I have interposed in this Debate.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I had no intention of taking any part in the Debate, and I should most certainly not have troubled the House had it not been for the extraordinary incursion which the hon. Member, just returned from Canada, has made into the discussion. The hon. Member has become inflamed with an extraordinary zeal on behalf of the Irish tenants—a zeal which was not to be observed as long as the Conservative Party were in power in Ireland.

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I beg to say that when the Conservative Party were in power I urged upon the Government of the day a reduction of judicial rents, and I voted for it, and supported it all through.

MR. DILLON: In a few moments I shall be able to show the amount of truth and sincerity that lies in that statement. There is an observation which has just fallen from the hon. Member, and which I think must prove somewhat interesting and amusing to the House, or to those Members of the House who may have noticed some fragments of his orations in Canada, which were considered worthy of being sent across to this country. He has just drawn a most appalling and frightful picture of the

condition of the Irish tenants and their discontent with the present Land Laws of that country. He has told us that these Land Laws have brought about nothing but confusion, heartburning, and disorder in Ireland, and he has informed this House that the one object and anxiety of the Irish tenant is to sweep away the entire machinery of the Land Laws of that country. Is the hon. Member's memory so short that—unless the cable lied, and I admit it often does, particularly when dealing with Irish matters—within a few weeks after declaring to the people of Canada that there was no country in the world where the Land Laws were so perfect as in Ireland—

***MR. T. W. RUSSELL** : I made that statement in the House last night. I still say that, so far as legal privilege is concerned, the Irish farmer is in a better position than either the English or Scotch farmer. I say, in addition to that, he is anxious to get rid of even these privileges for the higher privilege of ownership.

MR. DILLON : Mr. Speaker, I think we have already very interesting examples of the sincerity and frankness of the hon. Member when he is addressing different constituencies, and of how the hon. Member is accustomed—as he has over and over again been convicted in this House—to suiting his language to the audience which he is addressing. I ask the hon. Member—and I challenge any of his friends in this House—does any hon. Member believe that when he told the people of Canada that the Irish tenants were in the enjoyment of the most perfect land system in the world, that they were to draw the inference that the Irish tenants were discontented with that land system?

***MR. T. W. RUSSELL** : I told them so.

MR. DILLON : Did you tell the people of Canada—[**MR. T. W. RUSSELL** : Yes]—that they were in the enjoyment, in fact, of abstract legal perfection and concrete legal misery and discontent? I have my own opinion as to the purpose which the hon. Member had in his mind when he made that statement to the people of Canada, and I am strengthened in that conclusion by the extraordinary difference which I have noticed between the speeches of the hon. Member in the County of Tyrone and his speeches delivered in this House.

The hon. Member has suddenly, since the Party to which he belongs was driven out of power and defeated at the last General Election, become most violently anxious to revise the judicial rents in Ireland. Before I deal with the previous attitude of the hon. Member on this question of the revision and reduction of rent in Ireland, I will put a simple question, and one which, if he can answer in the affirmative, will undoubtedly save the House a great deal of trouble, and I have no doubt will save the Chief Secretary for Ireland a great deal of anxiety and responsibility. My question is this: Will he undertake now to prove the sincerity of his desire to bring relief to the Irish tenantry by using his influence to obtain from those with whom he is working in this House and another place support for the Bill which will be introduced in a few days, to reduce those judicial rents in Ireland?

***MR. T. W. RUSSELL** : I shall certainly do everything, publicly and privately, in my power for that purpose.

MR. DILLON : We have had instances, only too fresh in our memory, of the value of such assurances from the hon. Member. When he really desires to obtain anything from the Party or the Government which he is supporting a result follows from his exertions. But it is most extraordinary that in relation to this question of reduction of rents in Ireland or of any benefit whatever to the tenant farmers of Ireland, that on several occasions he has made similar declarations to that he has just now made, and that the tenant farmers have always found that no result followed from his exertions. We had a very singular illustration within the last few moments of the extent to which these declarations may be relied on by the farmers of Ireland when we heard the cries of dissent from his friends, allies, and confederates in the Irish representation when the statement was made that a Bill would be introduced in a few days, which has the general support of the Irish Members, for a reduction of the judicial rents. I can answer for both sections of the Nationalist Members that before very long the sincerity of the hon. Member will be put to the test; and when the hon. Member endeavours to flatter himself that by walking into the Division Lobby his single vote will be accepted by his constituency in Ireland or by the

people of Ireland as a proof that he is sincere in this matter, I venture to inform him that no such action will be accepted as a proof that he is sincere unless he shows in this, as in certain other matters I can allude to, he is able to influence those with whom he acts. The hon. Member referred to the introduction of the Bill of the late Mr. Parnell in 1886, and he has stated on previous occasions in this House that he had been in favour of the reduction of the judicial rents. Allow me, Mr. Speaker, to refresh the memory of the hon. Gentleman. In the month of September, 1886, when a fall in agricultural prices in Ireland had occurred, which was rather more severe, or, at any rate, quite as severe as the present fall, a Bill was introduced by the late Mr. Parnell for a moderate reduction of the judicial rents, and what was the attitude of the Member for Tyrone?

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL: What was the percentage of the reduction?

MR. DILLON: If the hon. Member will possess his soul in patience, I will show it does not affect the point of my argument what the percentage was. What did the hon. Member undertake to do? He undertook—never losing an opportunity of insulting his adopted countrymen and the people who made the mistake of sending him to represent them in this House—to prove, from statistics of the consumption of whisky, that there was no depression whatever in Ireland, and that no reduction of rent was necessary, and he mocked at the distress of the farmers of Ireland by declaring that in this purely agricultural country spirits and beer had been consumed to the amount of £11,250,000. The hon. Member then thought fit to sneer in a portion of his speech at a certain movement which he is never tired of reviling, called the Plan of Campaign. I have not the slightest intention now of reviving old controversies about the Plan of Campaign; but there is one merit which the Plan of Campaign had, and which the hon. Member can never deny to it; that is, that it converted him and all his friends to see that there was necessity for the reduction of judicial rents in Ireland. And it was not a sense of justice or feeling of sympathy with the sufferings of the Irish people, but because there existed in Ireland in con-

sequence of their refusal to do justice an agitation with which they were unable to cope, that they found themselves compelled in 1887 to reduce the judicial rents in that country. The hon. Member is entirely mistaken in his recollection of past events when he attempts to take credit to himself and the Party with which he acts for the legislation for the reduction of rents enacted in this House in 1887. There is another passage in his speech which is most singular. What did he say in reference to the landlords in Ireland before he sat down in that memorable Debate? He said—

“The landlords, in my opinion, may be trusted to do justice to the tenants, or, at any rate, the great majority of them may be trusted to do so. It was their interest to recognise the gravity of the situation”;

and he largely based his opposition to the Bill of the late Mr. Parnell on the fact that the landlords of Ireland were to be trusted to do justice to the tenants. Why does he not trust the landlords now? Whilst the Unionist Government were in office the hon. Member thought the landlords of Ireland could be trusted, and that it was not necessary to put any coercion on them to do justice to their tenants; but the moment the Unionist Government are driven out of Office, he finds he cannot trust the landlords to do justice to their tenants, and that it is necessary to appeal to this House to reduce the judicial rents. The hon. Gentleman the Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell) never addresses the House without levelling some insult at the leaders of the Liberal Party, and on this occasion—

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I beg pardon; it was not my intention to insult any person.

MR. DILLON: And on this occasion he could not but ask them to adopt the precedent set them by their predecessors. I hope they will never follow the precedent of their predecessors. That precedent was to fight against what was asked moderately and reasonably in this House. In the case of the judicial rents, as this House is aware, they fought against a revision and then granted it when the agitation in Ireland became too strong for them. It would, therefore, be a reproach to the Liberal Party if they were to follow this evil precedent. I hope

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they will never follow it, but that they will make up their minds what is right to be done, and will do it without having to be forced by agitation. The Member for South Tyrone has made a statement which he has often made in this House before—that we are not sufficiently anxious about the welfare of the tenant farmers, and that, therefore, we are not entitled to the confidence of our constituents. Will he go to the South and West of Ireland and preach that doctrine? Allow me to direct his attention to what he did in March last in reference to the question of compulsory sale. The hon. Member never tires of praising himself and his constituents in this House. Well, he declared that he was opposed to this policy and would vote against it; and then he went over to Ulster and the General Election, where he ate his words, in order to get the votes of the Ulster farmers, to whom—the farmers of South Tyrone—he declared he was in favour of it. Now he does not refer to it at all. And in that speech in March last he declared that he would always vote for and advocate any measure for the expropriation of landlords like Lord Clanricarde. We hear nothing about that now, and nothing about the restoration of the evicted tenants to their holdings. I believe, Sir, that the leaders of the Liberal Party will give a fair hearing to any measure that may come before them for the reasonable reduction of rents in Ireland. If the hon. Member for South Tyrone has made this speech in sincerity and not as an attack on the Government—if he is honestly pleading for the farmers of Ireland—let him help in any reform and not try to keep it back. He said that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland had not to fear the Plan of Campaign in the reduction of rents, admitting by that that the Plan of Campaign did do that. We did not stir up agitation last year in Ireland because we have in prospect that which will help us to win our liberties from the landlord party; because we are promised a measure which will relieve us from the tyranny of a plundering minority; because we are assured that system is drawing to a final close; and I am not ashamed to confess that I have counselled the suffering poor in Ireland to bear in patience now, as far as they can bear, the hope that the day of their de-

liverance may be, as I believe it is, nigh. That accounts for the present state of quietness in Ireland. That shows that agitation in Ireland has not been abandoned because of the Coercion Act. According as the Coercion Act was withdrawn, the country became quieter. In conclusion, I may say that, so far as there was any serious trouble or disturbances in Ireland—so far as agrarian crime was concerned—it was due to the cruel omissions made in the right hon. Gentleman the late Chief Secretary's Land Act of 1887; for while the agitation all through the winter of 1886 was on behalf of all classes of tenants, the Act only brought relief to certain classes, and I recollect myself telling the then Irish Minister that if he left out large numbers of tenants, especially those on estates who had become involved in the Plan of Campaign, that he would be laying the way for agrarian crime. What has happened since then has been due to the then Irish Secretary and to the Member for West Birmingham, who obstructed our attempt to get relief for the evicted tenants. The Member for West Birmingham would listen to no reason in the case of three or four or five thousand tenants who were left outside the benefits of the Act of 1887, and these tenants have been a source of trouble and disturbance, and will continue to be that until common justice is done to them the same as to the others.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. J. MORLEY): I desire to address a very few sentences to the House with regard to the speech of the Member for South Tyrone. From the spirit in which he raised these points the House will be able to judge whether and how far he was more desirous of dealing with the question of reducing judicial rents than of simply gaining political capital for himself or the section to which he belongs. The reason that I rise is that I may be able to make myself a little more clear than I was able to do in answer to questions as to the view I take of the opinion that undoubtedly prevails in Ireland at this moment for a revision of rents. The hon. Gentleman taxes me with refusing a reasonable request. I will not say that some crisis may not exist which may render necessary a revision of judicial rents. There is a strong feeling on the subject in most